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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

MUSLIMS IN THE NEW INDIA

By Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan

(Member of the Muslim Delegation to the Round-Table Conference)

When your energetic Honorary Secretary asked me to address the East India Association on the position of Muslims in the new India, I was diffident at first, owing to my being a delegate to the Round-Table Conference. I took into consideration, however, that many of the delegates have come to this country, not in a personal capacity, but because they represent an interest, a community or class, which occupies a definite and, in most cases, an important position in the Indian body politic. I accepted the invitation to address you because there is a great danger of the position of the Muslim India being misrepresented or misunderstood in this country. I do not wish to indulge in any passionate controversy over the rights and wrongs of any community in India, nor do I desire to introduce an element that might affect the peaceful atmosphere which ought to be the aim of every Indian to create. I will content myself with a brief objective analysis of the problem, in order that the British public may gain a true perspective of the issues.

Ideal of United India

The Muslims of India have as great a desire for the advancement of their country as any other community. They are proud of the glorious heritage of culture which is India's contribution to humanity; and they are no less proud of the part which India has played in the history of Asia. They are the children of India, sharing in the sorrows, and glorying in the achievements, of their country. They have constantly desired, and ardently advocated, constitutional advance of their motherland. They believe in the ideal of a United India, united in her aims, inspired by a noble and moral purpose, and realizing her destiny in those realms of art, literature, and administration for which her past achievements and her vast reservoir of intellect, character, and tradition provide the safest and surest foundation.

The Muslims believe that this can be attained only by working whole-heartedly for the ideal by which Indians of all shades, parties, classes, communities, races, and creeds are animated—the ideal of responsible government in India. This is their goal, the aim at which all of their efforts are directed, and for which every one of them is striving. They are in complete agreement with the leaders of other political organizations in India on this matter, as they feel that this is the only solution of a problem which, however intricate, complex, and elusive it might appear at first sight, can be solved only by making India mistress in her own household. Indeed, they see no prospect of any lasting settlement until the constitutional question is properly settled. They will be false to the trust reposed in them by their countrymen, false to the glorious tradition and brilliant achievements of their race, if they slacken their efforts for the realization of the aim which was so nobly expressed in the remarkable declaration of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at the conclusion of the first sessions of the Round-Table Conference and in the preamble to the Government of India Act. They believe that only by working consciously and deliberately for this end can the legitimate, reasonable, and, indeed, the natural aspirations of their countrymen be satisfied.

NUMBERS AND DISTRIBUTION

This eagerness of the Muslims to advance the cause of their motherland is linked with recognition of the necessity to safeguard their interests in the future Constitution of India. They desire *responsibility with safeguards*. What are these safeguards? Their primary and, if I may say so, fundamental safeguard can be understood only by a knowledge of the geographical distribution of the two communities in India. Of the nine provinces of British India, there are only three in which they possess a majority—viz., the Punjab, Bengal, and the North-West Frontier Province. In the census for 1931 there were 27,530,321 Muslims out of a population of 50,122,550 in Bengal, and 13,332,460 Muslims out of a population of 23,580,852 in the Punjab. In other words, in the Punjab they form 56·5 per cent., and in Bengal 54·9 per cent., of the total population. The Frontier province is very small, does not contain more than about 2,500,000 people, and has not hitherto had even the elements of a reformed Constitution. In other provinces of India the Muslims are in a hopeless minority. They are only 14·8 per cent. of the population of the United Provinces, 7·1 per cent. of Madras, 4·4 per cent. of the Central Provinces and Berar, 11·3 per cent. of Bihar and Orissa, and 31·9 per cent. of Assam. In the Central Government they will be, and are, in a hopeless minority, being no more than about 24 per cent. of the total population. It will be seen that the geographical distribution of the Muslim community makes it almost impossible for it to secure an effective majority in the Provincial Legislatures of any province, except, of course, the Frontier Province. Their majority in the Punjab and Bengal is very small indeed when compared with the overwhelming preponderance of the Hindus in the other provinces. The Muslim community will, therefore, be in a hopeless minority in the Central Government of the future, as well as in six out of the nine provinces of British India. According to the last census, the Muslim majority in the Punjab has increased from 5·3 to 6·5 per cent., while in Bengal it has increased by 1 per cent. In Madras it has increased by 0·4 per cent.; in the United Provinces by 0·5 per cent.; in Assam by 3 per cent.; and in the Central Provinces by 0·7 per cent. In the whole of India Muslims have increased by 13·1 per cent. The figures for Bombay are not yet available.

ORGANIC UNITIES

Had the Muslims been concentrated in two or three provinces; had they formed compact, homogeneous blocks, the solution of the problem would have been comparatively easy. Canada and Ulster supply very good examples of the way in which the racial problem can be, and has been, solved. French Canadians in the Quebec Province joined the Dominion of Canada because they possessed an overwhelming majority in that province, and their predominance in the Quebec Legislature was, therefore, assured. It was easy to separate Ulster from the rest of Ireland because the overwhelming majority of the people were Protestants. Some of the new States of Europe created since the war illustrate this tendency towards organic States. The Constitutions of Latvia, of Esthonia, of Lithuania, have worked smoothly and without friction because the problems there are extremely simple. There are no racial conflicts, no communal wranglings or religious bitterness; the State is founded on the willing and enthusiastic devotion of a people united by the bonds of race, religion, and culture.

In other organic and unitary States like France, England, and Germany the conditions are the same. They are all faced at the present time by economic problems of vast magnitude. These are, however, not intensified by the questions that arise out of differences of race and religion. The entire outlook in these countries is different from that of Austro-Hungary before the war. Anyone who has studied the working of the pre-war Austro-Hungarian Constitution will realize the immense difficulty and enormous complexity which made sound parliamentary government almost impossible. So powerful were the centrifugal forces among the different races and religions that the Government broke down completely during the war, and the Empire was shattered. On the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were founded the modern nation States of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, and Poland. The conflicting claims of nationality and culture found their ultimate solution in separation.

> "The case of Bohemia is typical. Here was a nation in the very centre of Europe which had played a remarkable part in the field of politics, of cultural progress, was crushed ruthlessly out of existence, lay like a corpse two whole centuries, and then arose once more to recover, almost unaided, its lost nationhood. Poland, though at times brutally treated, never sank so low; and even the supreme crime of partition had at least the one advantage that it rendered a system of denationalization impossible, and, by imparting to Polish culture a certain quality of quicksilver, saved it from utter extinction."

The ultimate results, therefore, of the war of races and creeds in Austro-Hungary was the dissolution of the Empire and the creation of organisms in which the various races expressed themselves in the form of nation States.

The case of India is analogous to that of Austria; I may go further, and say that it is much more complex. Indian Muslims have, however, no desire to create an *imperium in imperio*. They do not wish to form a separate independent State of their own; they do not look beyond the frontiers of India for help in an emergency, nor do they wish to create barriers which will prove insuperable obstacles to the unification of India. They wish to safeguard their existence in the new Constitution, and if it is adequately and effectively done they are prepared to work, as they have consistently done in the past, shoulder-to-shoulder with other communities for the political advance of India.

SEPARATE ELECTORATES

The policy of the community is embodied in the resolution of the All-India Muslim Conference held at Delhi under the presidency of His Highness the Aga Khan. That policy has been reiterated from numerous platforms in every part of India. It asks for separate electorates in the Provincial and Central Legislatures. Let me explain. The Muslim community has been given the right of electing its own members to these bodies under the system according to the method in operation at the present time. The electors in general constituencies for the various Legislatures in British India are divided into Muslims and non-Muslims, and seats for the two are fixed. The Muslims regard the retention of this system as an essential safeguard for the protection of their interest. They feel that if separate electorates are abolished they will disappear from the public life of their country, since other communities possess an overwhelming majority in most of the provinces of India. I do not wish to deal with this subject in detail, as it has been discussed threadbare during the last eight years. Let me reproduce here paragraph 16 of the Report of the Minorities Committee of the Round-Table Conference:

> "It has also been made clear that the British Government cannot, with any chance of agreement, impose upon the communities an electoral principle which in some feature or other would be met by their opposition. It was, therefore, plain that, failing an agreement, separate electorates, with all their drawbacks and difficulties, would have to be retained as the basis of the electoral arrangements under the new Constitution."

This statement is definite and precise. It says that unless and until our community gives up this right it must be retained in the future Constitution of India. It is a right which has been solemnly promised to us by a succession of British statesmen, a right which is embodied in the present Government of India Act, and a right which is desired by the Muslims with virtual unanimity. On May 10 this year, in accordance with the programme of the Muslim Conference, Muslims throughout India held meetings, in about two thousand places, in which they unanimously claimed separate electorates. Muslim masses who had hitherto taken little part in political agitation have been roused and have shown extraordinary enthusiasm and keenness. All classes of Muslims have been stirred. In the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bihar, and Bengal the Muslims have taken an active part in organizing volunteers, youth leagues, demonstrations, and meetings. The Muslim youth is pulsating with life and energy, and there is a new spirit in the community, which is a very happy augury for the future of the Muslim community in India. I had an opportunity of witnessing the zeal that has been kindled among the youths of Bengal when I presided at the annual meeting of the Calcutta Muslim Youth League last May. The Muslim youths of our national university, the Muslim University, Aligarh, are exceedingly keen and alert, while the Muslim youths of the Punjab have taken a lead in movements which are likely to have far-reaching effects on the community. Muslims of all ages and classes have responded to the call with a readiness and energy which make one most hopeful of the future of our community in India. This is the clearest and most significant sign of the political rebirth of Indian Muslims.

THE PUNJAB AND BENGAL

Our next demand is for a majority in the Punjab and Bengal. Everyone knows that no amount of weightage can convert the Muslim minority into a majority in most of the provinces; nor can its minority be changed in the centre. Muslims therefore desire to maintain their majority in these two provinces. Unless this is done they will be in a hopeless minority, not only in the centre, but in every part of British India. I do not wish to discuss this question further, as it has formed the subject of a passionate controversy both here and in India. The position of Muslims is perfectly clear. They wish to keep their majority in the only two provinces in which they can exercise it. By majority they do not mean autocracy or dictatorship, but merely a just, equitable, impartial, and moderate exercise of their right in the Legislature.

It seems to me that the new Constitution will stand on a nice equipoise, with steep precipices and deep waters on all sides of it. In removing it from a dangerous leaning on one side there may be a risk of overturning it on the other. The balance of our Constitution must not be disturbed: and it will most certainly be disturbed if our community is deprived, not only of separate electorates, which it regards as an essential means for the preservation of its political existence, but also of its majority in the Punjab and Bengal.

Separate electorates may not exist in their Indian form in Europe, but the same problems, of which it is merely a concrete expression, are reproduced in other countries in Europe, and there the results are practically the same. Though the form of election is not the same, the same object is attained by the system of proportional representation; under this system, though there are no separate electoral rolls for different communities, the minorities of race and religion are elected by the voters of their own race and religion, in proportion to their voting strength. Of course, there is no separate register for different minorities. But the lack of a register for different communities—in other words, the method of separate electorate—is supplied by well-trained and well-led parties, who vote only for candidates for the minorities *bloc*.

MINORITIES IN EUROPE

Minorities of religion and race are represented in every new State of Europe, and they exercise an effective influence on the administration. They enjoy also cultural rights, which have been guaranteed to them by the League of Nations. Take the case of Bosnian and Serbian Muslims. In Jugo-Slavia there were two Muslims in the third Pasic Cabinet which was formed on December 2, 1921, while the solid Muslim *bloc* of thirty-two members in the Jugo-Slavian Parliament obtained most valuable concessions from the Cabinet for the Muslims of Bosnia and Serbia. They included the establishment of separate Turkish schools, with instruction in Turkish as well as Serbian, the creation of a Muslim university, and the employment of Turkish-speaking officials in districts where there is a Muslim majority.

The Muslim *bloc* in the Parliament of Jugo-Slavia is essentially "communal," and is elected by Muslims, through the system of proportional representation. It is not "nationalist" in the sense in which this term is understood by the Indian Congress. The Jugo-Slavian Parliament also includes representatives of other communities and races. They are essentially "communal" in their outlook, programme, policy, and sentiments. For example, besides the Muslim *bloc,* there are Slovene, Clerical, German, Montenegrin, and Serbian parties in that Legislature.

Let me take another example. In the Polish Parliament of 1922 there was a solid *bloc* of *National Minorities* of 65 members out of a Parliament of about 450. There was, besides, a Jewish *bloc* of 17 and a party of Ukranians. The Jewish *bloc* in the Polish Parliament was able to secure valuable rights for its community from the Grabsky Ministry on July 11, 1925. The Jewish no less than the German parties in the Polish Parliament are based on the principles of "communalism." They have been elected to the Parliament of Poland by electors of their own community, through the principle of proportional representation, for the specific purpose of safeguarding the rights of their community. They are most certainly a hindrance to the growth of "nationalism," as understood in India, and nothing would give greater delight to the hearts of Poles and Jugo-Slavians than the prohibition of such "communal" organizations. Yet they, as members of the majority community, have never proposed this, as they are conscious of the fact that such a proposal would plunge the whole country into anarchy and civil war.

OTHER EXAMPLES

It is, moreover, curious that these "communalists" are not regarded as "anti-nationalists" or "reactionaries" in Jugo-Slavia and other countries. Take the Esthonian Parliament of 1919. Besides the Esthonians proper, there was a German party and a Russian party in the Parliament of that country. If the principles of certain parties in India are consistently and logically applied, all these minority *blocs* ought to disappear. They are there because they have been elected to safeguard their communities, through the principle of proportional representation, which, in actual working, has precisely the same effect as separate electorate. In the Lithuanian Parliament of April, 1927, the minority *bloc* of 10 representatives, comprising 6 Jews, 3 Poles, and 1 German, completed the body; while the Jewish Council was asked to recommend a Jewish Minister for the Lithuanian Cabinet. The Jewish Minister for the Protection of Jewish Interests, as well as the Jewish party in the Lithuanian Parliament, safeguarded the rights and privileges of Lithuanian Jews. The party came into power through the system of proportional representation. It was, and is, saturated with "communalism," and if we apply the tests of Indian Nationalists, it must be deemed to be "reactionary, narrow, and bigoted." Yet it is there, because the Jews wish to preserve their religion and political existence. In Czechoslovakia the German minority of 30 per cent. of the population is effectively represented in the Parliament as well as in the Cabinet.

In the provinces of the Union of South Africa the Executive Committees, or Cabinets, are elected by proportional representation from among the members of the Legislature. This section (78) was expressly designed with a view to the representation of both races—the Dutch as well as the English—in the provincial Cabinets.

The *Centre Party* in Germany, which has been merged in the *German People's Party,* is the party of German Catholics. It exercises profound influence on German politics of today. It contributed substantially to discussions on the new German Constitution, and its leaders have played a prominent part in the German Cabinet. It is there because it is "communal," and because a portion of Germany is determined to keep it alive. It serves a genuine need. In Belgium, the Clerical Party has formed several Governments, and is powerful and strong. I am not supporting the principles of these parties. I am merely stating the fact that such parties exist, and they will continue to exist as long as differences of religion and race are real. They cannot be annihilated by any formula, theory, or dogma. "Communalism" in the Legislature can be ended only when the communities are assured of fair and equitable treatment. If the communities exist—and no sane person will doubt this for a moment—then they must be represented in the Legislature.

Had India been a homogeneous country, had it been distinguished by the unity of cultural, economic, and political interests which characterize England, France, or Germany, the representation of communities in the Legislatures would never have been demanded. But it is not an organic State, and it will never be, so long as advocates of compulsory denationalization continue their propaganda for an artificial unity. The nations of Eastern Europe I have mentioned found this out after a long period of internecine and fratricidal strife, and they devised a method whereby not only their cultural rights, but also their right to representation in the Legislature could be preserved. India must be compared with these countries, and cheap and convenient generalizations from the exceptional case of England, France, and Germany, where there is unity of religion, race, and culture, should be avoided.

FEDERATION

The other point to which the Muslims attach great importance is the need of a genuine Federation. The Federal Government of India should vest its constituent units with powers which do not fall short of those exercised by the States of America. The States should be free from the interference of the Central Government, and should enjoy an amount of autonomy which does not fall short of that exercised by the Cantons of Switzerland or the States of America.

I do not wish to commit myself at this stage as to the exact form which Federation of Indian Princes with British India should take. While I would welcome the entry of the Princes into the Federation, how the Federation would work I cannot say until I see the complete picture. I cannot concur in any provision whereby the States are to be given 40 per cent. representation in the Upper House. Had the States been different in religion, culture, race, and traditions; had they really been exposed to any danger on account of their entry into the Federation, they would most certainly have been entitled to weightage. But they will gain all along the line if they join the Federation. While their sovereignty will remain intact, and their rights will be scrupulously respected, they will join the Federal Cabinet and the Federal Legislatures. They lose nothing, and gain everything.

CULTURAL SAFEGUARDS

I do not wish to deal exhaustively with the question of fundamental rights for minorities in India. The Minorities, Franchise, Provincial Constitution, and Services Sub-Committee of the Round-Table Conference agreed last winter to safeguards for Muslims and other minorities for the protection of their culture, education, representation in public services, and franchise.

It is most essential that rules should be framed in accordance with these principles with a view to satisfying the Muslims in minority provinces. Take, for instance, the question of language. The Muslims of Behar have been trying to get the Urdu language recognized as a court language, though many members of the majority community have offered determined opposition to their reasonable demands. Now that the safeguard relating to language has been accepted by the Conference, the Government should frame rules for the satisfaction of minorities.

Take education. This is included in the safeguard relating to culture. Muslims of Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces, United Provinces, and Assam must be told the manner and method whereby their position in the primary, secondary, and university education in these provinces is to be safeguarded according to the recommendation of the Conference. Muslims of all these provinces, as well as of Bengal, have very serious complaints regarding the administration of education. A cursory glance at the report of the Hartog Committee will convince anyone how just is our complaint. The best way to deal with these problems is to carry out the most important recommendations of the Hartog Committee relating to the education of Muslims. Unfortunately the report of the Committee was shelved, and nobody mentioned it at any meeting of any committee of the Conference. Are the recommendations of the Conference relating to safeguards for minorities intended to be worked? If so, then the matter must not be left to the sweet will and fancy of the new Provincial Governments.

FUNDAMENTAL SANCTION

Unless there is effective, potent, and irresistible sanction behind them they will not be worth the paper they are written on. For the most important point for minorities is that they are *fundamental*. They cannot be altered, repealed, modified, or touched by any Legislature or any other body in India, and any law, resolution, or action of any institution in India that violates these safeguards can be declared void by the courts in India. The Supreme Court, which is going to be established, must be the ultimate authority for adjudicating on the constitutionality of such laws.

Let me refer to another safeguard. The Services Committee of the Round-Table Conference has recommended "a fair and adequate representation to the various minorities, consistently with consideration of efficiency, and the possession of minimum qualifications." This extremely important principle will tend to remove communal bitterness and rivalry throughout the country. The same principle should be applied to the question of representation of Muslims in the Provincial and Federal Cabinets. An adequate proportion must be guaranteed to the community. As I said at a meeting of the Federal Structure Committee, an appropriate machinery should be devised for their enforcement, and embodied in the Constitution. Otherwise the fundamental safeguards will remain merely vague and ethereal platitudes.

COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

I am doubtful whether it is possible for the Governor-General to follow in India rigidly the theory of collective responsibility of the Cabinet as it is practised and professed in the Colonies and in England. The experience of the provinces has shown that the system cannot be worked successfully in the Centre in the present circumstances. Madras is no doubt an exception, but if we analyze the situation closely we shall find that it was due to special circumstances, such as the unique statesmanship and vision of Lord Willingdon, and the organizing ability and enterprise of the Rajah of Panagal. Other provinces are certainly much more united by community of interest and tradition. Yet, in spite of this, they have not been able to practise the theory of collective responsibility of Ministers. We have not yet been able to develop an "All-India mentality" in the discussion of many of the problems with which we are faced, and the persons who will go to the Federal Assembly will be so different in their outlook, interest, and tradition, that it will be difficult to select a person as the Prime Minister in whom the majority of the Legislature will have confidence. There might be groups of almost equal strength in the Federal Legislature, and if the Governor-General is not empowered to select leaders of such groups for the Cabinet, also in exceptional circumstances, he might find it difficult to form a stable Ministry. There is bound to be a deadlock in that case, and political crises will be frequent, with disastrous results to the country.

OTHER MINORITIES

I am very desirous of safeguarding the rights which are now enjoyed by the European community in India, and I am equally keen on protecting the rights of the Princes as well as other minorities. I hold that the Indian Constitution must be broad-based on the principle of toleration. It is our duty to cultivate this habit, and to spare no efforts for carrying this principle into the minutest details of our political life. To me, not only is it a conviction, but also an inspiration.

India's geographical extent, her variety of castes, creeds, and colours, her conflicting and antagonistic races and peoples, necessitate scrupulous and meticulous regard for the religious observances, political rights, and economic requirements of her people. Our aim ought to be to see that the relations of different communities are so adjusted that each has free scope for the realization of its individuality. What has been said of the Dominion of Canada may be applied to the new Dominion of India. The true, and the final, solution of our difficulties is to be found neither in isolation nor in complete union, but rather in both union and separation; union in the great affairs which touch trade, tariffs, public services, defence, etc., separation in respect of those things in which the various races have differing ideals, such as religion, education, and culture. Those who wish to establish a steam-roller government, which will crush the liberties and abridge the rights of provinces, princes, minorities, and other interests, are heading for disaster. For India will never tolerate it.

Only that Government has succeeded in India which has carried out the principles of toleration in every sphere of life. The Moghul Government, no less than some Hindu Governments, succeeded because they acted on this principle. Toleration postulates not merely toleration of religious difference, but also toleration of political, cultural, and economic rights of different communities in India. While we must insist on the performance of duties of citizenship by every person, be he a Hindu or a Muslim, we must equally insist on the State paying scrupulous attention to those fundamental rights which override the strongest claims of the strongest government in the world—the right to our religion, culture, and political existence as a community in India.

Any attempt by any party, class, or community to compel the Muslims to forgo these rights, and to reduce this vast continent to mechanical uniformity, will be resisted by us with the strength at our command. We believe in the principle, "Live, and let live." This should be the guiding principle of New India, and it is only by honouring this principle, and applying it to our daily life, that India can become truly great.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1., on Tuesday, October 6, 1931, at which a paper was read by Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan on "Muslims in the New India."

The Right Hon. Lord LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

H.H. the Maharaja of Rewa, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., and Lady Barrow, Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., and Lady Barnes, Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Prabhashankar D. Pattani, K.C.I.E., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Manubhai Mehta, K.C.S.I., Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Amberson Marten, the Viscountess Sumner, Lady Ross, Lady Eckstein, Lady Strong, Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. F. Pratt, C.S.I., Colonel R. A. Needham, C.I.E., D.S.O., Mr. A. Latifi, O.B.E., and Mrs. Latifi, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Dr. M. B. Cameron, C.I.E., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, K.-I-H., Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Mr. D. Ross Johnson, C.M.G., Bishop Eyre Chatterton, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayet Hussain, Mr. Stanley Rice, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Khan Sahib M. V. Kothawala and Mrs. Kothawala, Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, Mrs. and Miss Kibe, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mrs. Weir, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Miss Curteis, Miss Eardley Wilmot, Miss Headley, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mrs. Nolan, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. Altaf Hussain, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. H. D. Warden, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. J. K. Das Gupta, Mrs. Richey, Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, Colonel F. Terry, Mr. Beck, Miss L. Sorabji, Dr. Abdul Majid, Mr. and Mrs. G. T. Garratt, Mr. J. A. Hussain, Mrs. Dreschfield, Mrs. Barns, Mrs. H. G. W. Herron, Mr. N. M. Buch, Mrs. Hartnoll, Mrs. Walter, Lieut.-Colonel M. L. Ferrar, Mr. H. A. Rizvi, Mr. Godfrey Davis, I.C.S., Mr. Mahmudullah, Miss Speechley, Miss Halton, Mr. F. T. de Monte, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I regret to have to announce that, owing to a summons from Mr. Baldwin this afternoon to an emergency meeting of Conservative leaders respecting the General Election, Mr. Amery is unable to be present to take the chair, and I have to deputize for him.

I will now call upon Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan to be good enough to read his paper on "Muslims in the New India." He is a member of the Round-Table Conference and also Secretary to the Muslim Delegation. He has had a distinguished career both in letters and in politics. He took first-class honours in history in the University of London and is a Doctor of

Literature of Dublin. For the past ten years he has been Professor of Modern Indian History at the University of Allahabad. He has taken a prominent part in political discussions as a leading figure among the Muslims of the United Provinces, and served upon the Provincial Legislature. He is the author of a number of valuable research publications in relation to the history of India from the seventeenth century. I am sure his paper will command your attention and also be very informing as to the feelings and aspirations of the Muslim community in India.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will feel that we have listened to a perfectly constructed address on certain aspects of the tremendous problem of the future government and administration of India. As the lecturer has said in one of his concluding passages, the final solution is to be found neither in isolation nor in complete union. It is now proposed to try and establish a unified government for the whole of India—that is to say, for a population of nearly 350 millions—a structure of administration such as has never been formed in the history of the world, and, therefore, those who are engaged on this tremendous task are really confronted with very difficult problems. It is very clear from the lecture that the only possible solution is the establishment of provincial governments. How large those governments should be it is not for me to say; that must be left to those who are now considering the question. One passage in the lecture does rather alarm me; it appears to rather mistrust the Provincial Governments as regards carrying out safeguards for minorities. The lecturer says the matter must not be left to the sweet will and fancy of the Provincial Governments. It seems to me that that adds very much indeed to the complication of the matter. The Central Government would then be responsible for safeguarding the interests of minorities. I do think it adds to the problem if you are not going to trust primarily the Provincial Governments.

The lecturer insists, and quite properly, on the protection of the minorities. It seems to me that communal representation is the only safeguard for the minorities; at any rate, I have never heard of any other. The lecturer very carefully illustrated this contention by other countries in Europe, such as Poland, Germany, and Czecho-Slovakia, and he also illustrated how the great Austro-Hungarian Empire broke up owing to its being a combination of so many different elements, and, not having communal representation, the different communities had no direct control of their own affairs, and hence the Austrian Empire was disrupted. If there was that difficulty in the case of the Austro-Hungarian Empire with a population of 60 or 70 millions, it shows how essential it is in the case of the vast Indian Empire to have the separate communities properly represented and bearing their own share of responsibility. That is the real point that has come out in the course of this very interesting lecture, which suggests methods of safeguard which seem to me to provide for solution of this tremendous problem. (Applause.)

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI said he was much interested by the very able lecture which had been given by Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan. He personally was unable to carry all the details of the matter in his mind, but, although he had been unable to devote much time to study, he knew what the

Muslims wanted. He had ascertained the views of people in this country—from royalty and members of the House of Lords down to men in the street. He was convinced that the British people were tired of fighting and wrangling and wanted peace, and he was working at the present time to that end. If they could obtain an honourable peace he would be very much happier. He wished when he returned to India to be able to tell his people that the English had dealt with them fairly and squarely. He was very grateful to the Indian Princes, who were patriotic and had done their duty by India. Along with the Muslims, they were going to play a big part in the India of the future. (Applause.)

Colonel Sir UMAR HAYAT KHAN said that in the main he agreed with Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan so far as the lecture went. No civilian could be a politician unless he knew how to save his country from being taken over by other hostile nations. He, personally, had served in the Army, so that perhaps he saw things in a different light. The lecturer emphasized the necessity of separate electorates, but did not give reasons for it. The main reason was that in the Punjab, for instance, most of the Muslims were agriculturists, while most of the moneylenders were Hindus; there were very few Muslims who were not heavily in debt, and if they had no separate electorates the agriculturists would be under the thumbs of the moneylenders, owing to the present laws of the country. Muslims were in the minority in India, and they could not protect themselves without the help of England. They wished to have a Constitution of such a nature that they would remain in the British Empire. They were members of the biggest Empire that the world had ever seen, and they wanted to maintain the link. He sometimes felt that it was only the English people themselves who did not want to keep their Empire. They had given up Egypt and Mesopotamia into the hands of the inhabitants of those countries. The Muslims wished to remain in the British Empire, but if they were not wanted they would have to go to somebody else. He trusted that the British Empire would remain as it was today.

Sir PHILIP HARTOG said he wished to mention a few facts with regard to education. In Bengal, where 54 per cent. of the population was Muslim, there was only about 14 per cent. of the University population which was Muslim in 1927. There was no doubt that for the future of the Muslims there was no question which was more important than that of education. There was one statement by the lecturer which he thought should be put in a rather different light. He had suggested that the recommendations of the Report of the Committee over which he (the speaker) had presided, the Education Committee of the Simon Commission, had been shelved. This was not quite a fair statement. He confessed that the Committee had gone beyond their book. They had been asked only to write a review of education; but they had, in fact, proposed remedies for some of the defects which they had pointed out, and, *inter alia,* they had made suggestions for the removal of obstacles to Muslim education. They had suggested that the Provincial Governments should take steps to safeguard the position of Muslims. The British Government from early times had taken a position of religious neutrality. This had been put very strongly in Sir Charles

Wood's despatch of 1854. But in 1920 the Government of India informed Provincial Governments that the embargo on the introduction of religious instruction in publicly managed schools might be removed. Now the vast majority of Muslims would prefer to send their children to schools where there was practically no education other than religious education rather than send them to a first-rate school where there was no Koran. The consequence had been that there was a vast multiplicity of segregate schools for Muslims, especially in the United Provinces and Bengal, where the children were nominally being taught, but were being taught very ineffectively. Unless they could make provision for religious education in the primary schools, in his opinion the problem would never be solved in Bengal; but this did not mean that everywhere it was necessary to introduce reservations or religious education in the primary schools. In the Punjab the number of Muslim children in the schools had been increased between 1917 and 1927 by between three and four hundred thousand simply by an equitable distribution of the schools. He did not think it would be easy to lay down safeguards in the Constitution as suggested by Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, and he personally did not see how it was going to be done. He thought it was right to put before all the Provincial Governments, who now had education under their care, the necessity for making proper provision for Muslims, because the whole future of the Muslims depended upon provision being made for their education.* (Applause.)

Mr. A. Yusuf Ali thought the paper would serve three very useful purposes. In the first place, it would put before Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan's colleagues at the Round-Table Conference the fact that the picture which the lecturer had sketched of the Muslim position was backed by the Muslims of India. Secondly, he thought it would serve a very useful purpose in placing before the British people what the Muslims wanted; it would show that they were not crying for the moon, as one paper put it. He thought the lecturer had made quite clear that at least the Muslims of the school which he represented, which was the overwhelmingly predominant school of Muslims, wished to stand by their country and work sincerely, with proper safeguards, for the progress and development of their Motherland. The third point was that the effect of the paper in India would be to reassure the Muslims that their representatives in England were not pursuing fantastic vagaries, but were sticking to the problem which they started from their country to solve. He had recently come to England from India, where he had been studying the question from the Indian point of view. He had found that there was a great deal of suspicion, a great deal of communal bitterness, and a great deal of questioning whether the Round-Table Conference would do any good for the Muslim community or for the country. He thought it would hearten the Indian people to know that their representatives in England were working, not only for the communal interests which were subordinate to those of the country, but also for the progress of the country at large. He was very pleased to hear Sir Philip

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* I should like to add here that I do not think there can be any real peace between the two great communities until the educational level of the Muslims is brought up to that of the Hindus.—P. J. H.

Hartog insist upon education as being one of the most important points in the Muslim position. He heartily supported what Sir Philip had said as to the importance of getting Muslims to take the right sort of education. Unfortunately, he knew it too well that Muslim education, communal education, Indian education, was far from being on the right lines. They knew perfectly well that as soon as they tried to remedy one defect they fell into another. They had tried to remedy the defect of a Godless education by introducing religious education, but they had not yet succeeded in making the religious education that element in the building of character that they desired. The denominational colleges and schools had not merely a separatist tendency, but they failed to be factors in the process of making a new India. Education should include religion, science, art, and all the great elements of citizenship, which would turn students' minds to the future rather than to the past, and would enable them to stand shoulder to shoulder with their countrymen and with the rest of the world. In spite of the feeling of despair and restlessness that was passing over India, which he was sorry to see in England also, there was one ray of hope, that people were beginning to realize that working merely from one corner and fixing their gaze on what they saw in that corner would not even enlighten that corner itself. The various communities in India would have to co-operate with one another, together with those in authority in England, and they would have to realize that no system of government and no political Constitution that might be built up would ever work successfully unless they cultivated a feeling of harmony, a spirit of catholic understanding, and a desire to work together in co-operation for the common good and to subserve the larger interests which were included nowadays in citizenship. (Applause.)

Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, speaking as a member of the Round-Table Conference, said he hoped they would not expect him to commit himself to any of the principles of the Constitution coming up for decision before the Conference. He wished them to discard from their minds the notion that, because a Muslim was a member of a minority community in India, therefore he suspected every Hindu to be his enemy. It was not true to say that every Muslim suspected every Hindu. He wished it, further, to be clearly understood that Muslims did not put forward their claims in any separatist spirit; they did so because they considered them essential for their safety and their participation in the future Government. When the remarks of Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan were examined in their true perspective it would be found that they were meant to give the great bulk of the Muslim community in India confidence in the vast majority of Hindus, because the Muslims would then feel that all their interests and their status in the country were safe. They must look at the matter from a broad national standpoint. The mentality of the vast majority of Hindus is a factor not to be ignored. He hoped that such safeguards would be embodied in the Constitution as would make the recurrence of riots like Cawnpore, the city from which he hailed, impossible. The Muslims in their demands have shown a most reassuring and reasonable spirit, and it would be folly to ignore the united demands of the Muslims of India.

Sardar M. V. KIBE said that, as he had been called upon to speak unexpectedly, he had had no time to consider all the very valuable points which the learned lecturer had raised in his address that evening. He would therefore confine himself to one or two of them. He had heard with the greatest pleasure the statement made by the lecturer that the Muslims in India did not regard themselves as outsiders, but looked upon India as their own country. He found a little difficulty in following this statement, for the reason that the Muslims had their eyes on their sacred places which were outside India, and unless they changed their outlook, from the point of view that they should regard their sacred places in India as their real places of pilgrimage, in his opinion they would not be fully one of the communities of India, as they ought to be. There was the example of the Emperor Babar, who, when he found that he could not make the annual pilgrimage to a sacred place outside India, contented himself by doing homage to an imitation in India. In his opinion, therefore, further education was necessary, because the Muslims were very backward in that respect, and their outlook was narrowed by the religious teaching which was imparted to them from the very beginning of their career. The Muslims had their own system of imparting religious education in their separate schools, to which children of very tender age were sent. Thus they imbibed bigotry from a very early stage in their lives. The learned lecturer had said that the Indian States, being of the same religion, race, and subject to the same economic influences as with the rest of India, need not have any weightage in the Federal Legislatures. Practically all those remarks applied to the Muslims in India, yet the learned lecturer claimed weightage for them. There were several reasons why the Indian States should have adequate representation in the Legislatures. He could refer to one only as an illustration—namely, the dynastic claims of the Indian Princes. There were States in India where the ruling dynasty was of a different religion to the majority of the subjects. Thus, in order to safeguard the dynastic claims of the Indian Princes, not to refer to their other rights, they ought to have sufficient representation according to their needs.

Dr. ABDUL MAJID said he could not understand why the claims of the Muslim community had been the subject of so much discussion, because, if they examined the constitution of the Muslim system of life, they would find that it was the only system in the whole of India which was based upon democracy, which was to the advantage of the British people. He thought it would be to the advantage of the whole of India that the claims of the Muhammadans should be considered.

Sir PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI said that, having had over forty years' service in India and in Indian States, he could claim to have some knowledge of the state of affairs prevailing there. He sympathized with the Muhammadans and other minorities, for he believed that no scheme of self-government would work smoothly and satisfactorily unless the minorities had the assurance that their interests were secure; if not for anything else than for the purpose of eradicating the false fear from their minds that demands of the minorities should receive a sympathetic consideration. He added at the same time that, while the safeguards were necessary, they must

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be of the nature which the lecturer had stated as regards religion, culture, education and their personal laws, but that as regards their civic and political life they must sink their communal bias and consider themselves as National Indians. The Hindus had always been a most tolerant party. They opened their doors in the past to all the foreigners that landed in India—the Parsees from Persia, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the French, and, finally, the English. If they had any communal prejudice it would not have been possible for any foreign nationals to enter India. The Muhammadans themselves did not think in terms of communalism in the old days. They had nearly 800 years of rule over that country, and yet the majority in India today are Hindus. It is only recently that the sentiment of communalism has unfortunately sprung up, but now that the communal fear was there, there is no doubt about it that it will have to be assuaged. It had been suggested by the lecturer and by the friends who supported him that they wanted peace. When much stress was placed on peace Sir Prabhashankar said it reminded him of a very interesting experience he had in Geneva in 1923. The great Assembly of the League of Nations drew the best statesmen from all over the world, who met together to discuss international problems concerning the peace of the world. Every member while at Geneva was an international personage; but he saw that, no matter how great a thinker a man might be, at Geneva, once he rose to speak, his first statement was: "So long as the interests of my country are preserved I am for the peace of the world." Now, if everybody wanted to preserve the interests of his country first, where was the peace to come from? It was the sacrifice that every country was prepared to make for the whole of humanity which would bring peace. The Muhammadans, no less than the Hindus and others in India, would have to make mutual reasonable accommodations if a peaceful and smooth working system of self-government was to be established in that ancient land.

Sir HENRY LAWRENCE said that the lecturer had stated that there was complete unanimity among the Muslims in regard to their demands for separate electorates. He had seen statements that the National Muslims formed the majority of the Muslims in India and that they did not ask for separate electorates. Could the lecturer explain how this divergence of statements arose? Was there not some means of proving which was the accurate view of the case? Further, the Congress newspapers, and the Labour Press in this country relying on the Congress, maintained that the younger generation of Muslims were ready to discard separate electorates. What foundation is there for these statements?

The LECTURER, in replying to the discussion, said that several points had been raised by the various speakers; he did not propose to go through all of them, but he would deal first with the question raised by Sir Henry Lawrence. So far as the division of the Muslims into what were called "communalists" and "nationalists" was concerned, he was sure it would disappear in a very short time. An arrangement had been made whereby the Muslim community would be allowed to decide the question by plebiscite. The plebiscite would be taken in connection with elections to legislative bodies. If any Muslims of any province wished to abolish separate electorates, they could do so by voting for it at election. It would be found that an overwhelming majority—practically the whole of the Muslims—desired to retain the separate electorates. From his experience in the United Provinces and in Bengal he was in a position to say that the Muslim community was solidly in favour of separate electorates. Other provinces were also strongly in its favour. He was certain that, when the point was submitted to the Muslim electorate for its decision, its verdict would be recorded in an unmistakable manner and separate electorates would be retained. It was true that a party had arisen which was called the Nationalist Muslim Party, but, although that party existed, at least 95 per cent. of the Muslims still belonged to the school to which he personally had the honour to belong. The real test of the extent of their following could only be discovered by taking a referendum, and they were prepared to take a referendum on the point. If this were done he thought all the difficulties would disappear.

With regard to the point raised by Sir Prabhashankar Pattani as to the Indian States, he wished to make his position perfectly clear. He regarded all the treaties made with the States as sacred, and he did not want the Federal Government or the Paramount Power to violate any treaties which had been signed by the Crown in the past; but it was quite a different matter when the Princes, not being content with their treaty rights, went further and said that they ought to have 50 per cent. of the representation in the Federal Legislature while their proper proportion was only about 29 per cent. It seemed to him inequitable that the Native States, with 29 per cent. of the total population, should monopolize 50 per cent. of the Indian Legislature. It was impossible to compare America with the Indian States of India; neither could they be compared with Australia. This was not merely his personal view; it was supported by the entire Muslim Delegation. The States would lose nothing by coming into the Federation. No raids would be made on their gold, silver, broad acres, or jewels, and they would remain absolutely assured that, so far as their internal and domestic policy was concerned, they would remain as independent and powerful as they were at the present time. From this point of view he submitted that the States gained all along the line, and if the States were represented on a population basis they would not be deprived of any of the rights which they at present enjoyed. If weightage were conceded to the States, why should not other units of the Federation, such as United Provinces or the Punjab, be granted that right? So far as Muslims were concerned, they did not believe in extra-territorial patriotism at all; they did not look beyond the frontiers of India for help in emergencies; they were children of the common Motherland. He hoped his hearers would not carry away from the meeting the idea that the Muslims were trying to build up a Muslim State in India. The Muslims were as truly children of India as any other community, and they were inspired by precisely the same ideals as inspired the other communities of India.

Sir Daniel Keymer proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the chairman and the lecturer, which was carried by acclamation.

The Chairman having thanked the meeting on behalf of the lecturer and himself, the proceedings closed.

ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE RECEPTION

The President and Council of the East India Association held a Reception on the afternoon of October 31, 1931, at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, W., to meet the Hyderabad Delegation and other members of the Round-Table Conference. The guests, some 300 in number, were received by Lord and Lady Lamington and Sir Louis and Lady Dane. After refreshments had been served brief speeches were made by Lord Lamington and Sir Akbar Hydari, and were frequently applauded.

Lord Lamington said: We are met here this afternoon to do honour to those of our friends from India who have come to this country to participate in the labours of the Round-Table Conference. It is remarkable that whilst this country for the last few weeks has been going through the throes of an unprecedented and disturbing character the proceedings of the Round-Table Conference have been conducted, so far as an outsider can judge, with unruffled composure and regularity. This speaks well for the spirit that animates all parties, all creeds, all races. The unified structure of Indian Government which has for so long administered the affairs of 300 millions of people in enlightened and beneficent fashion is to be changed into a different form of unified government. All those who are engaged in elaborating this new system should be proud of taking part in this stupendous and difficult task.

We of the East Indian Association, for our part, are proud of entertaining them this afternoon, and pray that success may attend their labours. It is, I think, fortunate for all of us that the delegates from Britain and from British India have been able to count upon the valuable assistance of representatives from the Indian States. In the past we in this country have been inclined, perhaps, to take the Indian States a little for granted, and to speak, and indeed sometimes to act, as though Britain and British India were the only two entities concerned in the solution of India's problems. If this were indeed our attitude, we have now corrected it; and I can assure those who represent the Indian States that the people of Britain fully realize the great importance of that part of India which is not under British rule.

We have among us here to-day the representatives of many Indian States, both great and small, and I welcome with particular pleasure the delegation from Hyderabad. Its leader, Sir Akbar Hydari, is an old and valued friend of the East India Association. His career and his achievements are so well known to you all that I need not enumerate them, but I should like to say that his record of public service typifies that co-operation between British

India and the Indian States upon which the future of India so largely depends. After an honoured career in British India, he entered the service of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, where he found a field worthy of his talents. Those of us who have studied the development of modern Hyderabad will join with me, I know, in whole-hearted approbation of the sound finance, the skilful administration, the enlightened progress, which has characterized Sir Akbar Hydari's work. In asking him to address us for a few moments, I am sure I shall be voicing the desire, not only of the Council and members of the East India Association, but also of his colleagues on the Round-Table Conference, who have had the opportunity, during these strenuous weeks, of appreciating his grasp of present problems and of admiring his constructive contributions to that edifice which we all of us, whether we belong to Britain, British India, or to the Indian States, are endeavouring to erect for the good of India and for the prosperity of the Empire to which we are proud to belong.

Sir AKBAR HYDARI, who was cordially received, said: It is my privilege to-day to return thanks to you, Mr. Chairman, and the Council and members of the East India Association, for the honour which you have done to your many guests from India and to the Hyderabad Delegation by this Reception. The East India Association is now one of several bodies which concern themselves with Indian affairs and which seek to maintain that constant intellectual contact between Great Britain and India which is so necessary to the maintenance of cordial relations between the two countries. The East India Association can, however, I think, claim to have been the first in the field. I still remember with what interest I, as a college student, used to watch for the appearance of each successive issue of the Association's Journal in its pink paper cover. They used to contain papers by such men as Dadabhoy Naoroji and Navrosji Fardoonji, and I think that the Association would not be overstating its case if it claimed that, by throwing open its Journal to these makers of modern India, it gave them their first platform for the expression of their views, and that it was the first to bring their views to the notice of that small, but important, part of the public in England which was interested, in those early days, in Indian affairs.

Believing as I do, sir, in the continuity of history, I cannot help feeling that the discussions in which the representatives from India and Indian States are now engaged at the Palace of St. James derive their being from the labours of these pioneers of our youth. It is, therefore, only in the fitness of things that the Association, which did so much to obtain an audience for these men, should show its sympathy with the work of their successors and followers by offering us its kindly hospitality. It typifies the sympathy and good-will with which the British people, ever ready to help struggling peoples to find their feet, have watched our endeavours to build up for the India of the future. In these endeavours I hope that my colleagues from British India will agree with me that Hyderabad and the Indian States generally have materially assisted, and that we have done our best on every occasion to co-operate with our colleagues from British India in assisting the progress towards our common goal.

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We of the Indian States are proud of the ties which link our rulers to the King-Emperor; we are proud of the friendship, cemented through many past trials, which binds us to Britain. For instance, their great resources have ever been ready at the call of Britain; and whether in the more spectacular effort of the World War, or in the quiet, steady, deliberate co-operation of the post-war years, we can legitimately claim that both in the political and in the financial spheres we have never failed in the obligations of faithful alliance. May we, of the Indian States, in return ask that the people of Britain will reciprocate our sentiments? That they will realize, perhaps a little more vividly than is the case to-day, not only the warmth of the friendship of the States, but also the power and the resources that make of that friendship a real Imperial asset? It is through the work of such societies as the East India Association that you in Britain and we in Hyderabad and in the other Indian States can come to know each other better, and to value more justly the ties which bind us together. Hence it is that this function to-day has given us all such particular pleasure, for we feel that it indicates the growth of a reasoned appreciation of the importance of the Indian States.

May I in conclusion express my personal appreciation of the services which the Association is rendering under the energetic influence of your Secretary, my old friend Mr. F. H. Brown, in promoting understanding and good-will between the people of Britain and the people of India? And also of remarks you have so kindly made and the chairmanship of a great friend of India who did such good service as Governor of Bombay.

Lord Lamington, in briefly acknowledging these references, spoke of the good work of the present Honorary Secretary and of his two immediate predecessors, Mr. Stanley Rice and the late Dr. John Pollen.

The list of some of those accepting invitations, given in *The Times*, was as follows:

H.H. the Chief Saheb of Sangli, their Highness the Aga Khan and Begum Aga Khan, Princess Sophia Dhuleep Singh, the Rajah of Bobbili, the Maharajah of Darbhanga, the Marquess and Marchioness of Reading, Field-Marshal Viscount and Viscountess Allenby, Lord and Lady Headley, Lord Snell, the Lady Pentland and the Hon. Margaret Sinclair, Sir Akbar and Lady Hydari, Sir Leonard and Lady Adami, Sir Alexander and Lady Anderson, Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Sir George and Lady Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. Waris Ameer Ali, Sahebzada Abdussamad Khan, General Sir Edmund and Lady Barrow, Sir Harcourt Butler, General Sir George and Lady Barrow, Sir William Barton, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, Sir Richard Burn, Sir Hugh and Lady Barnes, Sir Philip and Lady Buckland, Sir Albion Banerji, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Buckland, Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. Benthall, Mr. F. H. Brown, the Nawab of Chhatari, Sir Atul and Lady Chatterjee, Sir Reginald and Lady Craddock, Sir Elliot and Lady Colvin, Sir Peter and Lady Clutterbuck, Sir David and Lady Chadwick, Lady Carmichael, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Robert and Lady Carlyle, Sir Edward and Lady Chamier, Sir Herbert and Lady Cuming.

Sirdar Jarmani Dass, Dr. S. K. Datta, Major and Mrs. Dane, Sir Thomas

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and Lady Carey-Evans, Lady Eckstein, Sir Patrick Fagan, Sir George and Lady Forbes, Moulvi Farzand Ali, Sir Padamji and Lady Ginwala, Sir Edward and Lady Gait, Sir George and Lady Godfrey, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney, Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi, Mr. and Mrs. Alan Green, Sir Robert and Lady Hamilton, Sir Robert and Lady Holland, Sir Philip and Lady Hartog, Sir Clement and Lady Hindley, Colonel K. N. Haksar, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. W. G. Hamilton, Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hossain, Mr. and Mrs. M. S. A. Hydari, Mr. Jinnah and Miss Jinnah, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Major-General Sir Wyndham and Lady Knight, Sir Daniel and Lady Keymer, Rao Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachari, Pandit Ramachandra Kak, Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe and Mrs. and Miss Kibe, Khanzada F. M. and Begum Yousuf Khan, Sir Henry and Lady Lawrence, Nawab Liaqat Hyat Khan, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Lewis, Sir Amberson Marten, Sir Manubhai Mehta, Sir Provash Chandra Mitter, Sir Reginald and Lady Mant, Sir John and Lady Maynard, Sir Edward and Lady Maclagan, Sir Hugh and Lady Macpherson, Sir James and Lady MacKenna, Sir John and Lady Miller, Nawab and Begum Mahdi Yar Jung, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. N. Madhava Rao, Raja Narendra Nath, Mr. Neogy, Sir Michael and Lady O'Dwyer, Sir Ralph and Lady Oakden, Sir Prabhashankar Pattani.

Lady Procter, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. and Mrs. Marmaduke Pickthall, Colonel and Mrs. Stewart Patterson, Sir Abdul and Lady Quadir, Sir Stanley and Lady Reed, Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Mr. R. K. Ranadive, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Rice, Mr. and Mrs. Rama Rao, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Sir Henry Strakosch, Sir Thomas and Lady Strangman, Sir Findlater Stewart, Lady Scott-Moncrieff, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Sir Muhammad and Lady Shafi, Begum Shah Nawaz, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. A. L. Saunders, Mr. and Mrs. A. Sabonadière, Mr. R. J. Stopford, Mrs. Subbarayan, Sir James Simpson, Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Sardar Sampuran Singh, Rao Bahadur R. Sriniyasan, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. S. B. També, Sardar and Sardarni Ujjal Singh, Sir Montagu Webb, Sir Henry and Lady Wheeler, Sir James and Lady Walker, Sir Edgar and Lady Wood, Sir Walter and Lady Willson, Mr. and Mrs. Wardlaw Milne, Mr. Alexander H. Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. Rushbrook Williams, Mr. M. E. Watts, Sir Francis and Lady Younghusband, and Mr. and Mrs. A. Yusuf Ali.

THE JUSTICE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

BY RAO BAHADUR SIR A. P. PATRO

(Late Minister Madras Government and leader of the Justice Party)

IN a necessarily short paper I can do no more than to introduce my subject and trace the forces, social and political, which led to the inauguration of the "Justice" movement.

It is essentially a people's movement. The "time-spirit" had been working in the midst of Indian society long before the great European War—social reformers were earnestly spreading the message of freedom from caste supremacy and priestly tyranny. Society was bound by customs and superstitions inculcated by the priestly class for many generations past; the divine origin of the priestly caste that they came from the face of the Creator was studiously inculcated in the minds of the ignorant and credulous. Nevertheless, there were protests from religious and social reformers; Buddha, Vaishnava saints, Nanak, Tukaram, Ramamohan Roy lighted and fed the lamp of knowledge, but they were all powerless before the subtle forces of Brahmanism. Buddha was installed as one of the ten *avataras* of the supreme deity.

In modern times there were revolts by the masses, who wanted to shake off the influence of evil customs and of caste. The results of these movements were steadily permeating the people of India, and a gradual awakening was perceptible in many forms of revolt against unreasonable authority. There was pulsation of a new life in all directions. In Southern India, the Deccan and Central India, and elsewhere people who had hitherto had their own indigenous systems of social life and culture began to realize that the domination of the priest crippled their intellect and talent. They resolved to redeem themselves from the control exercised on their daily life. From birth to death, and even after, a whole series of meaningless ceremonies were invented to keep people under subjection.

Origin of the Movement

The gospel of "self-determination" which the Great War brought into existence gave the leaders of progressive thought in India a new light, a new force of social and political reformation, and the great mass of the rural population in South India cannot be blind and insensible to its influence. The Justice movement is organized for the vindication of self-respect. The desire to reconstruct society on a more rational basis expressed itself in its varied activities. Social justice is the basic principle of its foundation. At one time the Shastras were looked up to as giving authority for caste domination, but the progress of events altered men's minds, and the movement demands in the interests of national progress the abandonment of caste bigotry and intellectual arrogance. There was a time when authority took the place of reason and judgment, when all matters social and religious were controlled by the powerful hierarchy of priesthood, to whom alone higher education in the Shastras and general culture were restricted. This has to give way and is slowly making room for individual freedom and individual culture. Our ideas on many social customs have undergone radical changes; we have begun to discourage, if not discard, caste and priestly authority.

The dream of Indian nationalism will be realized fully with the passing away of caste from our land. Power cannot be safely vested in the people unless the mental habit which sanctions and enforces the customary treatment of other and lower castes and races is changed. The emancipation of the people from suspicious communalism is the first milestone in the progress of responsible self-government of the country. National evolution will move on sound lines when all the component parts of the body politic are sound and strong enough to contribute their energy, experience, and intelligence, and when the organic connection and vitality of each link is healthy. With every unit of society growing strong and contented the whole society will be safe; otherwise national progress will be one-sided and irregular. It is on this understanding that communal struggles for self-expression are based. It is false logic to deny to every group the right to develop itself to be in a position of strength to contribute to the great national life of the country. The principle becomes dangerous only if the interests of the unit or group are placed before those of the nation and national demands, but every effort to remove injustice and inequity should not therefore be open to criticism. It is the primary duty of every unit or group to protect itself and promote its interests for the common welfare of the people. The non-Brahmin movement is not a negative one; it bears no antagonism to any group or unit in India—it is a movement for self-expression.

SOCIAL SERVICE

Social justice is the main plank on which it first concentrated its efforts. The principle of self-respect has caught the imagination of the people of rural areas. The leaders of the movement realized that political power could not be permanent without the practical application of the principle and equal opportunities for all, including those who are termed non-political or depressed. It has a twofold objective: that of social service is carried on by one branch of the organization, the "self-respect movement" and "Youth League movement." The other, the political branch, is conducted by the Justice party.

Within a short period of its establishment in South India its programme appealed to other parts of India, notably the Deccan and the Central Provinces. A large network of institutions was established in rural areas, and a vast number of branch organizations sprang up to assist the parent association. Leaders visited other provinces to encourage effort in those areas and to point to the example of the great pioneers of the movement.

ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE

In 1925 an All-India Non-Brahmin Congress, held at Amaroti in the Central Provinces, was presided over by the late Rajah of Panagal. In the next year there was a great meeting of the Congress at Belgaum, and later in Madras. In March, 1931, a conference of the All-India Committee members and leaders was held at Poona. In addition to these All-India gatherings, every province has its own regularly held provincial and district conferences.

The significance of this movement is that it calls for men of character and courage to carry the policy of freedom undaunted by the opposition of the extremist politician and unnerved by the weight of the task. Many workers have gathered round the movement, and in every district and *taluq* convey the message of hope to the people, who have hitherto been indifferent. The periodical conferences help the political education of the rural population and enable the leaders to be in close touch with the people and learn their condition. Thus not only the rights but also the liabilities of the people have been placed before them.

The Justice Ministry in Madras has stood for the masses and brought to their mind's eye the vision of responsible government. We could not be mere visionaries. The scheme of Reforms in the Government of India Act, 1919, appealed to the party, and they prepared themselves to shoulder the responsibility to their utmost ability to make it a success, thereby demonstrating their capacity for higher national service. Social reform was carried on vigorously, even at the risk of persecution.

PRINCIPLES OF THE MOVEMENT

A question is sometimes asked: Has the Justice movement any place in the great tasks of nation-building and development? Has the movement any definite purpose to serve in the social and political evolution of the country? Are its aims and objects calculated to help towards the goal of self-government? The movement as a whole has a liberal and progressive aim. The late Dr. T. M. Nair defined the object as being national to enable every unit of Indian society to develop itself according to its genius, and thereby to form a strong element in the nationalism of India. This is to be achieved by constitutional methods of work. Social reform was the main form of service, but politics became more absorbing and occupied the foremost place in the programme.

As a constitutionalist party it supports every act of Government which is calculated to benefit the people, and opposes any act or measure which will injure their interests. It is opposed to monopoly in services; the keynote of its work has been the service of the people hitherto despised as "unpolitical masses." The events that led to the disruption of the Indian National Congress in 1915, and the forces that created differences in the Congress, led to great confusion in the country and contributed to the organization of this steadying force in India. At the time people needed some sure guide to lead them on lines of safe progress. The need was so great that there were many mushroom growths, but the main movement has survived all opposition.

It was the painful duty of the organizers to separate themselves from the Congress; that it was a wise step subsequent events fully prove. The new Congress altered the old creed and passed "Independence" as its new political faith. We could not agree with this ideal, and set ourselves against its negative methods, which were subversive of any ordered and stable government. We found the rural population was not prepared for such a catastrophic change, and cautious measures were necessary to save them from disaster. Political shibboleths are attractive, but practical solution is most difficult. The party thus formed accepted the declaration of 1917 as an earnest of the final fulfilment of responsible government. The political experience gained in practical administration enabled the party to claim with confidence further responsible government in the Provinces and in the Central Government.

LOCAL AFFAIRS

Throughout the eventful times that followed the announcement of 1917 and the introduction of reforms the necessity for moderating influences was felt, and this party stood for constructive service and cautious national progress. It could not accept any dictatorship, and aimed at destroying the "slave mentality" and unreasoning submission to priestly class or politician. The work began with the village, and there was enthusiasm in portions of the population hitherto disregarded. A new interest was created among them to seek for a place in the representative institutions. Elections became very interesting, both to the local bodies and to the Legislatures. People began to learn that they could manage local affairs themselves. Local boards became centres of great activity and local influence. The recognition of the just claims of all classes and communities, and the support given to the rapid growth of rural education, appealed to the Mussalmans depressed classes and the Indian Christians. All these had an equal voice in the counsels of the party organizations.

GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENTS

The movement is advancing steadily towards national ideals. Gain or loss of a few places in the public services is not the real consideration, though it is an important factor in the levelling process. In India, owing to the scarcity of other professional employment, service under the Government is considered important, as an official position carries power and influence with it. It is therefore advocated that there should be no preponderance or monopoly of any one community to the detriment of others. It is held that where there are candidates for recruitment with proper qualifications the unrepresented or less-represented communities should be selected in the first instance. The claims of those already in service are not affected by this policy, nor is it the intention to reduce efficiency in any manner. Equal opportunities must be given to all. This is not a new policy invented by the Justice party. It was stated by the British Government in Standing Orders of the Board of the East India Company, dated April 23, 1846, and reaffirmed more than 70 years later by the Viceroy of India. It is a matter for regret this was not carried into practice. In Southern and Western India, however, the problem is now approaching solution.

Sturdy Nationalists like Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Natarajan have fully appreciated in public utterances the objects of the movement. A veteran politician and leader of political thought for decades, the late Sir Surendranath Banerjee, wrote in *A Nation in the Making* in 1925:

> "Our decision to abstain from the Congress was, as events have shown, a wise one, and I claim that we of the Moderate party saved the scheme. The combination against it was formidable. In the midst of this body of opposition the only real and consistent support came from the Moderate party in India. If they had remained within the Congress fold they would have been overwhelmed, their voice would have been that of a minority of little or no account."

These remarks most appropriately apply to the Justice party in the Provinces, which established organizations for support of the Reform Scheme. Development of representative institutions opened a new field of activity and has diverted rural areas from the fruitless path of non-co-operation. The Reform scheme was a genuine gesture of political advance to meet the popular demand, and definite steps were taken towards the goal. The party felt that to oppose where we should co-operate would be most unpatriotic—nay, treason against the people. An opportunity was afforded for gaining experience in administrative responsibility which could not in justice or statesmanship be thrown away.

THE WORK TO BE DONE

The expansion of universal elementary education, wide distribution of the co-operative credit system and allied organizations, improvement of sanitary and economic conditions of the peasantry, the spread of technical education and promotion of closer relations between the different communities are some of the most important tasks which lie before the country, and, as Mr. Gokhale said, these are the pivotal points of progress. Each of these needed an army of workers; in fact, everything that awakens the Indian ryot's intelligence and which helps him to be an independent, self-relying man, everything that breaks the barriers of caste and community and prepares a mentality to regard one another as neighbours, will truly and effectively hasten the day when the goal of full responsible government will be reached.

The work is arduous and calls for men and women who really think of country first and community and province next, men of fixity of purpose and capable of leadership. The President of the Indian National Congress in 1925 said: "To my mind it is of paramount importance to formulate a practical scheme of village reconstruction on the lines of Desabandhu Das's dream." To the amateur politician this work may seem purely local and provincial. This is a great error, for without a solid foundation of national life in the village, without preparing the necessary framework for the mighty edifice of Swaraj, to begin at the top is most unwise. Realities must be faced and practical work must be performed.

This aspect is emphasized in the Justice movement, and the great task was cheerfully undertaken, to the advantage of the people. In all the provinces where the party has been working faithfully village reconstruction has been kept in view. Village institutions were reformed and are linked with the district local self-government. It is a matter of sincere regret to me that the other political parties did not keep themselves in touch with this problem of rural life and economy. Mere expressions of goodwill or gatherings in a town of a few persons will not help the situation.

THE EARLY YEARS

During the first three years of the Montford Reforms there was much opposition from within and without the Legislatures. Great political unrest prevailed throughout the country. Large demonstrations were held to belittle the Madras Ministry, but the co-operating party worked for the people and faced all opposition. The first few years were marked by diminishing revenues and increasing expenditure, and every spring there were deficit budgets. Drastic cuts were made in all directions, and there was little chance to finance nation-building departments. The party was put to the severest trials to maintain the interest of the people in the country and keep peace and order. Opponents of reforms made capital out of the situation by misrepresenting the attitude of the party as that of "slaves of Government."

Nevertheless, within the slender resources available, every possible economy was observed and the party concentrated on the expansion of mass education, the development of local self-government, medical relief, and improved agricultural economies. The work started on these lines overcame sinister influences in the districts and people began to appreciate the service. In every *taluq* and district and at the headquarters of the province meetings were held to explain the situation. Elections to the local bodies became lively and interesting, and the ryot and peasant became articulate. They learnt the value of the vote.

EDUCATION

A scheme of universal elementary education was first taken up, and the agricultural people showed keen interest in its expansion. An educational survey was held in order to plan out educational needs of localities, and a working system was devised (1923) by which every village or group of hamlets with a population of five hundred and above would have a school—one or more; the agency by which such object is achieved is the local body and the "aided agency." In order to attract properly qualified teachers, the scale of salaries and the grant-in-aid was revised as the finances of the Provinces gradually improved. The programme was to be completed in five years, and alongside in areas less than five hundred population it was voluntary for the *panchayat* to open schools for which grants-in-aid were provided. It is gratifying to note that the ideal of universal elementary education has been applied fully in Southern India.

More work remains to be done to consolidate village effort and to insure against "waste." In order to popularize the village school a *panchayat* was formed and was vested with power to watch over the actual working of the school, and in cases where they opened a school they were treated as managers of aided schools. The curriculum was prepared to suit village conditions, and the *panchayat* was given a voice in its preparation. Village libraries were established and grants were given to promote their development. Thus the village school and the village library formed centres of enlightenment. The aim of rural education was not wholly theoretical; it included practical instruction in higher standards. There is keen competition among the villages to open schools and maintain them in the best form. There have been frequent voluntary offers of assistance in the shape of the loan, or gift, of buildings and land for the school. Free and compulsory education is the next step to be considered. In regard to the depressed classes, a special agency was created to assist them, to popularize education; and their admission to all aided schools was firmly insisted on; there is no considerable difficulty now in that matter. Reorganization of secondary and university education was next taken up. The Madras University Reorganization Act and the Andhra University Act, which became models for certain other universities, were placed on the Statute Book.

PUBLIC HEALTH

A very far-reaching step was taken for the improvement of village sanitation. The newly formed Public Health staff constituted a vigilance corps to move about in the rural parts to advise the people and co-operate with the *panchayats* and take steps for the prevention and cure of epidemics. The rural dispensary scheme inaugurated by the original genius of the late Rajah of Panagal, the leader of the party, takes medical relief to the door of the peasant. The struggle he had in successfully developing it makes a painful story. We owe it to his marvellous tact that the Hindu Religious Endowment Act was passed to stem corruption and mismanagement in all charitable trusts.

Water supply is a matter of utmost importance to the daily life of the village. During the dry months villagers travel for miles in order to get a pot full of drinking water. Careful investigations were made in the Presidency as to the areas which urgently needed relief, and details were discussed with local bodies and local officials. A plan was devised by which not only the resources of local bodies, but a grant-in-aid specially ear-marked for the purpose, are being utilized to expand the supply. Wells and tanks were constructed by liberal-minded ryots, and private help was encouraged. The scheme has yet to run a few years more for completion.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

For the first time in the history of rural areas, communications were undertaken by the Government. While the main arteries of communications had received some attention, inter-village communications had been the interest of no one. Remote villages had no outlet into urban areas. Marketing of produce became very difficult, and during the rainy season neither men nor cattle could move out of the village to reach a pathway. A special fund was created. Village *panchayats* under local boards were entrusted with the making of roads, on the advice of a qualified officer. This is being carried on.

The development of rural resources received much support from the party. Great impetus was given to co-operative credit societies and agricultural improvement. Demonstration farms were multiplied; attention was paid to the breed of cattle. Sons of ryots and cultivators were encouraged to attend agricultural demonstrations. There are now itinerating inspectors to assist the ryot and to teach him improved processes of raising crops.

A survey of cottage industries was also undertaken, with a view to provide encouragement to useful local industry. Under the able and intelligent guidance of Sir R. V. Reddi Naidu, the State Aid to Industries Act was passed. It is doing very useful work. I should add that the success of the Justice Ministry in this as in other fields of endeavour has been due in great degree to the sympathy and far-sighted statesmanship shown by two great rulers of the province, Lord Willingdon and Lord Goschen, to whom I take this opportunity of paying my tribute.

RURAL "PANCHAYATS"

A *Panchayat* Act was passed in 1920, but it was the Justice party which took up the work. *Panchayats* of old grew up of necessity; there was no legal sanction behind them. Custom and precedent regulated the work of these bodies. They had no integral relation with the district and provincial administrations. Self-help was the governing factor of their existence. The new principle introduced into them was to modify their constitution and form units of local self-government. The village knows its own needs, and it is now allowed to manage some of its affairs as best it can under certain reservations. Village protection and measures calculated to promote public utility and convenience are now placed under the supervision of the *panchayat*. It takes the initiative, subject to the advice of the special officer. Among their functions are the administration of forest lands near the villages, grazing-grounds, allocation of house sites, distribution of water for irrigation purposes, management of village school and library, right to collect certain rates and licence fees, and supervision of sanitation.

A system of election has been introduced into the composition of village council; all the inhabitants of the village who own a plough and are of a certain age are entitled to elect their *panchayat*. The villagers are assembled at the village school or headman's *chavadi* by the *tahsildar*, and election proceeds by show of hands. The elections, though informal, are a means of education and training to the ryots. Factions and caste divisions raise their head, but the villages are beginning to learn to rely on themselves. The difficulties of civic life may be reduced in course of time, when more responsibilities are placed on the ryot and agriculturist along with the townspeople. The habits of village people are undergoing rapid changes. *Panchayats* fostered in a healthy atmosphere, removed from aggressive politics, are destined to play a very great part in the building of sound rural life.

I refrain from describing other provincial and All-India problems to which the party contributed its experience and influence to weld them into the national welfare, as this would open a vast field of legislative and administrative action, sometimes highly controversial. Suffice it to say that every question affecting the nation as a whole received most careful consideration, and as practical politicians we have rendered valuable service to the country. The picture I have given may not be spectacular, but at least the movement did its best to live up to its ideals. In the Central Provinces the democratic party struggled hard against a strong combination and succeeded ultimately.

ALLEGED EXCLUSIVENESS

It has sometimes been said that the movement is exclusive. The late Rajah of Panagal thus explained the position:

> "The most severe criticism against our movement has been that it is a movement of hatred and is actuated by the desire to penalize one particular

community. Nothing can be farther from the truth. It is perfectly true that we desire to break down those monopolies that have encrusted themselves in our social and political lives through agelong tradition and usage. It is true we are trying to demolish that exclusiveness and spirit of intolerance which has been the unfortunate feature of one particular community, in spite of all the valuable lessons taught by our ancient sacred literature."

Vested interests which have the monopoly will struggle hard before giving way, and it is natural to them to indulge in hostile criticism and misrepresentation, arts in which they are pastmasters. There is no denying the phenomenon in the three provinces that the minority have all the power and influence in their hands; the majority is kept at bay by the subtle influences of office, political and religious. To a stranger unacquainted with the real conditions of life in India it would seem strange that a majority should seek protection against a minority, but realities tell a different story, which must impress upon them the justice of the claim.

However, after a struggle of years the creed of the party provides an open door for all persons, irrespective of caste or creed, who will subscribe to its programme. Nationalism is its creed, but until the party felt itself strong an attitude of exclusiveness was necessary. The movement won the elections in the South and the Central Provinces, the Ministry was formed out of the party, and in the Bombay Legislature the party is strong under the able leadership of Mr. Kamble. *Taluq* and district work is being reorganized to meet the changing conditions of the country. In the Legislative Assembly the representatives of the Justice party made a marked impression by their ability.

THE PARTY AND THE ROUND TABLE

The resolutions passed at the Confederation of the All-India Committee and Leaders in April last indicate that the movement supports the national demand for Swaraj and asks for equality of social and communal rights. While generally agreeing that the future Constitution of India should be on the basis of an All-India Federation, the Conference was unable to express any opinion on the merits until the full details are worked out, and requested its representatives to co-operate with the Congress and all other political parties at the Conference to obtain the greatest possible freedom for India; that while recognizing the need for special provisions or reservations in the Constitution, they should not be such as to derogate from responsible self-government for India, nor should they be such as to vest power largely in the hands of capitalists and the *intelligentsia,* to the detriment of the real people of the country. The scheme must recognize that India can be governed only by the active and willing consent of the peoples, and any scheme of reforms should provide for fair and adequate representation of all classes and communities. The British Government is a party to the Round-Table Conference, and if for any reason there is no agreement on communal matters it will be the duty of His Majesty's Government to help in the solution of the problems. The time has come when Government may state definitely what their policy is and what they will do to keep India peaceful and contented.

This movement I have described is passing rapidly in the direction of the great national forces working in our midst. Wise and far-seeing leadership, with a clear appreciation of the great national activities to guide its aims and aspirations under altered conditions, is more necessary than ever before. I have no doubt that the practical intelligence of the rural population will always seek for sound lines of action. Much depends upon the scheme of reforms that will be placed before the country. The State must make it possible for self-expression and co-operation, for, as the Government of India despatch stated last year:

> "The time has passed when it was safe to assume the passive consent of the governed. The new system must be based as far as possible on the willing consent of a people whose political consciousness is steadily being awakened."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held as the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 10, 1931, at which a paper was read by Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro on "The Justice Movement in India." The Right Hon. Viscount Goschen, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.B.E., in the chair. The following ladies and gentleman, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., His Highness the Chief Saheb of Sangli, K.C.I.E., the Earl Winterton, M.P., the Kumara Raja of Venkatagiri, Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hugh MacPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James Fletcher Simpson, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Leonard Adami, Lady Pentland, Lady Blomfield, Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. F. B. Evans, C.S.I., Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. F. W. Woods, C.I.E., Rao Bahadur A. T. Pannir Selvam, Mr. B. V. Jadhav, Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, Mrs. and Miss Kibe, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. J. F. Sale, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. Hugh MacGregor, Mr. A. H. Joyce, Mr. V. Subboo, Mr. C. A. Mehta, Mr. S. Altaf Husain, Mr. K. Sheldrake, Dr. A. Shah, Mr. Y. A. Thombare, Mr. R. B. Saksena, Miss Corfield, Mrs. Nolan, Miss E. L. Curteis, Miss Eardley Wilmot, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mrs. E. M. Millward, Mrs. Weir, Mr. Alan Brodrick, Mr. M. A. Thomas, Miss Gwyneth Foden, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, Mrs. Gray, Miss A. Haden Guest, Mr. E. Holman, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not think that Sir A. P. Patro needs much introduction from me to you today. It is a very great pleasure to me to take the chair today, especially at a meeting which he is going to address. It is not the first time that I have been chairman while Sir A. P. Patro has been speaking, although the meetings at which I presided over him were not quite so large as that today, being friendly Cabinet meetings in Madras, of which Cabinet he was Minister during my first four years, when I had the pleasure of working with him.

As you know, Sir A. P. Patro is here today as a member of the Round-Table Conference, in which he has been playing an important part and in which I know he has being doing his best to bring about a peaceful and successful issue. I have very great pleasure in asking Sir A. P. Patro if he will now address us. (Applause.)

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure that Sir. A. P. Patro, in the address which he has just given us, has held the interest of all those who are here present today, and we are deeply indebted to him for the paper which he has read. He has dealt with a subject of which I think little perhaps is known in this country, except to those who have lived in South India. At the beginning of his address he spoke of how caste fettered the people in bonds and restricted their freedom of life and of thought and hampered progress. He went on to speak of the awakening of the people and of their desire for a reconstruction of national life on a more rational basis. I suppose it is in Madras chiefly that equality between castes has been sought for, and that this movement for individual freedom has made most success. It has been a struggle for political and national development for all castes and for the influence in the life of the country which such a development provides. With the awakening of the people it was realized that the greatest lever to break down these bonds was education, and that, while all opportunities present should be availed of, it was necessary to provide greater facilities for education, and in providing these Sir A. P. Patro, as Minister of Education, took a great share. (Applause.) It was during his Ministry, as I can state from personal experience, that great strides were made in the spread of elementary education.

There is one feature of the Non-Brahmin movement to which Sir. A. P. Patro has not referred this afternoon. It is one of which I spoke before to this association when describing the working of the reforms in Madras. It is this. You know that Lord Willingdon, who was Governor at the time of the initiation of the Legislative Council, desired to proceed on Western lines, and he therefore formed a Ministry of the Non-Brahmin party, which was the largest party returned at the elections. This experiment was based on the division of parties into two by caste in the absence of other political divisions. Personally, I have always believed that that experiment had a very steadying effect upon the character of the Legislative Council during its early years, for it created what was a strong and more or less united opposition, and it did prevent in those early days the Legislative Council from splitting up into various sections at the time when that Council was acquiring knowledge of Parliamentary procedure. There was one other, and, I think, very valuable, feature of this division into two parties, and that was that the Ministry under the Rajah of Panagal was formed from one party, and, therefore, it was able during its term of office to accept a policy of joint Ministerial responsibility. That added greatly to the value of the work of that Ministry, to the smooth working of the administrative machinery, and the progress of those matters of social legislation to which Sir. A. P. Patro alluded to in his speech. I found that state of affairs when I arrived in Madras, and I am glad of the opportunity of testifying to the very great assistance which I received during my term of office from the Ministers. (Applause.)

Sir A. P. Patro, in his address, used these words: "The Non-Brahmin movement is not a negative one; it bears no antagonism to any group or unit in India—it is a movement for self-expression." It is quite impossible that a movement of this kind, breaking up as it did old traditions and creating new conditions, should not be met with some antagonism—with some criticism of the policy, and perhaps of the methods by which that policy was carried out—but I do believe that that opposition and criticism was not so strong as might have been anticipated. I believe that in the future the work of the Provincial Public Service Commission, which is now in session in the province of Madras, allocating as it does appointments with a fixed ratio to caste, will do a great deal to ease the situation and to increase friendly feelings in those matters.

Sir A. P. Patro put before us the ideals of the Justice party in provincial Governments and in local affairs. I saw the start of a great deal of that work in Madras, dealing with education, with health, with all matters of sanitation, with the development of the responsibility of village life, with the setting up of co-operative societies and the like, and that policy did make considerable progress and is still continuing to do so. If Sir A. P. Patro will allow me to utter one word of warning, it would only be this, that in the enthusiasm for those ideals a faster pace should not be set in their pursuit than may enable the various positions and stages to be made good in the course of the progress towards them. There will, of course, be criticism of some of the views which Sir A. P. Patro has expressed; there may be some criticisms on the views which he has not expressed (laughter), or rather, perhaps, on those which he in his address has skilfully glided over. But I am sure on this there will be general agreement, that to maintain the prosperity and the welfare of the country there must be co-operation, not only between all races, but also between all castes. (Applause.)

Mr. Pannir Selvam said he did not think he could add anything very useful to what had been said by Sir. A. P. Patro on the Justice movement, unless it was to point out the appropriateness and the usefulness of introducing this subject just at present, when the communal question was looming so large with reference to the deliberations of the Round-Table Conference, when the communal problem had so far defied all attempts at solution, and when it was even said that the Conference might founder on this communal rock. He said that because he felt that if today in Madras and in India generally this communal problem was not so very keen, the credit went wholly to the Justice party. Some of them might know that this question of the depressed classes and the stain of untouchability on the Indian social life was strongest in the South, but if today the depressed class of people were in a better position, if their interests were specially safeguarded, and if every endeavour was being made to make them as self-respecting citizens as any in the community, then, again, the credit went to the Justice party.

As far as the Justice party was concerned, it counted within its fold people of all castes and creeds, except one. Christians were found in large numbers within the Justice party, and he himself, a representative of Christians, had found his refuge, politically speaking, in that party. There was a large number of Mussalmans who had found their interests perfectly safe under its protection. The party from the very beginning had placed before itself the motto which was set up for it by Sir P. Thiagaraja Chetty and Dr. T. M. Nair, that motto being: "Equal opportunities for all and injustice to none." The majority community, the Non-Brahmin community, not merely gave a verbal assurance, but acted in such a manner as to infuse confidence into the minorities. They made the minorities feel a certain trust, and the result was that the communal question had not been, at least during the past decade, so keen in the South. The majority communities had assured them of a place and a commensurate place, not merely in the councils of the land, but also in its Services, and it was by trusting the minorities and by getting the trust of the minorities in return that they had been able to form practically one political party within the folds of which they did not have very much talk of communalism.

The Justice party had been branded as communalistic, as a party which was led by a pack of office hunters, as a party which was said to be anti-nationalistic. Those were cries which had been uttered against them practically from the very inception. So far as the charge of being communalistic was concerned, he would only say that if the Justice party would not allow 97 per cent. of the population to be dominated in every walk of life, whether it was in the matter of offices or whether it was in the Legislatures or in the local bodies, by 3 per cent. of the population, then he pleaded guilty to the charge of the party being communalistic. It stood for fair play between the communities of the land; not that it grudged the Brahmins their share of the work. It only wanted an equal share for the rest of them, the rest of them consisting, not of Hindu Non-Brahmins alone, but of the Christians, the depressed classes, and the Mussalmans. That is as far as a charge of being communalistic was concerned.

As regards the charge of being a pack of office hunters, he need only refer to the fact that the great founder and leader of the movement, Sir P. Thiagaraja, was offered in the first Legislative Council the chief Ministership, but refused to accept it, and wanted one of his followers to take up the office. Up to this date he did not think that anybody could point out anyone even remotely associated or related to Sir Thiagaraja having ever taken office under the Government.

Then as to the charge of their being anti-nationalistic, he understood nationalism to mean that spirit which actuated people to act in such a manner as to lead them to the goal of self-government. When eleven years ago they introduced the Montagu Reforms the British Government told them that by the amount of success which they achieved in administering the Montagu Reforms would their fitness for full responsible self-government be judged. The Justice party, which had been in power for the greater part of the decade, had been working the Montagu Reforms, and Sir A. P. Patro had given the details of the result of that working. Even the worst critic of the party could give no other verdict than that it had been as good a success as was possible under the circumstances. (Hear, hear.) The Justice party had tried to solve the communal problem by taking all communities into its fold, by not mere talk, but by behaving in such a manner that the members of all communities, irrespective of caste, members of all classes of life, whether a field labourer or the biggest landowner, a zamindar or a ryot, a labourer or a capitalist. Having proved that they had worked the Montagu Reforms to the fullest extent possible, and thereby shown their fitness for self-government, the party was again before the Round-Table Conference with its credentials; and, relying on those credentials, it said, at least from Madras, that they were entitled to full responsible self-government, not merely in the provinces, but also in the centre, if once the "Justice" spirit could be introduced into the administration of the Central Government as well. (Applause.)

Mr. Jadhav said Sir A. P. Patro and Mr. Pannir Selvam had explained the principles on which the Justice party was formed and for which the Justice party in Madras had been working. The "Non-Brahmin Movement," as it was popularly called, was co-extensive with the limits of the Madras Presidency, and, as Non-Brahmins there were nearly 90 per cent. or more of the population, they had naturally a majority of members in the Council, and, therefore, they could form a Ministry by themselves. The conditions in the Bombay Presidency were quite different. The Non-Brahmin movement was not co-extensive with the whole of the Bombay Presidency. It was found only in the southern half where the Marathi and Kanarese languages are spoken. There the influence of the Brahmin was very great. He was supreme, not only in religion, but also in politics and social matters. Therefore, the Non-Brahmin movement originated in those districts. He dated the movement from 1872, when the Satya Shodhak Samaj (an association of the Searchers after Truth) was first started by Mr. Jotirav Foolay in Poona. It mainly aimed at demolishing the religious predominance of the Brahmins, and the central doctrine of that movement was that there was no necessity of an intermediary between God and man. The Brahmin claimed to officiate in all religious ceremonies, and it was his claim that no ceremony was efficacious or legal without his assistance. Mr. Foolay assailed this doctrine and taught the people that there was no necessity for anybody to act as an intermediary between God and man, and, therefore, anyone could perform all the ceremonies. In that way he then started the movement, which was now popularly known in the Madras Presidency as the "Self-respect Movement." Non-Brahmins in the Bombay Presidency, when the memorable declaration of 1917 was made, began to bestir themselves, and they placed before the public their claim to separate representation, or some protection of their interests in the new Councils. Up to 1920 there was not a single member representing these communities in the Bombay Council. Therefore, the necessity of giving some concession or some protection to these communities was recognized, and the Government of India Act of 1919 reserved seven seats to the Mahrattas in the Bombay Council. A nucleus was thus formed of a Non-Brahmin party. In the first Council, 1921-1923, the party was not sufficiently strong, but at the next election they had something like thirteen members, and the party was considered important enough to secure a seat in the Ministry. At that time the Swaraj party refused to take any part in the administration, and His Excellency the Governor was obliged to form a Ministry which would be stable and at the same time able to carry on the government. Therefore, a combination of the Mussalmans and the Non-Brahmins was formed, out of which the Ministry was selected. That Ministry lasted for three years. The next time a Non-Brahmin Minister was not appointed, but two Ministers were chosen from the advanced communities. That Ministry was not found workable, when a Non-Brahmin Minister was again introduced and the administration went on smoothly.

and the party has now firmly established its claim to representation in the Ministry. He pointed out that the conditions in the northern half of the Bombay Presidency were different from the conditions in the southern half. But even there there was a class which exploited the masses of the people, and, therefore, the Justice movement was necessary in the provinces of Gujerat and Sind. He had found this year that members from Gujerat, who were successful in the elections to the Legislative Council, and who were drawn from the cultivating classes, had openly joined the Non-Brahmin party, and were working whole-heartedly with it. That showed that the Justice movement was necessary in those provinces also, and he was quite confident that within a few years the movement would extend to the whole of India and would be recognized as an All-India influence.

The Justice movement, as had been pointed out, did not seek any unfair advantage. It wanted to do justice to all parties irrespective of caste or creed. Therefore, it deserved the support of all right-thinking men. (Applause.)

Sir James Simpson said it was a peculiar pleasure for him to sit under the Chairman's presidency once again, with his old and honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro. However, he thought it was a mistake to call upon him to continue the discussion, because he was a Justice party man and could only dot the *i*'s and cross the *t*'s of what had been said, and sing the praises of those who had gone before. He was very pleased to hear the tribute that the lecturer had paid to Lord Willingdon and their chairman, for he, the speaker, was present in Madras throughout both those distinguished Governorships, and took a small part in his own way in the conduct of affairs there. His connection with the Justice party went back very many more years than that. He sat on the Madras Corporation with Dr. T. M. Nair, and used to cross swords with him on such minor matters as the Madras tramway service. The early death of that very remarkable man was a great loss to the Progressive party in India, not to the Justice party alone. The premature death of the Rajah of Panagal was also a great loss to them. The speaker had had the pleasure and privilege of enjoying his friendship, and was a member of the Legislative Council during his Ministries. When he looked back upon it he was astonished at his own moderation, because for many years he acted almost in the capacity of an unpaid Minister; however, he enjoyed the friendship of the Rajah, and could only say that he was in all his dealings what Britishers called a "pukka sahib," and he always found him a real Indian nobleman.

There was no doubt of the great service that the Justice party had done in the matter of public health, education, and many other ways, for Southern India. There was no doubt in his mind that they had played and were still playing a great part in the politics of Madras and of India. The very fact that they were a party who could provide a Ministry in the real Parliamentary sense and spirit, working together as a united Cabinet for the good of the Presidency, for the reserved and transferred subjects, was all to the good. He could bear testimony to the fact that the claims and statements made in Sir Annefru's paper were all true. There were really only two points in the paper that he would refer to. One was the part that discussed the very peculiar fact of the minority controlling the majority. He desired to refer to that in a different way, because he had an axe to grind in the matter. To those who had not lived in Madras, it might seem perfectly absurd and incomprehensible that 97 per cent. of the population should fear 3 per cent. But these were the facts, and they were very difficult to get over. He believed that the Justice party had been charged with what might be called "jobberies" in certain connections; but he was not inclined to take any special exception to that, because they had a very terrible debit balance against them to wipe out when they began, and one could hardly blame them if, in their zeal for reform, such incidents happened. What he desired to emphasize to Sir A. P. Patro was that he was a splendid specimen of the Justice party, both physically and mentally virile. Could he not instil—if he might be forgiven for using the vulgar word—guts or backbone into his own party, to teach them that, after all, "A man's a man for a' that," and that 97 per cent. should not fear 3 per cent., but do justice in all things? He was referring to the recent boycott and its interference with business. As a business man he claimed that agriculture and commerce and industry was the life-blood of India, as it was, indeed, of every country, and it should not be allowed to be interfered with for political ends. He would like his honourable friend and his *confrères* and leaders to stand up against such things. Let his voice (and he had a loud voice) be heard. He did not know that he had heard too many voices of that kind in the past, and it would be a splendid thing for India if one did hear them in the future.

There was one point on which he would very gently—perhaps greatly daring—wish to differ from his honourable friend, and that was with regard to the last point of all. Sir A. P. Patro referred to the Round-Table Conference and thought that the British Government should interfere and impose a settlement. He begged to differ with Sir A. P. Patro. He conceived that it was no part of the duty of the British Government to impose a settlement on this occasion. The Indian delegates had come here to work out their own settlement. If they could not do that, that was their own funeral and not the funeral of the British Government or of the Government of India. One heard fears expressed that if the Round-Table Conference was a failure, there would be trouble in India when they got back. Personally, he did not fear any trouble, and the information which he had at his disposal from India was that the Indian business men and traders were getting, to use another familiar phrase, "fed up" with all this. They might say to the politicians: "Thus far and no farther." He would urge upon his honourable friend, for "auld lang syne," that when he did go back he would let his mighty voice be heard, not only quietly in the streets, but publicly to the effect that this sort of thing, this boycotting, this interference with trade, which really was the only thing that mattered in India, should cease. If the trade of India was interfered with and endangered, what would be the use of such things as public health, hospitals, schools, colleges, and suchlike? They would be non-existent; they only existed because there was trade in India, and that trade must be healthy and free. (Applause.)

Earl Winterton, in moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his paper, said that, apart from the fact that it gave him great pleasure to do so, he should never think of disobeying any suggestion which came from any distinguished journalist. Anyone who was a politician knew how unwise it was for a politician ever to disobey a journalist, especially one holding such an authority as their Honorary Secretary. However, he felt some diffidence in butting in to what had been really a very pleasant Madras afternoon. When he saw his honourable friend in the chair, and Sir A. P. Patro and Sir James Simpson and many others, he felt almost a stranger for the moment and rather un-Indian, because he was at present steeped in the official literature of Burma, which he had been endeavouring to read up in view of the Burma Round-Table Conference, of which he was a member and which he hoped was going to assemble shortly. Although there seemed such a mystery about the date of its assembly, he believed it would be soon. But, to be more serious, he would like to say with what great pleasure he personally had heard the very interesting lecture from Sir A. P. Patro. It was made more interesting to him by the fact that he had had the opportunity and privilege of having a conversation with Sir A. P. Patro some time ago, in which he had given him some very interesting confidential information about the movement, about which hitherto he had only learned from official documents and more or less from second-hand evidence. He hoped that those who came from other parts of India would not misunderstand when he said that, speaking quite impartially, Madras had had many things to teach the rest of India since the inauguration of the Reforms. He was not concerned to attack or defend the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. When he was in office, he was in the same position as their Chairman. When they held their respective offices, it was their duty to work the Reforms, and they were not concerned with whether they were good or bad. Their duty was to work the Constitution as it stood. His own view was that the difficulty of working the Reforms in many provinces had arisen not so much from non-co-operation as from the fact that there had not been as yet in many of those provinces an efficient crew to man the ship; not that there had not been most brilliant individual Ministers and the most admirable assistants, but there had not been, except in Madras, what those who were politicians knew to be essential to the successful working of any system—namely, a composite party or series of groups from which to form a Ministry. When history came to be written, he thought that no one would deny that Lord Willingdon did the right thing when he took the action to which reference had been made. Those who were seeking for further advance and those who sympathized with Indian aspirations, should realize that alone in Madras had smooth working been rendered possible by the conditions which must prevail in any nation and in any legislative assembly if they were to meet with success. What was happening in this country today? It was true we had obliterated mere party considerations but we had brought together a National Government for a specific definite purpose. That was the spirit which would have to prevail in India. A Ministry could not work without a common purpose.

He desired to move a most hearty vote of thanks to Sir A. P. Patro, and to express on behalf of the audience the pleasure they felt in seeing so many distinguished visitors from many parts of India. (Applause.)

The Lecturer: I thank you, Lord Winterton, ladies, and gentlemen, for your kind expression of sympathy and support for the movement. I claim no credit for myself personally. It is the movement for which I stand and for which I work, and we ask for the support of all right-thinking people for it. We owe very much to the Chairman for the great help he rendered in order to work the very difficult system of dyarchy. Sir James Simpson, who was always with us in the Justice party from its inception, knows all our shortcomings; therefore, he is in a position to advise, but he knows also that, whatever may be our defects and difficulties, we have always been quite honest and frank in the discharge of our responsibilities, and we shall continue to be so in the name of our King and country.

FEDERATION IN INDIA: WILL IT WORK?

By Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe
(Deputy Prime Minister Indore State)

The first session of the Round-Table Conference ended in fog and smoke. The second session has lifted the fog and shown the landscape, and the smoke has revealed the fire underneath.

It was not a conference between parties negotiating a settlement; it was only a conference called for the purpose of hearing, and sometimes discussing, different points of view held by representative individuals or, in a few cases, by representatives of communities or people. The wrong name given to the Conference excited curiosity and raised expectations quite beyond its scope. That at the end of a decade after the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms some further step would have to be taken was clearly seen, and indeed provided for by the Act. Parliament appointed a Commission to take a survey and to frame some conclusions. Unfortunately the purpose was misunderstood by all parties concerned, excepting the Government appointing the Commission, and it was boycotted by many Indians. Sir John Simon and his colleagues brought out a report which is a monument to their industry and intelligence.

Policies or concessions which would have been gratefully accepted a few years ago were so delayed that they became unacceptable to the large majority of the people in India. Even in countries where there is democratic government, it cannot always be said that all constituents stand for a Government on a careful consideration of varying policies. Even in the recent general election in Great Britain the popular vote swung from one direction to another, not on a very carefully considered plan. Similarly in India there has grown up a sense of attachment to leaders on account of their political views, including, in the meaning of the word, social matters in their widest sense. It may be that the number of such people is not large compared with the entire population of the country, but the other sections are either unmindful of these matters or some passively sympathize with the views of the dominant portion.

The Indian Point of View

There are other factors which have also to be taken into consideration. Not only do politico-social policies count, but, in the minds of a large majority of people, socio-religious policies dominated by theocratic views also count in India to a larger extent than in most of the civilized world. In this respect she is not at a stage where politico-social views predominate, either subordinating theocratic views or making them a matter of mere individual concern. Such a state of things was in existence in many countries of the world not very many years ago, and is still to be seen in some of them.

That the feelings aroused in India as a result of participation in the Great War required to be recognized and could not be suppressed was clear to all far-seeing people and leaders, not only in India, but in this country. To achieve the fullest measure of development, not only from a material and moral standpoint, for which the ruling Power had been doing its utmost, but from that of the aspirations of the people, Federation was the only method. It was first mooted by the Minister of an Indian State under the inspiration of one of the most venerable and enlightened rulers in India. He put forth the idea that a Federation on the model of the German Bundesrath would be best suited for India. He did this in connection with the formation of the Chamber of Princes.

Other views prevailed and the Chamber was formed with altogether different ideas, which, however, did not fully meet the situation. Although the Chamber has served to concentrate attention upon certain points, yet no effective remedy has been placed at its command. Its impotency in this respect has, in spite of the efforts made to popularize it, failed to secure for the Chamber anything approaching general support from the Princes. This state of things naturally kept the idea of a Federation alive in the Indian States. In spite of the treaties made with the

British Government, they have had many disadvantages and drawbacks. It was the present writer who first pointed out that in their case there was taxation by the paramount Power without direct advantage or any representation.

On the political side, too, the paramount Power, which was passing in some degree into the hands of the subjects not of equal status to the Princes, exercised much influence in respect of military and other controlling matters. An aristocracy tolerates the rule of the aristocracy, but does not like that of plebeians. The fact that the British aristocracy is becoming somewhat blurred has also complicated matters and affected the sentiments of the Indian aristocracy. All these factors kept the idea of Federation alive among the governing classes in the Indian States.

FEDERATION AND THE STATES

When therefore the idea of Federation was recommended by British Indians it naturally received the support of the Princes. At the first glow they saw that what they had so long desired was coming to fruition. They imagined that they would federate as States with powers, on terms of equality. That would both satisfy their sentiments and raise their status. They visualized that even if the highest aspiration of the British Indians in regard to independence from the control of the British nation was achieved they would consolidate their position and be equal partners with the new State in India. They did not perceive at the time the many stages through which they must pass before the goal could be reached and, more especially, that in this period of transition many provisions would have to be made for smoothing the passage to port.

India has had Federations of many kinds in the past. They ranged from allied, or subordinate States, coming together as loosely knit States, while there was a predominant State. It demanded military support and homage from the rulers of the allied or subordinate States. Such a super-State was called an empire. Under the Maratha Empire, which was the last of its kind, as the centre became weak there remained only the confederacy of States, component parts of which were loosely knit together. It was this inherent weakness which enabled the British Power to dismember it piecemeal.

In modern times Federations have been formed with the object of strengthening component parts which wished to avoid the danger to which the Maratha Empire succumbed. A recent instance of this modern type was the German Empire brought into existence by Prince Bismarck. It was formed to save the smaller States like Saxony and Bavaria from absorption by large neighbours as France and Austria. When, as in Italy, the separate States into which the country was divided had not a strong local or regional sense, they were absorbed and formed a kingdom. In Central Europe this individuality of States remained, and eventually, when the Great War came, the destructive forces became so strong that both the Turkish and Austrian Empires were split into smaller independent States raising all sorts of racial and cultural questions, which have yet to be solved.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

The British Empire, owing mostly to its geographical condition, is now turning into a Confederacy, the coping stone of which will be laid by the Statute of Westminster, so recently debated in both Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain. In Australia, South Africa, or Canada, regional sovereign states owing allegiance direct to the mother-country, from which they expected and received support for their very existence, came together, attracted by the law that "unity is strength" and formed themselves into Federations. In doing so, some of the component sovereign states have conceded only limited powers to the Federal Government and retained the rest, and in the others they have retained defined powers to themselves and left the rest to the Federal Government, but the condition precedent to the formation of such a Government has always been that its component parts have been sovereign states.

In India this background had not been reached before the idea of Federation came to the front. There was a gradual tendency towards it. Steps were taken by the Indian Government to make the provinces autonomous, and the Chamber of

Princes had been seeking to clear the position of the Indian Rulers in respect of the claim of paramountcy enforced by the paramount Power. Among developments were the gradual independence in financial matters given to the provinces, the establishment of legislative councils, investigation for making provinces more homogeneous in respect of regional, cultural, and economic units, the gradual removal of political control in internal matters from the Indian States, the making of new treaties with some of them, and the raising of the status of others in view of their population, extent, and wealth. These were all indications and efforts in the direction of creating sovereign states under the gradually diminishing control of the central or paramount Power from the subordinate provinces or Governments.

The pace in this direction was hastened by the growing desire of the people to have powers of control in matters affecting their social, moral, economic, and political welfare. In order that this process may continue as rapidly as may be consistent with the safety of the entire country, certain conditions must exist. This is the great problem which stares us in the face. The present conditions in India are that there are provinces in British India which have come into existence according to the necessities of war and other political circumstances. There is no homogeneity among them. Different unamalgamated races inhabit them; religious bigotry, fostered by priests, exists and dominates social conditions.

To add to the complications, as observed by a veteran statesman at the Round-Table Conference, "Muslims are a different people. Their religion, culture, customs, temperament, outlook on life, and outlook on self and others, is different from that of the Hindu." Hindus, although gradually emancipating themselves from the thraldom of the priests, are divided by castes. There is little elasticity in this respect. Their daily life, social customs, religious observances, and even their political outlook are caste-ridden. Thus neither among the Hindus nor Mussalmans nor any other communities is there yet that national spirit which is essential for the formation of united India.

ORIGIN OF STATES

In some States the Ruler's religion is fixed, and it is a moot question whether, if he changed his religion, he would continue to be the Ruler. Among these States there are some which came into being a thousand years or more ago. There are others, at the other end, which have come into existence by the grace of the British Government. Some are under Rulers who belong to the same race as the majority of their subjects. Some are in the nature of colonies founded by a bigger empire in foregone times in what may be regarded as foreign territory. In a third class there are States which have acquired their territory in comparatively recent times by conquest. The only thing common to them is that when the British established their supremacy in India all of these States came into relations with them, and their territories were consolidated. No change in them, even to the extent of a few acres, could be made without the consent and sanction of the paramount Power.

Excepting one or two, almost all these States have either treaties with the paramount Power, or the latter has conferred certain rights on them or has made certain other sorts of engagements either directly with an individual State, or acted as mediatories between two States. While one or two States have no formal engagements with the British Power, the one thing common to all of them is that they have direct relations with that Power and have agreed to have no connection with any foreign Power outside or inside India, and even not among themselves. In cases where they had any relations amongst one another they were transferred to the paramount Power, which also *de facto* entered into the shoes of the suzerains of some States. Yet a Foreign Secretary in the British Cabinet has made a declaration to a foreign Power that if any Indian State had before the establishment of its relations with the British Government any relations with a foreign Power, that relation will be uninterrupted.

It is only in recent years that the Rulers of Indian States have been allowed to communicate and meet one another without the intervention of the political representative of the paramount

Power, and to concert on matters of common interest. There has been, however, no relaxation in the rigidity of the terms of the treaties or engagements referred to in the preceding paragraphs. Supervision is in the hands of a specialized service of political officers, who have definite instructions laid down for them, and added to from time to time.

This department has also to administer justice to State subjects, mostly indirectly, but directly in cases where the States, by reason of any inherent weakness in their status, or owing to historical circumstances, or owing to the very nature of their circumstances, are not able to undertake the entire responsibility of administration. Policies in this respect have been more or less in a fluid condition from time to time, either owing to the change of policy in the centre or to local circumstances, but the main policy has been uninterruptedly flowing. Owing to the wide variety of circumstances and the different stages of progress among different States, it is inconceivable how the supervision or the guiding hand of the political department can be removed without endangering good government. Before factors in the territories subject to the conditions described in the preceding lines are materially changed, it seems impossible that they could stand out as units of a Federation side by side with more advanced Governments.

CENTRAL POWERS

The question as regards the provinces is not what powers they are to retain or surrender but what powers the Central Government is prepared to retain or surrender to them. While it seems reasonable that at any rate such provinces as may be homogeneous in character, or could be so made, should be endowed with as much power as may be necessary for their full development, and over which the Central Government need keep no control, the differences between Hindus and Muslims, among others, principally stand in the way of making the provinces fully autonomous, for fear of interfering with the culture and national characteristics of these and other communities.

Therefore, it is thought necessary to retain many more powers with the Central Government than would be absolutely necessary in a continent so vast and so full of different peoples as India is, thus giving rise to the questions of the size, location, and character of the Legislature, whether a single-chambered or a double one, of the Central Government, as apart from the Federal Government.

The problem with regard to the Indian States is that while treaty States have their powers defined, others, owing to their inherent circumstances, find obstacles in the exercise of rights, such as are compatible with the welfare or the strength of their Governments. Hitherto paramountcy has been exercised by a foreign Power through its agents, even though its centre is located at a distance of over 6,000 miles. It does not seem worth while for this paramount Power—and indeed it would be very difficult for it—to carry out its duty in respect of only a portion of India which, too, is scattered all over the country. While the paramount Power could equally benefit, and at least have a proper recompense, if it continued to discharge its burdens in respect of larger interests involved, yet it would be an onerous task for it, and a hindrance in the way of the larger development of India were it to continue to discharge its obligations only in respect of the Indian States.

The preliminary steps that seem necessary in respect of British India are, first, that there should be reconstruction of provinces on a linguistic, regional, cultural, and economic basis. It is true that the territories of Indian States coming within the geographical limits of such provinces will have to be treated apart, in view of their historical setting, in it. When such provinces are formed they can be entrusted with all the powers required for their fullest development, and they can only leave such powers for the Central State as may be conducive to the safety of the provinces under the law that "unity is strength." As regards the Indian States, only such States as have complete internal sovereignty under the treaties or such States as could be made fully possessed of internal sovereignty, could hope to join a Federation as units, as they then will have something to surrender to it. Not only this, but by joining a Federation they will have a hand in guiding and controlling matters and policies affecting them and in which they have no such right or authority at present. Without a considerable change in the status, or organization of the rest, it cannot be conceived how they can be units of a Federation independently of the paramount Power.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE

An important factor is that, as a result of the war services she rendered, India is an original member of the League of Nations. Now it is one of the conditions of the membership of the League of Nations that no country or Government which is not a fully self-governed State can become a member. The Government as existing in India has had to be at least formally made to appear as a fully sovereign State. The fullest development of this position can only arise when India is raised to the status of a Dominion. British statesmen have suggested that Dominion status is actually in force, in some respects at least, in regard to India. The claim for independence made on its behalf by some advanced leaders will be an academical test for this statement. For the purpose of the League of Nations, it is immaterial what form of government a member has, provided that it is a fully self-governing country. As in the case of the Indian States, who claim that what form of government they have internally is a matter for themselves, so also the British Government, on behalf of India, claims that the form of government which she has is an internal matter.

There are inherent differences between the condition of India and the other British Dominions. The latter are not governed territories, but are colonies, the inhabitants of which long ago either annihilated or absorbed or completely neutralized the inhabitants of the territories they made their home. Their claim for self-government has been readily assented to by the Mother Country. In the case of India there are inherent difficulties as regards the full development of self-government. There is much force in the question that is sometimes asked by British statesmen—namely, "When we abandon the government of India, to whom are we going to hand it over?"

All parties, who have regard for the welfare of India, wish to see her developed by way of evolution and not revolution. Some people whose patriotism cannot be questioned may be prepared to pass through a period of chaos, the end of which may either result in a settled form of government or may subject India to subjection by a predominant party, or even a foreign Power, but this is a counsel of despair. It may be that they are confident that as in other countries—for instance, Russia—they will be able to establish self-government, overcoming and destroying all obstacles which may obstruct this consummation.

But this does not seem practicable, not only on account of the peculiar position the British Government holds, not only in India, but in the world, but also from the vastness of the task and of the population comprising India. Neither is it desirable.

The Desire for Reform

While these are the existing circumstances, the expectations of the people of India, from the humblest to the highest, have been aroused. It may be that the British Government has not done its utmost, purely from the Indian point of view, for meeting the situation affecting the people of India through both internal and external causes, although it has been making every effort in its power to save India from the ills of circumstances. Perhaps the large majority of the people think that a change in government is necessary, and, if entrusted with it, they themselves will do much better than the present Government. There is nothing unusual in the existence of such a feeling.

Whether a change of Government is effected by means of a revolution, as in Russia or Spain, or by means of evolution, as in Great Britain, the desire for such change is common to all subjects whose consciousness has been aroused. Cognizance must be taken of the fact that a number of people in India believe that the future Government of India will be conducted more in accordance with their interests than it is possible from an Administration controlled by a Government of a far smaller country over 6,000 miles away, if they are entrusted with it. If the desire of the Dominions is satisfied by enacting statutes, like the Statute of Westminster, it is a ground for meeting the desire of the Indian people. If that is not done, the feeling to which reference has been made can only be suppressed by driving it underground for a time by repression of a more serious kind than would perhaps be tolerated even by the governing classes in Great Britain. Not only will the display of such strength interfere with trade, but it will arouse the hatred of the repressed people and contempt of the civilized world.

It is clear that the process of entrusting responsibility to the people of India has gone at a slower pace, thus always making the steps taken to consult public opinion seem too late, and thus stimulating bigger demands. The policy has been the policy of caution, and it may be conceded it has been dictated by the desire for the welfare of the people concerned. But such a policy is not conducive to averting troubles. The stage has come when not only deficiencies should be made good, but some share in the work also will have to be entrusted to the people, disunited and even working at different aims as they are. To entrust such a task to a body constituted as the Round-Table Conference was not conducive to solution. This has been abundantly made clear by the discussions which have taken place this autumn. While every party represented has been agreeable, if not anxious, to see a change in the system of government, there has been more anxiety to safeguard the interests of the class or community which the individual regarded as entrusted to its care than to envisage a Government which would meet the aspirations of the majority of the people.

THE ACCEPTED GOAL

The declaration of the British Government that India will be made a fully self-governing Dominion after a period of transition, during which safeguards in the interests of India alone will be maintained, is a noble one worthy of its traditions in obtaining freedom for downtrodden countries; but the difference arises, as regards the period of transition and the exact significance of the meaning "in the interests of India." A real knowledge of the situation in India will alone enable a satisfactory solution of these points to be reached. The greatest difficulty is to find the real knowledge.

Too much can be made of the difficulties confronting the task of giving satisfaction to a large majority of the people of India. In no country can all the people be satisfied, and this is especially so in India, with her different nationalities dominated, not by regional patriotism, but by religious allegiance. They are not homogeneous to the country, but are in some instances affected by the circumstances governing world politics. The Khilafat movement may be taken as an example. Though the predominant religion is homogeneous to the country, by its very constitution it is not strong enough to resist inroads upon it. From a vast majority of followers it has dwindled to a considerably less proportion. As a matter of fact, it is to the interest of Hinduism to have power in popular hands as a safeguard, but it is incapable of ever becoming aggressive. It has to fear the minorities, but no minority need fear it. The most happy solution of these difficulties will be the birth of nationalism, the dominant characteristic of which is patriotism.

Having regard, however, to the fact of human nature that the party that administers the State distributes the loaves and fishes of office to its own community, the minorities fear that if there were a predominance of one party in politics they would be excluded from a share in the offices. It is to be remembered, however, that these perquisites are very minor factors in the economic life of a country. The real issues are those of culture, trade, observance of religion, and the propagation of the language of the religious texts, as well as of the literature bearing upon them. The safeguards in these respects instituted for the minorities in the new countries constituted by the numerous treaties after the Great War by the League of Nations have not been a success. In India their observance should be entrusted to an independent tribunal. Enforcement of the decisions of the tribunal should be left not only to the goodwill of the parties concerned, but also to the paramount Power—namely, the British Empire—for at least a sufficiently long transitional period.

These safeguards should be not only for numerical minorities, but for all inhabitants. As a matter of fact, the British Government has by proclamations given assurance in this respect, and while there is no independent tribunal to deal with dereliction, yet under a Federation such a body could be provided.

CONFEDERATION

As to the Indian States, there are two factors which are most disquieting to the people, outside as well as inside the States. The bad actions of an individual Ruler, which are more trumpeted abroad than the good actions of several others, bring disrepute to the class. There is no power to check individual turpitude except the fitful actions of the paramount Power, which are, when actually brought into force, resented both by the Princes and their subjects. The other factor is that even the good forms of government started by a Ruler, and continued, it may be, for two or three generations, may be discontinued by the Ruler for the time being, and subjects affected cannot enforce them for obvious reasons.

The two sessions of the Conference have not been failures from the point of view of reviewing the situation from different aspects and suggesting remedies for the removal of evils and for promoting the desired object. Far-reaching reforms have been submitted for consideration. The idea of complete provincial autonomy has gained approval, provided that the question of the representation of the communities is solved. The idea has been suggested, which may lead to its solution, that the voting classes should be divided on the basis of their economic interests. This idea seems to be a fitting solution of the question of representation. It might involve the redistribution of the seats according to the change in the economic conditions of the people, but it will do away with communal representation. The form of government which would begin with the villages as a unit, leading up to the Provincial Councils, would facilitate the formation of a single Chamber for the disposal of Central subjects.

The single Chamber would consist of representatives or plenipotentiaries of States forming the Federation. There would be no necessity for Central subjects for British India, and the provinces, could be brought on an equality with the States. The Federal Government would have control of legislation and executive action over only such subjects as would be necessary for the carrying out of the law that "unity is strength." There can be some safeguards for ensuring the development of the Indian States, the protection of minorities, and the other interests of the country, such as foreign relations, protection, defence, finance, and trade. The units may join the Federation on the surrender of only the right of the Federal Legislature to legislate in Federal matters. In the Indian States, which stand on quite a different footing from the British provinces, there should be the power of enacting legislation similar to the legislation passed by the Federal Government and the power to make rules under them in no way repugnant to the principles of the legislation, and also with this stipulation, that such units will only accept legislation in financial matters covered by the financial resources which have been or will be surrendered by them. When India is freed from the necessity of having safeguards of any sort for any of its communities or any of its interests, the time will arrive when limited co-operation as regards the financial burden may be widened.

AN ADVISORY BODY

The establishment of an advisory body on the lines of the Council of Elders in Japan will greatly facilitate the development of the Federal State in India. It should have a statutory recognition and a place in the Constitution. The Indian States may confederate among themselves with such States as have similar economic, social, historical, or regional interests for several purposes, designed with a view to their development. It is necessary for them to have a Confederation for the purposes of sending representatives to the Federal Legislature of a bicameral character. The spirit of solidarity will be infused among them. It is true that in purely economic matters the questions affecting them will be governed by economic considerations, but there will be certain questions with both economic and political sides to them, and here solidarity will lead to preservation. Confederations of different groups of Indian States need not be jealous of one another, since the object of forming such Confederations will be the promotion of the general interests and the development of the States forming the group.

The rules of the constitution of these Federations need neither be rigid nor identical. Every latitude should be given to component parts to achieve the object in view as far as lies in their power.

No Constitution, whether Federal or not, which does not give control to Indians of as many departments of State as can be given, with a definite promise for the transfer of the control over the rest within a reasonable time, will satisfy the greater part of India. If the Constitution is not Federal, it will continue to cause discontent among some of the Indian States. The process of decentralization of powers and devolution of them to the provinces has been going on apace since the sixties of the last century. It now remains only to give the provinces autonomy as regards all matters pertaining to their Government, except those to be retained for the unitary control of the Federal Government.

The difficulties in the way of the granting of complete provincial autonomy are two—namely, (1) the communal question, and (2) the haphazard structure of the provinces. The solution of the second difficulty, with a declaration of the fundamental rights of all subjects, will also solve the first, but complete autonomy for India in the centre will make slow progress, even if the provinces are reconstructed and made fully autonomous. The necessity of keeping all the Federal units together and not allowing India to be again divided into different political units with no common object or control will require careful attention and guarding. India may have a League of Nations of its own. The question of the Army, involving as it does control over foreign affairs and finances, can only be solved by patience, sobriety, and goodwill.

The Indian States can only join a British Federation through a Confederation among themselves. No Indian Federation can be complete which does not solve the question of paramountcy and the obligations resulting therefrom. The authority to set abuses right and to regulate disputes of succession in hereditarily ruled States must arise and will require solution. The proposed Confederation may find a solution for these and similar other questions. The question of vested interests of others, whether in the States or the provinces, including the fundamental rights of the subjects, may also be thrashed out by the Advisory Council proposed.

As an example of how, in the consideration of larger matters affecting the greater part of India, some comparatively smaller matters, but substantial by themselves, are kept out of sight may be mentioned the case of the landholding class of the Bombay Presidency. Their status is unique in that they consist of all castes and creeds, and many of them trace their existence to pre-Muhammadan Hindu kingdoms. They comprise one-tenth of the number of villages of the Bombay Presidency and nearly one-fourth of its gross revenue. Some of them are bigger in size than many ruling States, from which they differ only because their holders do not exercise civil or criminal jurisdiction. While the landholders in the provinces of Bengal, Oudh, and Madras have been given representation in the Conference, the expressed wish of the landholders of the Bombay Presidency, in spite of the fact that their interests are of a peculiar kind and of a different nature from the landholders of these other provinces represented, was ignored. Their rights are fundamental rights and will have to be included in that category.

"FESTINA LENTE"

It is to be hoped that no section of the Indian population will so hasten matters as to jeopardize the promised goal of Federated India, with its place as a nation in the world. It was only in the nineties of the last century that the people of British India were allowed an influencing voice in the Councils of the Government of India. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, introduced eleven years ago, gave at least a partial power in the hands of the governed. So long as political, social, or religious minorities require protection from those among whom they flourish and live, and so long as that trust in the justice of their fellow-subjects is not engendered, or so long as communities are not prepared to sacrifice their cherished rights or objects for the sake of the nation, there is no hope of India having its place in the comity of nations. There is no cause for despair, since, after all is said and done, the guiding hand of Britain has been leading India along the path to a summit never reached before—a goal she is entitled to gain by reason of her history, intelligence, and endowments.

NOT TO BE ISSUED

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, December 8, 1931, at which a paper was read by Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, on "Indian Federation: Will it Work?" The Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Lady Bennett, Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., and Lady Holland, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., The Hon. Emily Kinnaird, Dr. Matthew B. Cameron, C.I.E., Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. S. Altaf Husain, Mrs. and Miss Kibe, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mrs. Severn, Mrs. Weir, Mrs. Herron, Miss Robinson, Miss Corfield, Miss Gwyneth Foden, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Mr. C. A. Mehta, Mr. S. K. Mullick, Mr. A. Mainwaring, Mr. P. Swami, Major Duncan, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Todd, Mr. B. B. Ghosh, Mr. P. Datta, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Dr. A. T. Shah, Miss L. Sorabji, Dr. Syed Abdul Majid, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Mr. J. H. Redhead, Dr. Tahmankar, Mr. R. V. Kumbhare, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. Rennie Smith, Miss M. A. Thomas, Mr. A. E. Rushworth, Miss Reid, Miss Bowden-Smith, Miss R. Carew, Mr. P. K. Sircar, Mr. B. K. Sircar, Mr. and Mrs. Banker, Mr. V. S. Bhide, Miss M. Gravatt, Mr. J. F. Donelan, Mrs. Gaywood, Mr. and Mrs. Rice, Miss Blackett, Miss Speechley, Mr. W. Whitehead, Mr. C. A. Patwardhan, Mr. N. L. Inamdur, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are fortunate this afternoon in having the opportunity of listening to a lecture by Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, who has taken for his subject that overwhelmingly absorbing and important problem "Indian Federation: Will it Work?" I feel that I ought to apologize to the Sardar Sahib for the somewhat small attendance here this afternoon. It would have been a great deal larger had it not been for the fact that there is a very important discussion on India in the House of Lords this afternoon, and a number of members of the Round-Table Conference are there, together with a number of peers, who would have otherwise been here. I have been asked to apologize on their behalf for their absence.

You know, most of you very well, how fortunate we are in having such a man as the Sardar Sahib to come and speak to us. He was Chief Minister of Dewas State, and he is now Deputy Prime Minister of Indore. He is well qualified to give his views on this very important and vital question. He comes from a very old family. As a matter of history I believe he is a great-grandson of the famous Indian politician who concluded the treaty between the Holkar State and the old East India Company in 1818. Since that date his family have been amongst the foremost noblemen in the State of Indore. The Sardar Sahib himself has occupied many positions of great importance. It is only quite recently that he has occupied the position of President of the Conference of Landowners of the Bombay Presidency, and he is connected with a very large number of learned societies both in Great Britain and in India. He has for many years devoted himself to public life, and has always taken a very great interest in all antiquarian, economic, and historical researches. I think we can say that we are extremely fortunate in having the pleasure of his presence here this afternoon.

(The lecturer then read his paper.)

Colonel Sir UMAR HAYAT KHAN said that when the Prince of Wales went to India he was given every welcome in the States, but when he went to his own grandfather's country, British India, he was hooted. That showed the way in which Indians could look after their own countrymen best. Many English and Indian statesmen in India had said: "Let us try to copy the States." Now the States which were run properly were going to be spoiled if they were federated. (Applause.) It would be just as well to collect all of the rulers and hang them to the nearest tree. What would happen would be that when they sent their representatives to British India the British Indians would say: "We do not want them to be sent by these Rajahs; we would rather have Councils in the States to elect their representatives." Then they would rig up some sort of Assembly in the States to which would go their Budget, and thenceforth they would become ordinary pensioners and later on cease even to be that, and they would have to go. That was exactly the thing that was happening with the British. The more power you gave out of your hands to the other side the weaker you would be. Whenever anybody from outside had tried to conquer India he had had no difficulty. If they were going to have an Indian Army, as they now heard they would do, which would be officered by those who had no one of their caste in the Army and in whom the Army would have no reliance, that Army would be exactly the same sort of Army which they used to have before and which always succumbed to the pressure from outside. History again might repeat itself. What they wanted was that there should be a strong Government, and men should be sent to India as Governors who knew something about India, such as their chairman. New men were sent to India for five years; they were trying to understand the country during the first half of it, and the other half which was left was not sufficiently long enough for them to be able to do much. This thing had gone on for a very long time. In India they had always been trying to build from above. He hoped that any constitutional structure that was reared would be properly built from below, and in that way there might be some chance of it being durable. Posterity would see it break down if it was built wrongly.

Sir ROBERT HOLLAND expressed the pleasure with which he had listened to the address, and said that it was just what friends of the Sardar Sahib might expect from him, in that it was so candid, thoughtful, and impartial, and was expressed in such literary form. He would like to consider briefly the chain of thought in the Sardar Sahib's address, because it did not seem of much use talking at large about the whole problem of Indian affairs. The Sardar Sahib had said that the second session of the Conference had cleared away the fog and smoke which had been raised by the first Conference, and had shown the fire underneath, and that that fire was the people's growing desire to have powers of control in matters affecting their own social, moral, economic and political welfare, and that that expectation existed from the highest to the humblest, and could not be suppressed by any display of strength. The second point, as he understood it, was that Federation was the only possible method for achieving the fullest measure of development, and that no Constitution which did not give control to Indians over as many departments of State as could be given, with a definite promise of the transfer of the rest within a definite time, would satisfy the greater part of India.

The Sardar Sahib then mentioned various obstacles in the way of safe progress. The first was that there was no homogeneity in the provinces; that each contained warring elements; and that until there was provincial reconstruction Federation could not come into being. Then he said that there was no real national spirit in India at present; religious bigotry dominated social conditions; and the parties represented at the Round-Table Conference were disunited and were each working at different aims in their anxiety to safeguard special interests. Thirdly, the Sardar Sahib said that many of the States were not sufficiently advanced to stand side by side with more highly organized Governments as units of a Federation. They still needed the supervision of the paramount Power.

What measures did the Sardar Sahib propose as a solution for these difficulties? First, the reconstruction of the provinces on a regional, cultural, and economic basis. This, in the Sardar Sahib's opinion, besides achieving homogeneity, would go a long way towards creating a true national spirit, if coupled with a declaration of the fundamental rights of all subjects; but in the meanwhile safeguards were essential, and there must be an independent tribunal whose decisions would be enforced by the paramount Power.

Other measures proposed were the representation of communities by division of voting classes on the basis of economic interests from villages upwards, electing to a single Central Chamber, which would deal only with Federal subjects; the creation of an advisory body; and, lastly, the union of the States in a confederation, before joining in a Federation, coupled with the solution of the problem of paramountcy and resulting obligations.

The Sardar Sahib was impressed with the formidable nature of these obstacles, and laid great stress on the fact that the birth of nationalism must provide the happy solution of the difficulties, and added that complete autonomy at the centre would make slow progress, even if the provinces were reconstructed and made autonomous. In spite of all that, he had given it as his opinion, and he, the speaker, had traced it in several places in the lecture, that something must be done at once in the way of devolving more power upon the people of India. That was the conclusion which the Sardar Sahib had come to.

Sir Robert Holland commented as follows on these various points: As regards the fog and fire, he thought there was a certain amount of fog about still, and some of it had mounted even into the brains of people in high places. What the Sardar Sahib had said about the fire underneath was perfectly true, and everyone was beginning to see it more and more clearly every day. He was not quite at one with him, however, as to the nature of that fire. It was quite true there was a stirring of national spirit, but it was in its infancy. There was also, he was afraid, a growing revolutionary and a more and more embittered communal feeling, and in part the fire was due to the reaction to economic strain. The expectation, which the Sardar Sahib said inspired the humblest to the highest, was due perhaps in some part to the uneasy stirring of the people which came when the bonds of order were being loosened, preluding a break-up of society. He could not help feeling that the real desire among the people might be to be ruled honestly, impartially, and firmly as they were before, and as they had not been ruled for some time past. It was perfectly true that the movement, if it was a movement, against alien English rule, could not be suppressed by force. It would be utterly impossible for England to rule India if the whole of India was determined that we should not rule it. But was it the real truth that the whole of India was against us? We should see perhaps in a short time what the depth and nature of the feeling was in India.

With regard to the question of Federation, it was quite true that Federation was perhaps the most likely method for unifying India. At all events, it was probably the least cruel method, but in his opinion the idea of reform in India had been greatly hampered by the belief that it was necessary to weave responsible Government into the framework of a new Constitution. The real question was not in what form the Constitution was to be, but who was to exercise the power. A very interesting suggestion was made by Mr. Jebb in *The Times* a few days ago, in which he had said:

> "It may be that the true solution of the Indian problem lies in the immediate concession of Dominion status—which means simply freedom from external control—without responsible Government at the centre. Everything would then depend on the selection of a Viceroy capable of holding the country together and within the Empire, by promoting the common sentiment of loyalty to His Majesty's throne and person rather than any exotic theory of democracy."

He did not feel at all sure that that was not the real solution of the question. India should be given independent status, and there should be a Viceroy who should be the head of an independent Government, who should be left to work out the salvation of the country with English and

Indian officials to help him. The question as to how the British Army could be placed at his disposal would, of course, have to be faced. As to the reconstruction of the provinces, they had heard a short while ago of an ingenious scheme by Sir Geoffrey Corbett for reconstructing the Punjab. It was a very clever scheme, and one which might have afforded a basis for the Muhammadans at least; but the opposition which it aroused at once on the part of the Sikhs showed that any scheme for reconstructing the provinces must be a very lengthy business and it must create a great deal of odium for the British Government which would have to do it. When the first session of the Round-Table Conference was beginning, it was proposed that reconstruction and sub-division of various provinces should be taken in hand, but the idea was abandoned, except as regards Orissa, in view of the enormous difficulties involved.

As regards the proposed safeguards for the rights of minorities, the one thought which he would like to leave with them was that while there was no doubt that a Constitution based on responsibility could not possibly come into existence at present without safeguards, yet if there was any single safeguard it must detract from responsibility at the centre. There could not really be popular Government if there were to be safeguards. Mr. Gandhi himself had shown again and again that according to Congress conceptions a strong centre administered and governed by an alien authority and a strong autonomy were absolute contradictions in terms. He had made no secret of his ideal that Congress should rule India, or that the majority of Indians representing the Central Government should have complete control. Mr. Gandhi would be satisfied with nothing else, and quite logically, from his point of view. If safeguards were insisted upon, those safeguards would be merely broken reeds.

He did not quite follow the Sardar Sahib with regard to electoral representation through villages upwards. To his mind the Muslims would have none of it, because they insisted upon their separate electorates, and the agreement attained among the five minority communities during the session was a very strong corroboration of that.

With regard to the question of Central subjects, of course, the Princes naturally were nervous lest the Central subjects' jurisdiction should creep into their States. But the problem of the States was too vast to discuss in a few minutes.

Then, as regards the advisory body, Mr. Gandhi was in favour of a single Chamber. He had said that if the second body which Sir Mirza Ismail proposed was advisory, he would not oppose it, but the Federal Structure Committee had included a second Chamber in its scheme, and it seemed hardly practical politics to contemplate a Central Constitution without a second Chamber. The advisory body, after all, would be merely an assembly of venerable gentlemen who would utter pious opinions, but who would not exercise any control over the course of events.

The Sardar Sahib had mentioned a series of obstacles which were ahead in the path of progress towards Federation by the short cut, which he somewhat hesitatingly advised should be taken. He knew that the path through provincial autonomy was closed by the action of the delegates themselves. Most of them had said that they would never agree to provincial autonomy without responsibility at the centre. The Sardar Sahib clearly saw difficulties in the way of rapid advance, and he was led close up to the conclusion which he, the speaker, could not help forming himself—namely, that the longer path by the slow fostering of a true national spirit and by the maintenance of order and good government was the right path. But he had shrunk back from this conclusion and had said that the time had come when a substantial advance should be made towards responsibility.

He would ask the Sardar Sahib to consider what the position was in India at the time. There was a very explosive mixture there. Mr. Gandhi had been muttering remarks which were uncommonly like threats since the end of the Conference. He had talked about coming to the parting of the ways, slender threads about to snap, and had said "Farewell and beware." To-day there was very serious news both from Berhampore and from Allahabad. Mr. Jawahir Lal Nehru was seriously thinking of extending the no-rent campaign in the united provinces and Mr. Gen Gupta was talking of the coming war in Bengal. The Princes were discontented with paramountcy. He thought that the discontent was largely ascribable to the fact that the Viceroy had no competent and impartial tribunal to advise him in the settlement of complicated matters affecting the States. Unfortunately there was another explosive ingredient in the mixture. The Congress leaders were attempting to force Mr. Gandhi's hands before he got back. There would be competition for the leadershp between Pandit Nehru and Mr. Patel. That was another explosive element. The important point was that the so-called "defensive action" in one area, if adopted, would spread over the whole of India. It would mean the breaking of the Delhi truce, and it might precipitate a crisis all over India.

Muslims were already inflamed by what had happened in Kashmir, and it was quite likely that there would be new outbreaks of the same kind, as happened in Allahabad. Muslims would not join in any discussion of responsibility at the centre until the communal question was settled. The last ingredient was the Viceroy's warning that there could not be any advance on the path of reform unless and until there was absolute respect for the law.

The situation appeared to be full of dangerous possibilities. The Constitutional issue was narrowing down to a very simple problem indeed in practical politics, and was beginning to obtrude itself upon everybody's understanding. It was whether the British Army was going to remain in India and preserve order under British rule, or was it going to leave India and leave the country to Indian rule. That really was the issue which had to be faced. There was no *via media* at all. The British Army could never be left in India and put under a purely Indian Government, although many Indians believed it could, and that, because Britain had such great financial interests in India, it would never allow the Army to be taken away. Mr. Gandhi was again in the right in his usual clear-headed way. He said that if it was to be an Indian Government in anything but name, it must have control of the Army. If English rule was withdrawn from India, it would mean a serious blow indeed to England, but to India it would mean a far more grievous injury: it would be a disaster of the very first magnitude.

The Sardar Sahib was going back to India and he would have great influence in his country. There were many men like him, thoughtful, serious, earnest and anxious to do the very best they could for India, and with a strong belief in the rightmindedness of the English people. He would beg the Sardar Sahib to believe and to impress upon his friends that India was confronted with a danger of the utmost magnitude, and that it depended upon themselves whether the British remained there to preserve order, or whether India should sink into terrible chaos. (Applause.)

After a few words from Mr. B. B. Ghosh, Dr. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS said he would like to associate himself with the expressions of appreciation of the Sardar Sahib's paper, and to thank him for his extraordinarily interesting and indeed illuminating address. It covered so wide a ground that one was tempted to transgress the limits imposed by the Chairman.

He was very struck with Sir Robert Holland's contribution to the discussion, because he felt that it embodied that which many people in this country were thinking and feeling. Such a view was important, especially when such sentiments were joined as they were to Sir Robert's profound knowledge of India. But it had been said centuries ago by no less a person than Macchiavelli of blessed or unblessed memory, as the case might be, that in politics there are no perfectly safe courses; prudence consists in choosing the least dangerous. He would suggest this maxim in reply to Sir Robert Holland's contentions.

As far as the present condition of India was concerned, full as that country was of explosive mixtures, and potential explosive elements, the way of safety probably lay upon the lines laid down by the two Conferences. It was an extremely arguable point whether India desired democracy or democratic institutions. It was not arguable that India was desirous of self-government. It seemed to him that in the lines laid down by the various reports of the Federal Structure Committee they had something which would enable them to go forward step by step while testing their ground. So far as he had been able to gather, there had never been any question of throwing the existing structure in India down stone by stone. What they desired to do was to utilize it as the foundation of another structure, perhaps a more roomy structure, in which the various aspirations of the different peoples of India would be able to find their satisfaction as well as their place for expansion. Upon that he was led to remark, following the last speaker, with whom he ventured to disagree, that the most dangerous thing that could possibly be done was for this country to attempt to tie down the future Constitution of India too rigidly. If he had to analyze in one single word the principal cause of unrest in British India that word would be over-centralization. Yet they were told on almost every hand by people who had a very laudable desire for the restoration and the maintenance of law and order, that the one thing necessary in the future government of India was a strong, omnipotent, all-embracing Central Government. He would suggest that if they examined the history of India in the past they would find that whenever a Government attempted over-centralization, it broke down, and it was in attempting to over-centralize India that the present Government was breaking down to-day. That line of argument led him to the point that one safe line of advance was through a Federal system, because only by the application of Federal principles to India could they achieve that balance between the centripetal and the centrifugal forces upon which the maintenance and the content of the people of India depended. Let them consider the vast country animated at the present moment by considerable and important reactions against the importation of an alien culture. If they appreciated the numerous and valuable individual cultures which characterized that country, they would see a large number of civilizations, each one of which had a true claim to be national. How were they going to arrange for those cultures to live and to make their own contribution to a larger whole, while at the same time giving a sufficient degree of unanimity, if not of unity, on matters of importance to them all, without crushing any one of them? Such balance between central and local requirements could be obtained through Federation and through Federation alone; possibly through a kind of Federation that they had never seen before, but, at any rate, through something which was a great deal nearer Federation than were those centralized forms of government such as they knew in small countries like Britain.

In conclusion, he welcomed the contribution which the Sardar Sahib had made to this very important question. He had placed his finger on many difficulties, but, as they all knew, difficulties were things to be surmounted, and he earnestly hoped that they would not allow themselves to be discouraged in the path which had been marked out for India. (Applause.)

Mr. ALTAF HUSAIN said he only desired to comment upon one or two points arising out of the very instructive paper that had been read by Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe. He wondered if there could be established some sort of agency or medium to be a clearing-house for the collection and examination of useful suggestions and ideas bearing upon the project which was before them, where they could be examined and passed on to the reform workshop. The Sardar Sahib had made certain points which disclosed the obvious defects both on the Indian States side of the Federation claim and the British India side, although it was more on the Indian States side. There were so many disagreements and so many discordant elements everywhere that there were large sections of opinion who almost despaired of success. In such a crisis, what was the duty of the paramount Power? Even in a 40 per cent. democratic country such as India was in matters which related to the paramount interest of the country as a whole, the time-saving, labour-saving authority of the paramount Power should be utilized to the fullest extent to control the course of events. It should exercise its function of regulating the various aspirations of the elements concerned, which were either aiming too high or were taking undue advantage in conferences. No other course seemed appropriate.

The Sardar Sahib, in describing the method and system of the political department, had expressed the opinion that the system should be retained. He, the speaker, was in perfect agreement with those views: he was second to none in his admiration of that department and the usefulness of its work.

He would like to add a rider with regard to the disposal of certain classes of judicable work. If a system was applied in which the law of evidence and some kind of systematic procedure, and some method of public discussion and reasoned judgment, could be secured, it would much conduce to an efficient turning out of the work, which would give general satisfaction and greatly reduce the amount of criticism that had been levelled at this method for some years past. There had been a number of books written upon this subject by law professors in this country. There were also readable and instructive articles in leading papers here. Recently these discussions had slowed down. There had not been much said upon the subject, no doubt because it was expected that the Conference would take up this matter in some tangible form. (Applause.)

Mr. Joseph Nissim said he would like to add a few words on matters not of detail but of general principle. They were not starting *de novo*. The Round-Table Conference, in his humble opinion, had made vast progress. It stood to reason that they should not expect the British to give up their responsibility for the government of India unless they could gradually hand over that responsibility into the hands best able to bear it. The general idea was that India must be regarded now and for all time as a whole. There was British India and there were the Indian States, and it was impossible that there should be a responsible Central Government in India for British India alone. It must be a Central Government for the whole of India, British as well as Indian.

Another point was that they had been impressed during the last few decades more and more by the fact that in India they had problems which must be tackled nationally, and as a whole. One had to remember the war and the contribution that both Indian India and British India made to the general pool. They could not forget such questions as customs, the post office, currency, external relations, and what not. In all those matters they were seeing before their eyes something of a miracle; the growing unity of India; their growing capacity to do things together. As a slight illustration they might take what was happening in Kashmir. It was absolutely necessary for Kashmir in this crisis to be helped by such powers as the Government of India was able to bring to bear upon it. How easy of solution it would have been if there had been a Federal India with the Government of India advised by representatives of every province and every State in India! If he could read aright the mind of their distinguished Viceroy, Lord Willingdon (whom he had once had the pleasure to serve for four years, and with whom he was then in constant contact), what his lordship had recently thought was this: "I want relief in day to day administration, and the relief that I look forward to is relief that I expect from Indians coming from north, south, east, and west, and helping me in the solution of enormously important and difficult problems."

He would strongly urge the representatives of the States, and the one or two distinguished gentlemen from Indore present that day, not to be anxious or nervous as to the future of Federated India, but to see to it in the first place that they had a general scheme before them on lines to which they were pledged to work, and in the second place to contribute of their best to it, confident that it would be for the good of India as a whole and the States individually. They had now before their eyes the League of Nations working at Geneva. There they had States of every quality, some democratically governed, others autocratically governed, all working towards the common end, in a spirit of confidence, and achieving results. His friends before him had spoken of the difficulties. What made the problem in India easy was that Federation implied joint deliberation; a Federal deliberative body, a Federal Executive instrument. In matters of deliberation, at any rate, he for one saw no difficulty in the States and provinces working together and contributing of their best. When he considered the broad outlines of the scheme laid down at the Round-Table Conference he was convinced of its workability, and trusted that with a stout heart they would go forward both here and in India. (Applause.)

The Chairman: Before I ask the Sardar Sahib to reply to the discussion, there are one or two observations I wish to offer. In the first place, I would like to congratulate the Sardar Sahib on, as Lord Lamington has expressed it in a letter before me, the very well-balanced paper which he has read to us. We heard a particularly interesting speech from Sir Robert Holland, and there are only one or two things I should like to say about the paper which have not been referred to. Firstly, I thank the Sardar Sahib for the reference, a very courteous and generous reference, which he made to the Simon Commission. He said that Sir John Simon and his colleagues got out a Report which was a monument of their industry and intelligence. I can testify to their industry as I was in Bombay when the Simon Commission was engaged upon its labours. I think anybody who has read that Report will testify to the extremely intelligent manner in which it deals with all those difficult and complicated problems which India presents.

Then the Sardar Sahib has referred in his paper to a subject which is of great interest to me, and that is the landowners in the Bombay Presidency. As I told you in my opening remarks, he took over the Presidency of the Landowners' Association last year. It was always a great privilege and pleasure to me not only to have many friends amongst the landowners, but to recognize as far as I possibly could their fundamental and historic rights. I used to visit them whenever I could and to meet them in Durbar yearly, and I did everything that lay in my power to uphold those rights. Personally, I think it would be a very bad day for India if the rights of the landowner classes disappeared and their fundamental and historic rights were not fully recognized by whatever Government might be in power at the time.

I do not propose to say very much about the lecture, but I feel that everybody in India, whatever views they may hold, ought to recognize, after what has taken place at the Round-Table Conference, that we are absolutely sincere in this country in trying to advance towards the ideal and aspirations of the Indian peoples. May I just quote the words of the Conservative leader? He said: "We are prepared to do all that courage and all that perseverance and all that goodwill can attain to meet the national aspirations or expectations of the Indian peoples." I do not think any leader of any great party could possibly have said more, and it does not seem to me that, if success is going to be attained, that success can ever be attained without goodwill on the part of the people of India themselves. Sir Robert Holland has spoken of explosive mixtures in India. Anybody who has been in India knows, as the Sardar Sahib said so well, that India will reach her appointed place in the comity of nations by evolution and not by revolution. There is nothing which does more harm to the Indian people in this country than the methods which some of those out in India seem prepared to adopt, either to plunge India into chaos, or to use boycott or even murder in order to attain their ends. The majority of people in this country, indeed all the people in this country, detest such methods, and they will never be terrorized into granting something which India may try to attain by means such as those.

It is perfectly true, as the Sardar Sahib said, that you cannot satisfy all the people in any country. We have had a most remarkable General Election, and we have failed to satisfy a certain section of people in this country. But the object of every Government in India, as must be the aim of the Government here, and the object of Federal Government, when it comes, must be not only to satisfy its own supporters, if it is going to succeed, but to satisfy and to look after the interests of those who may not have put it into power, but it ought, as its first object, to look after all those to whom it is responsible, of whatever class or creed.

My friend the Sardar Sahib comes from a race which has a great record in India. The Marathas have shown, in the past, on many a battlefield, their great courage, and in the Great War again showed their great loyalty and their great courage. We look to them and to him, as representing them, to do all that lies in his power and in their power to carry on those great traditions and by constitutional means to help in every possible way their country to attain what we all want it to attain, those aspirations, those expectations of which I have spoken, and in the end to become the prosperous country which every lover of India desires it to be. (Applause.)

Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe: In the first place I must thank you, and those who have spoken appreciatively about my paper in this assembly, which consists largely of many administrators who have matured in the service of the State and in the public life of this country. The object with which I wrote this paper was to provoke discussion in order that it might make some further contribution to the ventilation of the subject of the Indian Constitution, which has been before the public for the last few months, at any rate. I may say that I have held most of the views expressed in this paper for a long time. I have used arguments which have appeared in articles from my pen in periodicals and elsewhere. A question which has been before us is whether there has really been a weakening of the control of the Government, and whether a stronger Government would remove the unhelpful conditions which exist in India. I am in general agreement with what fell from Mr. Rushbrook Williams. I believe the progress in India has been retarded by unduly centralized government. I am firmly of opinion that India requires more regional government to assist its development. In my observations of affairs in this country, I find it owes its development largely to local activities in its county councils, borough corporations, rural district councils, and so on, which look after the betterment of the localities they manage.

As observed by Mr. Rushbrook Williams, in India there are many nationalities, and different parts of India have different problems to solve, and, therefore, I think a real advancement of India will not take place without Federation. It has been said that if the control of the Central Government is weakened, then there will be war between the different provinces and States in India, or they will be at loggerheads one way or another. I do not believe so. I think that a Central Government is compatible with the full autonomy of the Provincial Government. The Central Government means, as I have stated in my paper, that the different provinces and States comprising the Indian Empire are to unite for the purposes of defending one another; but for all local matters, and even for economic advancement, I believe the real advancement of India will best be served by more attention being given to local affairs by means of Provincial and State Government. There is, no doubt, great difficulty, as Sir Robert Holland has said, in solving this problem of the reconstruction of provinces. I believe that can be achieved by the united wisdom of the people and united counsel. It is a matter of time: it cannot be achieved in a day, but it can be done.

One gentleman asked me how these economic electorates will come into being without introducing still more inequality among the people. That is a solution which I have suggested, because I think it is in keeping with the genius of India, since the caste system came into existence on the economic basis. I believe there are many good points in the system; there are also some bad points and, therefore, I say the caste system as it stands to-day should be done away with. But I believe economic unity will be something on which the caste system can be reshaped, freed from the bad points of which so much has been written.

A gentleman said that the Advisory Board proposed by me was unnecessary, because committees were to be appointed by the Government. I am afraid he has not understood the purpose of the committees. I understand that they are to be appointed for investigating certain questions arising from the Federal plan. Therefore, the idea of an Advisory Board is quite different. It will be, as my friend said, a clearing-house for sorting out ideas and giving them shape.

I am in agreement with Mr. Husain when he suggests that the justicable duties should be carried out by the Political Department, under definite rules. I believe some rules have been framed. If there is any ground for dissatisfaction, it is a matter of detail worthy of consideration.

Sir Reginald Glancy briefly proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the lecturer, which was carried by acclamation.

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NOT TO BE ISSUED

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

THE SMALLER STATES IN THE NEW INDIA

By His Highness the Chief Sahib of Sangli, K.C.I.E.

All parties at the Indian Round-Table Conference have accepted the basis that the Central Government of India should be a Federation of All India, embracing both British India and the Indian States in a bi-cameral legislature. This basis has been accepted also by His Majesty's Government as the foundation of the political structure of the New India. The principle of Federation has been accepted by the leading political organizations of India, and among them by the Chamber of Princes, subject to certain essential safeguards. Some of the most important of these safeguards are in respect of the relationship of the States to British India and the relations of the States among themselves, and are comprised in the question of the representation which the States may have, collectively as well as individually, in the Federal Chambers. The measure of representation to be allotted to the smaller States constitutes their problem so far as the future Federation is concerned. It is this problem with which I wish to deal in this brief paper.

It is hardly necessary for me, for the benefit of readers, most of whom are acquainted with Indian conditions, to explain at length the general character of the Indian States or their importance in the future of India. Nor do I desire to weary such a public with a mass of figures and details. It is, however, necessary for me to refer to the number and general classification of the States, if only because a good deal of misapprehension exists on the subject.

Number of States

There are no less than 562 States, or units, which have this, at least, in common, that they are separate entities, which, while under the suzerainty of the Crown, are under the personal government of their rulers. The largeness of this number is sometimes quoted as an indication of the extent and importance of the States in general. More often it is referred to almost in terms of reproach and with the suggestion that, because many of these units are small to the point of insignificance, the importance of the States as a whole is thereby diminished. The diversity in the size of the States is, indeed, very striking, and is one of the factors which prevent any precedent or analogy being applied to the unique problem which they present. It is necessary, therefore, to examine whether any classification of the States is possible.

We cannot, perhaps, do better than to take as our starting-point the basis of division adopted for the constitution of the Chamber of Princes. According to this division, there are 109 States the rulers of which are Members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right; 126 States the rulers of which are represented in the Chamber by twelve members of their order elected by themselves; and 327 Estates, Jagirs, and other entities of a like nature which have no representation in the Chamber. The figures in the eleventh paragraph of the Report of Sir Harcourt Butler's Indian States Committee, as amended by the promotion of one State from the second to the first class, show the aggregate area, population, and revenue of the total number of States in each class. The first class of States comprises nearly 87 per cent. of the area and 88 per cent. of the population, and nearly 93 per cent. of the revenue of the Indian States, taken as a whole. The second class of States includes 12 per cent. of the total area and nearly 11 per cent. of the total population, but little more than 5½ per cent. of the total revenue. The third class of States or Estates, in spite of their great numbers, only contains a little over 1 per cent. of the total area and population and a little over 1½ per cent. of the total revenue. These figures may, of course, undergo some modification if the claims of certain States to be promoted from the second and third classes respectively are admitted. But they show in a general manner the classification that is at present in force.

THE BASIS OF DEMARCATION

It is, however, probable that many of those who read this article will ask what exactly I mean by the smaller States, and where I would draw the line between them and the larger States. Nothing, I may remark, is more difficult than to draw such a line, and, I may add, more embarrassing. Many attempts have been made; I think it is generally agreed that they have all failed, and I am not going to suggest that any hard and fast distinction can be made.

Can we accept the general classification adopted for membership of the Chamber of Princes and call all the 109 States in the first class larger States and all the rest smaller States? It cannot be denied that many of these 109 States will be found to be small indeed, not merely in comparison with the smaller British-Indian Provinces, but also in comparison with the largest of the States; nor can it be altogether ignored that there are a few States in the second class which are as large as, or larger than, several of those in the first class.

Can we proceed upon the test of the salute of guns? There are altogether 119 States the rulers of which are entitled to a salute of guns. These would include, even more than by the first classification, States relatively small in comparison with the biggest States. Moreover, the salute list, as it stands, has been authoritatively admitted to be full of anomalies and unsuitable as a basis for any fundamental distinctions between the States *inter se* at the present day.

Can we take the treaties to distinguish the larger States from the smaller? Such a test would be unsatisfactory because it suggests that the possession of a treaty puts a State into a higher category than that occupied by States which have sanads, agreements, or other engagements. It is obviously the terms of the engagement and not the name that count. A treaty which imposes certain restrictions on internal autonomy cannot be regarded as bestowing a higher status than an agreement which makes no mention of such restrictions. Moreover, such a test would exclude States which are relatively among the most important; and, even more than in the case of salutes, the fact of the execution of a treaty depended on temporary political considerations which are not necessarily a correct indication of the relative importance of today.

Then, again, should population be the basis of demarcation? It will be generally conceded that a mere counting of heads is not an entirely satisfactory criterion of importance. There may be distinctions of area, of revenue, and even of culture, which may materially affect the influence of mere numbers. Moreover, when we come to the question of federal representation, it is desirable that federating units should be represented as such, and not merely on a basis of population, at least in the Upper House. The most striking instance of this is, of course, the Senate of the United States of America. The principle has, it may be noted with satisfaction, been to some extent recognized in the Third Report of the Federal Structure Committee to the Round-Table Conference. In fact, any line of division on a basis of population must be arbitrary and empirical. An examination of the populations of the various States shows that twenty-eight of them have a population substantially exceeding the figure of 400,000. These States, of course, vary greatly among themselves; but they comprise 70 per cent. of the population, and I think I may regard the remainder as roughly constituting the smaller States, though the importance of numbers must be tempered by other factors.

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS

I do not, of course, suggest that any marked difference of character or outlook can be found between States separated only by an arbitrary classification. I contend, on the contrary, that a community of character, as well as a community of interest, runs through the States, from the largest down to those of very modest dimensions. I venture further to advance that the characteristics which specially distinguish the States from the British Provinces are as marked in the smaller as in the larger States: perhaps they stand out even more prominently, because the total picture is a smaller one. What are these special characteristics? They are suggested in the Report of Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee, where it is stated that the Indian States are the most picturesque part of India, and that they represent the ancient form of government in India, especially when the State is Hindu, when all that is national in Hindu feeling is turned towards the ruler.

"Truly it may be said," the Report goes on, "that the Indian States are the Indian India."

These points are to be specially found in the smaller States, whatever classification we may adopt. It was natural enough that the most fertile and the most accessible portions of the Peninsula should have come under the direct dominion of the Mogul Empire, and that, when that Empire dissolved, these broad tracts should have fallen to the share of the British Government in India, or of dynasties which founded great States such as Hyderabad and the Maratha kingships. The older dynasties were pushed into the fastnesses of Rajputana, or Kathiawar, or Central India, or the Central Provinces, or the slopes of the Himalayas. It is there that most of the smaller States are to be found, or in the debatable land which lay on the frontiers of contending kingdoms, and was therefore held on a tenure of warlike service by military chiefs, who gained independence and whose descendants now rule them as autonomous States. It can easily be understood that States so placed and constituted contain much of what is most picturesque in India. Again, the rulers of these States include families of extreme antiquity, which have existed since the Aryan conquest, and they have all played a part in the history of the land. There is another feature of Indian States which has often been noticed, and that is the personal rule of the Prince. "None who have visited the Indian States," observes a writer, "can avoid carrying away a vivid impression of the direct relation of the Prince to his people, of the immense veneration for this visible sign of authority, and of the confidence felt in the power immediately to reward, redress, or punish without the endless formalities of a Secretariat." Truly it may be said, in the words of the Indian States Committee to which I have just referred, that the Indian States are the true Indian India.

TREATIES AND SANADS

Among the attempts at the classification of the Indian States to which I have already referred has been the distinction which it has been sought to draw between the treaty States and those which have had other forms of agreement, such as sanads, with the

British Government. It is sometimes recalled, in derogation of the rights of the smaller States, that many of them were saved by British intervention from destruction or absorption by their more powerful neighbours, to whom they were obliged to pay tribute in one form or another, and that others of the smaller States were feudatories of other rulers, on whose overthrow or disappearance their allegiance was transferred to the British Crown. Such conditions are by no means universal in the case of the smaller States, but even where they exist I do not think that it affects the present-day position. The independence of these States in internal sovereignty, even when they had to make some payment or to render some service, is admitted, and the rights of such States are, in fact, inherent in their status. These rights are guaranteed to, but they are not conferred on, the States by the treaties; and the guarantees have been renewed and strengthened by the promise of the King-Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights, and dignities of the Princes.

There is one further respect in which no line of differentiation can, in my opinion, be drawn between the larger and the smaller States. That is in regard to loyalty to the British Crown, helpfulness to the British Government, and a readiness to recognize the essential unity of all India and to take a full share in realizing the ideal of Federation evolved at the Round-Table Conference.

FEDERAL REPRESENTATION

I have tried, so far, to make clear the claim of the smaller States to have their status recognized in a Federated India and to have an adequate share in its institutions. The most obvious method of giving such a share is by representation in the Federal Legislative Houses. I am going to lay down two general principles which I hope will meet with acceptance. Firstly, that representation should be as individual as is possible; and, secondly, that no portion of India should be left without some degree of representation, however small, in the selection of which it has an effective voice. I do not propose to trouble my readers with any actual figures, because any suggestion of a fixed number would be purely tentative and subject to many provisos. But I would submit my desire for full and, as far as possible, individual representation of the States, which entails, firstly, the consent of our friends from the British Indian Provinces to agree to a representation of the States in excess of a number based merely on the figures of population; and, secondly, legislative Houses of an adequate size.

On the first point, I need not dilate at length. I need only record with gladness that the justice of the demand of the States for some degree of weightage is generally admitted. On the second point, it may doubtless be claimed with truth that small Federal Houses would be more economical and more manageable. But these advantages would be dearly bought if the houses thereby ceased to be representative either of the very numerous elements in the electorate of a British Indian Province, or of the Indian States. My wish that as many States as possible should be individually represented is based on two considerations: firstly, that every State, large or small, is a federating unit, and that it is desirable that as many units should have a direct voice in the resulting Federation; and, secondly, that the demands of the legitimate self-respect, not merely of the ruler, but quite as much of the inhabitants of a State, can best be met by individual representation.

It may be said that the States can be represented by groups; and I quite admit that, as we go further down in the scale of the States, grouping is inevitable. Such grouping must, however, be on a geographical basis for convenience and because of a community of economic interests, but it does not follow, in India any more than in Europe, that the nearest neighbours are necessarily the dearest friends. With a view partly to meet the objection to large Houses and partly to consolidate the interests of the States as a whole, it has been suggested that the Chamber of Princes should be utilized as an Electoral College for States electing their representatives to the Federal Legislature. It seems to me that there are two great objections to this proposal: firstly, that many of the larger States would not agree to it; and, secondly, that the smaller States also would prefer to elect representatives who would be acquainted with their particular interests.

GROUPING

As regards the representation of all classes of States, the only assembly which is at present representative of them is the Chamber of Princes. In that body, as already stated, the 109 States in the first class are represented in their own right; the 126 second class States choose 12 of their number to represent them; and the 327 Estates and Jagirs in the third class have no representation at all. I am not concerned in this paper with the constitution of the Chamber of Princes, which is obviously a matter for the Princes themselves. But I should be sorry to see any element of non-representation persisting in the Federal Constitution.

Some people will point to the difficulty of representing such small units; others, with less kindness, will deny that they are worth any representation at all. On the first point, I would observe that the difficulty is not so great as it might appear, since 286 of the 327 third class States are comprised in the old Kathiawar and Gujerat agencies of the Bombay Presidency, and thus easily could be combined in a joint representation. The remaining 41 are indeed scattered, but their number is not so great as to present any insuperable difficulty in evolving some plan of their representation along with their brethren elsewhere. As regards the suggestion that these States are not worth representation, I would observe that we do not wish any portion of India, whether States or Provinces, to be left outside, like a pariah or an outcaste; and we cannot, without an infringement of solemn arrangements, order such States to be compulsorily united, even for purposes of voting only, with adjacent portions of the British Provinces.

If, therefore, I am asked what representation should be given to the Indian States, I would reply that as many as possible should be given representation as units, and that the remaining States should be represented either by grouping, or in rotation, or by a combination of the two, or in some other way which may be found to be convenient; while the third class might be represented by two or three members elected by a system of large groups.

I am aware that these suggestions cannot easily be reconciled with the small number of seats, 80 and 100 respectively, which the Report of the Federal Structure Committee proposes to allot to the States in the Houses of the Federal Legislature. If that allotment is ultimately adopted the smaller States will, I venture to hope, bow to the decision and with loyalty enter the Federation. I feel some doubt, however, whether the numbers proposed for the Houses will meet the demands of the various interests in the British Provinces. Should these numbers be ultimately increased, I trust that the additional number of seats which must then be allotted to the States will be utilized so as to allow of the individual representation of a larger proportion of the States in the manner which I have indicated.

PRESERVATION OF SMALLER STATES

I have thus far endeavoured to show that the smaller States are entitled to a share in a Federated India, and that such a share should be large enough to allow to them a fair amount of individual representation. But it still remains for me to show that they are intrinsically worthy of the recognition that is asked for them or, in other words, that they can conduct an adequate and permanent system of administration. Sometimes it is suggested that the smallest at least of the Estates should be abolished, by absorption into either a British Province or an adjoining Indian State. But the relationship of these Estates is a relationship with the Crown, just as much as is the relationship of the greater States; and as has been indicated in the Report of the Indian States Committee, their agreements are of continuing and binding force. Even the smallest of these States cannot therefore be abolished except with the consent of their rulers. Nor should it be too easily assumed that the inhabitants of such Estates will readily agree to the absorption that is proposed.

As regards the smaller States, whatever may be the line of demarcation that may be adopted, they can still less be abolished. Apart from any question of the legal force of their agreements and sanads, it is obvious that on this point all the States, large and small, must stand together if they are not to fall in succession. I am not one of those who fear that the smaller States will be swept away by the propinquity and by the pressure of democracy in the British Provinces. I believe that there is a great deal of local patriotism in these States which is entirely compatible with a co-existing national patriotism.

I believe, further, that many of the inhabitants of such States will realize that the advantage of participation in the political and material struggles of a huge province may be bought too dearly by the loss of a local administration which is in accord with the genius and instincts of the people. The States have not stood still; they have shown that they are sensitive to the repercussions of the constitutional changes in British India. As a result of the stirrings of new life they have already achieved considerable progress. How far they will actually go in copying the democratic institutions across their borders—how exactly they may graft such modern institutions on the indigenous form of government which they have inherited—it would be difficult to predict, but I believe that, far from the present constitutional changes presaging the disappearance of these States, they will ensure to them a continued existence.

It is sometimes suggested that the smaller States will not produce men of a calibre equal to the demands of the future Federal Houses. There is no foundation for any such belief if we look to the number of men from the smaller States who have risen to eminence in the public life of the country. I have tried in this paper to avoid all personal references, but perhaps I may on this point allow myself an exception, and may observe that, to take only two names, Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Prabhashankar Pattani are products of the smaller States. There has always been free trade as regards the utilization of brains between British India and the States, and between State and State, and I do not think that the balance of trade in this commodity has been unfavourable to the smaller States.

JUDICATURE

It has been suggested that the smaller States will not be able to provide such a judicature as may be demanded by their subjects. I am not prepared to admit that justice is not done in the courts of the States as substantial as in the more elaborate judicial system of the British Provinces, with all its paraphernalia of appeals and of high courts. Even today the smallest States have to satisfy the British Government that they administer justice properly. I would further point out that a system of a combined superior court to serve several States can be easily worked out without any real surrender of the sovereignty of the constituent States.

As regard the Estates and Jagirs, it is the Paramount Power which carries out the functions of government which their rulers cannot carry out themselves. It would be in the best interests of these Estates that the present system should be continued until a better one is evolved in consultation with rulers concerned. I would advocate that constant efforts should be made to improve and extend the operation of self-government by union and co-operation among the Estates.

Finally, I may be allowed to express the belief that the smaller States will always have a place and a character of their own in the Indian Constitution. The Prime Minister has told us that it is the adherence of the States, as a whole, that has made Federation a possibility. They will supply that element of stability that is so necessary in the enforcement of a new Constitution. In this respect the smaller States will have a special part to play. Both from their situation and size they will be more sensitive than the larger States to the inevitable change and movement of a more democratic India. The smaller States will be the outposts of the States as a whole. But they may also be able to be the first example of a happy blend between the Provinces and the States, on the attainment of which the hope of a truly united India depends.

CONCLUDING APPEAL

The rulers of the smaller States know that they possess already the sympathy and support of the British Government, to whom, as they must gratefully acknowledge, they owe their continued existence and the prospect of future progress. If I may write as a representative of these smaller States, we fully appreciate the kindly feelings towards us of the distinguished British politicians who have participated in the Indian Round-Table Conference.

What these States now seek is a recognition, both from their brother Princes of the larger States and from their fellow-Indians in the British Provinces, that the smaller States are entitled to a place in the Federation. They firmly believe that they will be able to supply a useful element in the building of a new Constitutional Edifice, and that they will make a humble but necessary contribution to the future progress and well-being of India while continuing to serve the British Empire, of which they are proud to form an integral part. The recognition that they ask for is not excessive, and I firmly hope and believe that it will be granted.

THE HINDU MINORITY

By Raja Narendra Nath

(Member of the Round-Table Conference and formerly of the Statutory Civil Service. Is a landowner in the Punjab)

In the British Press, as well as in the speeches of political leaders, whenever minorities are mentioned by name—viz., the Muslim Minority, the Depressed Classes, the Sikhs—the Hindu Minority falls in the category of "others." No Hindu belonging to a minority province can view this apparent indifference with equanimity. At present there are three provinces in which the Hindus are in a minority—Punjab, Bengal, and the N.W.F.P.—and it is possible that there may be a fourth if Sind is separated. It may safely be taken as a settled fact that the system of Government in India will be Federal. The federating units will be more or less independent. The Federal Government in the centre will interfere very seldom, if at all, and the matters in which it should have overriding powers, or should have the authority to intervene, are still under discussion. In a Federal system of Government, therefore, the relative position of communities in provinces becomes very important. The Hindus are styled as a majority community, and that description is correct so far as the Federal Legislature is concerned. But they are a minority community, as mentioned already, in more provinces than one. For the purposes of the Constitution which we are going to have, it is a mistake to treat the Hindus as a majority community and the Muslims as a minority community, from all points of view. It is perhaps not generaly known that the number of Hindus in provinces in which they are in a minority is nearly 29 millions, assuming that Sind is separated, and the number of Muslims in provinces in which they are in a minority, proceeding on the assumption of the separation of Sind, is nearly 20 millions. Therefore, so far as the Provincial Governments go, the Hindu minority point of view deserves as much, if not more, consideration than the point of view of the Muslims.

I may here observe *en passant* that, according to the practice of the League of Nations and the canons adopted by it, the bigger a minority the greater is its title to special recognition. Minorities of less than 25 per cent., according to the League, deserve no special treatment. I do not mean to indicate that the rule observed by the League should be adopted in its entirety in

India. What I wish to postulate is that a minority does not lose its character as such, or its claims, if it exceeds 25 per cent.

In the Punjab there is a very large section of the public men who attach great importance to the protection of the interests of the Hindus of the province in the new Constitution. It would be a mistake to assume that amongst the public men of Bengal no weight is attached to the point of view of Hindus as a minority. During our stay in London, cables have been received from men who occupy important positions in public life, insisting upon proper safeguards for the protection of Hindu interests in that province.

I was the sole representative of the Hindus of the Punjab in the Conference. No Hindu was nominated either from Sind or the N.W.F.P., but we received representations laying stress on the Hindu point of view as a minority. Therefore, the views to which I am giving expression are shared by a very large section of men, and, as will be seen, concern the interests of nearly 29 millions of human beings. In fact, there is nothing in them at variance with the views of the most advanced politicians. The only difference is that I lay more stress on them than they would.

Before dealing with the claims of the Hindu minority, I must make some prefatory remarks, and in doing so I would repeat what I said in a note recently supplied by me to an Indian journal. The politicians in our country may be classified under three heads:

1. Nationalists, who say that the question of communal majorities or minorities is of little consequence. All are alike. All are Indians, and it does not matter whether in a Legislature one community predominates, or another. Laws passed by the Legislature equally affect all. I do not belong to this group.

2. The second group affirms that differences exist and must be recognized. They, however, propose such methods of removing those differences as make their removal extremely difficult, if not impossible.

3. There is, however, a third group, who assert that, though differences exist and have to be recognized in the beginning, neither the Constitution of a Dominion Government nor even provincial autonomy can be worked smoothly if a way is not found for the eventual political merger of the minorities in the majorities, and facilities afforded for their removal. The recognition of differences lies in (i.) reservation of seats for communities, and (ii.) in having separate registers of voters for each community, called separate electorates. I will deal later with each separately, and with the methods of removing them. The

Hindu minority, whom I represent, claim reservation of seats which, for a minority community, should in no case be less than their proportion in the population. It must, however, be recognized that the voting strength of a community cannot be completely disregarded till adult suffrage is introduced. No glaring incongruity between the number of voters on the voters' register belonging to a community and the number of seats reserved for that community in the Legislature can be allowed.

The possibility of framing constituencies, if the voters belonging to a minority community are few or scattered, has also to be taken into consideration. Local Governments in their despatches on the recommendations of the Report of the Statutory Commission have dealt with the subject and have said that, in respect of certain minorities, nomination is the only possible course.

With regard to joint and separate electorates. The question has to be looked at from two points of view: (i.) Do they enable legislative bodies to deal with political questions in their true perspective, or do they unnecessarily impart a class and a communal colour to all the questions coming up before them? (ii.) Do separate electorates constitute a safeguard for minorities?

They were first introduced into Legislatures with the Minto-Morley Scheme. It is very well known that there was not the remotest idea at that time of introducing responsible self-government in the country. In fact, Lord Morley said in clear terms in Parliament that he did not intend to give Parliamentary institutions to India. In Legislatures devised by that Scheme each community had to put forward its point of view, and there was the British Government and the British Bureaucracy to hear them and to look at the questions before them in the light which they considered best, and to give their decisions. With the introduction of reforms associated with the names of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu, an element of responsibility was introduced in the form of dyarchy. Within the last ten years this system has been working, and there has been all along an official bloc of varying strength in different provinces, occupying a somewhat neutral position, and prepared to lend its support to one side or the other, according as the views put forward appeared to them to be acceptable or otherwise. In the system of government about to be introduced, even in provinces, the official bloc will disappear.

The position which the Hindu minority takes up is that in an autonomous province separate electorates will be prejudicial to the interests of minorities.

In May, 1928, I submitted a Memorandum to the Statutory Commission in which I laid great stress on the point that the right of exercising a vote in the election of members of the Legislature, in whose hands are entrusted the fate of the people, is a substantial right of citizenship.

The view so taken up was confirmed by a deputation which waited on the Commission—viz., that the Hindu minority considered it a grievance that two-thirds of the Legislature should be elected without a single vote cast by Hindus. Separate electorates were conceded to Muslims in the first instance as a minority right, as is evident from the answer given by Lord Minto to the deputation which waited on him in 1906, an extract from which is given at page 184, Vol. I., of the Report of the Statutory Commission. I need not reproduce that quotation, but those interested in the subject can look it up. It is clear from Lord Minto's speech that the concession is based on two grounds: (i.) That where the majority of voters are non-Muslims, Muslims will not be returned. Reservation of seats in a joint electorate was not thought of as an expedient. (ii.) That even if Muslims are elected they will represent only the views of the majority communities. Now both these arguments are based on the supposition that the majority of voters are non-Muslims. Where the majority of voters are Muslims, it is the Hindus who fail, as is fully borne out by elections of the District Boards. The return of a Muslim in tracts in which Muslim voters are in a majority is an absolute certainty. It is a significant fact that, with the Minto-Morley Scheme, separate electorates were not conceded to the Punjab Muslims. Two or three years after the introduction of the Minto-Morley Reforms a resolution was moved in the Council by a Muslim member, asking for separate electorates, and, as far as I remember, it was opposed by Government. Separate electorates came into existence in the Punjab as a result of the Congress League Pact of 1916. Before the Franchise Sub-Committee of Lord Southborough's Committee, I appeared as a witness, and I took up the position, which I still maintain—viz., there should be reservation of seats with joint electorates. Looking at the matter from a purely communal and not a national point of view, I hold the opinion that in an autonomous province in which the Council consists wholly of elected members, the safety of the minority community lies in being able to influence the election of the members of the majority community. I have now had an experience of the working of Provincial Councils extending over ten years, and I have no hesitation in saying that the return of members to the Council elected by the votes of their own community has in no way benefited the minority community. Our voice has been a voice in the wilderness. But the future conditions will be quite different. In the past the minority community has sometimes, with the help of the official members, succeeded in defeating the majority. But in future the communities will be brought face to face, and it will be a case of the plaintiff arguing his point before the defendant, or *vice versa*.

My memorandum was submitted in 1928. I have all along been connected with communal organizations. But the same point was argued with great force in the Report of the All-Parties Conference called the Nehru Report. I need not give the quotation, I refer to what is said on page 30 of that Report. It has been clearly argued that separate electorates, far from being a privilege for the minority community, are the negation of a privilege. No one can charge the authors of that Report with a communal bias.

The Report of the Statutory Commission is a complete survey of the existing conditions. The members of the Commission carefully listened to all the evidence that was brought before them. They made a careful study of the Nehru Report. I have gone through the Report of the Commissioners, and although in the Punjab great stress was laid on the fact that the Hindu minority looked on separate electorates as prejudicial to its interests, I fail to discover in the Report of the Commission any reference to this view. Nowhere have they tried to explain to our Muslim fellow-countrymen that under future conditions separate electorates would be harmful to them. They are not alluded to anywhere as a minority right.

Nowhere in the Report of the Commission do I find an answer to the question, pointedly put before the Commission by me and members of my party, why the Hindus, who constitute a minority of one-third in the Council, should be deprived of the right to vote in the election of two-thirds of the members of the Council, when that Council is to be entrusted with full powers? If it is on account of the pledge given by the Government of India in 1906, why was not that pledge observed in the case of the Punjab by Lords Minto and Morley? If it is in consequence of the Pact of 1916, all parties concerned repudiate it.

The Depressed Classes, Indian Christians, Europeans, and Anglo-Indians also demand separate electorates. With regard to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, I may remark that only in Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, and Bihar, have they seats reserved for them in general constituencies in which alone the question of separate or joint electorates arises. Anglo-Indians have seats reserved for them in general constituencies only in Bengal. In other provinces, Europeans come through special constituencies or by nomination. The attitude of the Sikhs on this point has been different from that of other minorities. They do not insist upon separate electorates. They only demand weightage in the proportion in which Muslims enjoy it in the United Provinces.

The communal problem, which is mainly concerned with the question of electorates and weightage, may have to be left to the decision of the British Government, and, though the official view may be in agreement with mine as to the incongruity of separate electorates with provincial autonomy or Dominion status, or as to its harmfulness to minorities, the British Government may feel reluctant to force its view on minorities who look upon separate electorates as a safeguard. In that case it behoves me to consider how they should in future be abolished. The second group of politicians to whom I have alluded before, and who may be designated as ultra-separatists, hold that separate electorates should be continued till their abolition is demanded by an absolute majority of the community on a referendum asked for by the members of the community in the elected body. I look upon this method as most obstructive. It will be long before universal primary education becomes an accomplished fact in the country. I am told that it is not so even in Russia. Provincial autonomy worked under separate electorates will foster the idea of separation, and the desire for assertion of communal ascendancy in a majority community to such an extent that the masses will not be persuaded to accept joint electorates. I have found by actual experience that there is a marked tendency among men to take a parochial or provincial view of questions. The majority in the Punjab or Bengal will not look to the interests of the minority of their co-religionists in other provinces, and a narrow outlook will prevail in an illiterate electorate.

It will be interesting to know what the proposals of the learned members of the Statutory Commission are on this point. In para. 95, Vol. II, of their Report, they allow amendment by what is called a "constitutional resolution" to be made after a lapse of ten years, "providing for either (*a*) changes in the number, distribution, or boundaries of constituencies, or in the number of members returned by them; (*b*) changes in the franchise or in the method of election; or (*c*) changes in the methods of representation of particular communities." They add that "if the resolution is one, the enforcement of which is calculated to prejudice the rights of any community in respect of its existing communal or separate representation, the resolution would have no effect unless it was supported both by two-thirds of the votes of the Legislature and (as part of this majority) by two-thirds of the members representing the community affected. The Governor would decide whether this condition is satisfied. If a constitutional resolution were passed with this amount of support, it would be transmitted to the Governor. If the Governor was prepared to certify that this resolution in his opinion reflected the general opinion of the province and of any community specially affected, his Government would prepare a scheme for transmission to the Governor-General, with a view to the decision being taken as to the framing of new electoral rules embodying the changes proposed." I have quoted the exact words of the Report. I understand the recommendation of the Commission to be that three conditions should be fulfilled before separate electorates can be replaced by joint electorates: (1) Ten years must elapse; (2) the resolution must be supported by two-thirds of each community, whether in a minority or majority; and (3) the Governor must be satisfied that the resolution reflects the opinion of each community outside the Council. The learned Commissioners do not, however, recommend the extension of separate electorates to communities other than those who at present enjoy them, or, according to my view, labour under them.

The learned Commissioners evidently did not recognize that separate electorates were conceded as a minority right. They assumed that Hindus, without any exception, wanted joint electorates, and that it would be easy enough to get a support of two-thirds of the Hindu members of the Council in provinces in which they were in a majority. With due deference, I submit that the assumption is not correct. The majority community, when once enabled to assert its communal strength, may not be easily willing to part with its rights, and separate electorate may be appreciated by future Hindu members of the majority provinces. I must, however, point out that the recommendations of the Commission must be taken as a whole. In the sort of provincial autonomy which they propose, the harm to the minority community is not very marked. The Commissioners propose that the Governor should have the discretion of appointing an official to the cabinet, thus enabling the Governor to put this official, who is not an elected member, in charge of some of the most important portfolios. The Sub-Committee for the Provincial Constitutions last year unanimously recommended that the Cabinet should consist wholly of elected members. The Minorities Sub-Committee afterwards reported that all minorities wanted separate electorates. I was the sole representative of a minority community which did not want separate electorates. I think it may safely be presumed that Parliament will accept the recommendation of the Sub-Committee on Provincial Constitutions for the formation of a provincial Cabinet wholly consisting of elected members. I wonder what the learned Commissioners will then have to say as to the continuance of separate electorates under protest from a minority community when a Cabinet, consisting of ministers in whose election not a single minority vote has been cast, exercises full powers.

It seems to me to be clear that separate electorates, both in their genesis and in their working, are a minority right, and if the future Constitution must be based on them I certainly think that the Constitution should provide that their continuance should depend on the wishes of the minority, and that consent of the majority community is unnecessary.

Opinion among the Muslims against separate electorates is growing, and in course of time the majority of the Muslim intelligentsia may realize their harmfulness. I could, if space permitted, give quotations from the speeches of Nationalist Muslims, objecting to separate electorates on the ground that they were prejudicial to the interests of minorities. In fact, they claim that the masses are with them. If two minorities desire coalition with each other, I do not see why the consent of the majority community should be an indispensable condition. Supposing Anglo-Indians and Europeans, or Indian Christians and Depressed Classes or Hindus and Sikhs desired coalition, why should the consent of the majority community be necessary? Why should it be a condition that the resolution should be supported by a majority of two-thirds of the whole House? Why should an arbitrary limit of ten years be fixed? Why should the Governor have the power of veto? What are the means at his disposal of ascertaining the wishes of the community outside the Council? My proposal should be acceptable to Indian Christians and Depressed Classes if they got separate electorates, Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and to Muslims in the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar, Bombay, Assam, and Madras. I would do away even with reservation of seats, which the Hindus and other minorities claim, if the minorities concerned express a wish that they should be removed. I would not make the consent of the majority community necessary.

Another important matter in which the Hindu minority is vitally interested is that of recruitment to the public services. It is their wish that the substance of the following extract from the despatch of the Court of Directors dated December 10, 1834, may be embodied in the Constitution, so that it may have a binding force, and be not treated as a dead letter, as is the case now. The extract to which I refer is as follows:

> "But the meaning of the enactment we take to be that there shall be no governing caste in India and that whatever tests of qualifications may be adopted, distinction of race and religion shall not be of the number."

No one on account of his caste or creed should be prejudiced for recruitment to public services, or for promotion to an office.

But there is the question of giving adequate share of representation to all communities. For this it has been proposed that a minimum standard of education, compatible with efficiency, should be fixed, and all communities should have "a proper and adequate share." In certain quarters it is desired that the Governor should determine the proportions. Others suggest that the Public Services Commission should determine the shares. My personal opinion is that a proportion should be reserved, for a time at any rate, the maximum limit of which may now be fixed, for accommodating backward classes and redressing communal inequalities. There are some Hindus who hold that there should be no such reservation. I differ from them. Although efficiency of the public services should be the primary consideration, the claims of backward communities should not be disregarded. The formula generally proposed, that a minimum standard of education should be fixed and all communities should have their due share, suggests, in the first place, two incompatible factors, and further indicates that distribution among communities is to be the primary consideration, and efficiency only secondary. For various reasons the power of determining adequate share should not be vested in the Governor or Governor-General, or in the hands of the members of the Commission, who will be his nominees. In the first place it will be difficult for the head of the executive to go against the wishes of the majority. Our past experience is no guide for the future. Secondly, it would not be expedient to drag him into communal and class squabbles; and, thirdly, in the provinces there may be differential treatment of minorities. The Hindu minority apprehends that it may not receive the sympathetic treatment which other minorities would.

With regard to the quantum of reservation and the practicability of the method which I propose, I wish to point out that the Government of India for recruitment to Imperial Services already follow the rule of reserving one-third for redressing communal inequalities. I do not question the political expediency of this policy, but I must point out that it is obviously unjust to deprive those men of the reward or the fruit of their labour who have worked hardest to earn it. The State has opened educational institutions. The education which is imparted in them qualifies young men for a limited number of avocations. The State should be reluctant to increase the number of unemployed in the class which largely resorts to these institutions. More than once the commissions and committees that have been appointed by Government have pointed out that literary education, as distinguished from technical, which is so largely sought by people, has served only to swell the number of the unemployed. There are very few institutions to impart technical education; there is little scope even for those who come out of them. The discontent thereby caused is no small factor in the prevailing unrest to be found in the country. Proper and adequate share to the communities should not, therefore, be the sole consideration in the distribution of appointments, and the best course is to adopt with regard to all services, at least for a time, the rule which the Government of India follows with regard to the Imperial Services.

There is one important matter with regard to minority rights on which I would briefly dwell. The determination of fundamental rights, unassailable by a majority community, is more important than any other device for protecting minorities. Neither separate electorates nor weightage is of much value. I am, however, glad that this is the only point on which all minorities are united. The draft of the clause has not been settled, and there are other points which need discussion, but the subject needs a paper to itself, and cannot be dealt with as a side issue. The learned Commissioners allude to the matter in para. 36, Vol. II., of their Report. Whilst admitting that such clauses exist in the Constitutions of some of the modern States of Europe, they state that they are not of much practical value. I do not know whether minorities in these modern States are satisfied with their lot, and whether they think that the Constitutions under which they live adequately protect them. But assuming that they are not satisfied, the question is, what would have been their condition if those safeguards did not exist? I fully recognize that Constitutions are not sufficient by themselves to create a feeling of mutual confidence among the classes, but they can certainly prepare the way for it. If for the acquisition of every kind of civic right one has to display one's communal and class label, class jealousy, rivalry and discord take the place of harmony and concord. Even a religious or social reformer, aiming at harmony, cannot succeed in an atmosphere in which the personal interest of a citizen lies in claiming the membership of a class.

To sum up, though differences exist amongst us, facilities should be afforded for their removal if their immediate recognition is unavoidable. Foundations should be laid for the erection of a political edifice on national lines. The method proposed is that though the Councils may begin with separate electorates and reserved seats, both should be removable at the wish of the minority community. Separate electorates were introduced as a minority right, as is clearly deducible from the reply of Lord Minto and from the fact that they were not introduced in the Punjab with the Minto-Morley Scheme. In the case of services, the highest ideals should be laid down in the Constitution, to be worked up to gradually, reservation to suit backward classes being made for a transitional period.

THE GROWTH OF EDUCATION IN MALAYA

By Hubert S. Banner, B.A., F.R.G.S.

(Publicity Officer, Malayan Information Agency. Author of *A Tropical Tapestry, The Clean Wind*, etc.)

It is one hundred and fifteen years now since the foundations of the Malayan educational system were laid by the opening of the Penang Free School. Four years later came Stamford Raffles to the Straits Settlements, bringing with him the inspiration of his (for that period) extraordinarily enlightened and liberal views on the obligations entailed by colonization, and he it was who in 1823 founded, and, on behalf of the East India Company, endowed, what is now the Raffles Institution at Singapore, the chief Government English School in the Settlement since Government took it over in 1903.

An Inspector of Schools was appointed in 1870, whose title was changed thirty-one years later to that of Director of Public Instruction for the Straits Settlements, while the establishment of the Federated Malay States brought about in the meantime the appointment of a Federal Inspector of Schools. By 1906, however, the need of greater uniformity and cohesion in educational policy as between the Colony and the F.M.S. had made itself strongly felt, and accordingly in that year education was placed in the charge of a single officer of the Malayan Civil Service, designated Director of Education. The State of Perak had possessed an Inspector of Schools since 1890; similar officials were now appointed for Selangor and Negri Sembilan, and the creation of a permanent expert inspectorate covering every Settlement and Federated State was finally completed by the appointment of an Inspector for Pahang in 1913 and of one for Malacca in 1921.

It will be most convenient now, however, to consider separately the various departments into which educational work in Malaya falls, and we will begin with the English Schools. These, as their name implies, are the schools in which English is the medium of instruction. The course at these establishments is normally spread over eleven years, elementary education being the concern of the primary classes and the standards up to IV., and secondary education the concern of standards V., VI. and VII. The average pupil reaches standard V. by the age of twelve or thirteen. The success of these schools has been phenomenal, for throughout the past decade Malays have been growing more and more anxious that their boys shall learn English, and they have eagerly availed themselves of scholarships and free places. All the new secondary schools are equipped with science laboratories, and kindergarten and infant classes have been taken in hand. Elementary handicraft is taught, medical and dental inspections have been introduced, and due attention is given to physical education, the provision of playgrounds, the encouragement of the Boy Scout movement, Cadet Corps, and all suitable sports. Until recently the demand for pupils from the English schools as clerks was greater than the supply, but today the supply is approximating to the demand, and accordingly the need is beginning to arise of realizing that a boy who has done well at an English school may still have to seek his living in a humbler sphere than that of clerical work. It should be added that at Kuala Kangsar there is a flourishing Malay college to train the sons of Rajas and Chiefs for official careers. It takes them up to the standard of the Malayan Cambridge Local School Certificate.

Passing on to technical education, although as early as 1897 there was talk of providing a trade or artisan school for Malays who desired to be trained as mechanics, it was not till 1926 that the Federal Trade School was opened at Kuala Lumpur. This institution supplies a three-year course in mechanics and fitting, and its success has encouraged the establishment of other schools of a like nature. The Treacher Technical School, also at Kuala Lumpur, trains apprentices for the Railway, Public Works and Survey Departments. At Serdang there is an Agricultural School which provides two separate courses, one for subordinates of the Agricultural Department, the other for the general public.

As late as 1901 there was no machinery for training teachers in Malaya beyond the system of engaging pupil teachers, who only too often deserted a profession which in those days scarcely offered adequate recompense. The first permanent step to rectify this deficiency was taken in 1905, when Normal Classes were inaugurated at Kuala Lumpur for teachers already engaged in the profession. The experiment was followed elsewhere, in the Straits Settlements as well as in the F.M.S., and these classes have since been continued with increasing success. From 1918 to 1928 selected local teachers were sent with scholarships to Hong-Kong University for from two to five years, but nowadays they go instead to the Raffles College, Singapore.

The above-named institution was established as a suitable memorial whereby to celebrate Singapore's Centenary, the ultimate aim being to make it the nucleus of a university. Apart from its function of training teachers, the college gives courses in science for students of medicine, while an engineering faculty, and perhaps some day even a faculty of Oriental studies, are contemplated when funds permit. Great hopes are being built upon this institution by parents anxious for the higher education of their sons and daughters.

Another establishment concerning itself with higher education is the King Edward VII. College of Medicine, which was founded in 1905 in response to a petition from a large number of the leading Chinese citizens of Singapore. Its original purpose was to train local practitioners and assistant surgeons for the Government. However, a full five years' course was given from the very outset, and in 1916 the diploma received the formal recognition of the British General Medical Council as a complete registrable qualification entitling its holder to practise in any part of the Empire. The school opened originally with the Principal as the only whole-time officer, and in those days the bulk of the teaching was done by a staff of part-time lecturers drawn from the Government Medical Service or the ranks of the private practitioners. A Professorship of Physiology, however, was founded in 1913, and a Professorship of Anatomy in 1920, and since then there have been instituted chairs in Medicine, Clinical Medicine, Surgery, Clinical Surgery, Midwifery and Dental Surgery.

We now come to the subject of vernacular education—perhaps the farthest-reaching activity in the whole sphere of the Education Department's operations.

As early as 1856 we find Government supporting two day-schools in Singapore, but it was only after the Colonial Office took over the care of the Straits Settlements in 1867 that the local authorities gave serious consideration to the problem of building and staffing schools where Malay boys might be taught to read their own language in both Arabic and Roman characters. The sponsors of the scheme found the Malays at first apathetic, recalcitrant at the loss of their children's domestic services, and distrustful of secular teaching. These prejudices, however, were slowly but surely dispelled, partly through the efforts of the native teachers, partly owing to the circumstance that the schools were employed as distributing centres for quinine and other simple medicaments. In 1901 and 1913 respectively two training colleges for Malay vernacular teachers were opened, but in 1922 these were superseded on a more efficient basis by the Sultan Idris Training College at Tanjong Malim, Perak, from which trained teachers go forth in a steady stream to the village schools to influence the physical, mental, moral and economic welfare of the coming generation. The consequent improvement in the education of Malay boys has been amply reflected in the success of those pupils who, after passing through their vernacular schools in four years, have proceeded to English schools. Time was when the Principals of the English schools used to dread the advent of the average overgrown Malay student; today, on the contrary, they are the first to welcome the bright, alert little boy who, once given intensive training in English, can jump to standard V. in three or four years.

Malay girls' schools remained for a long period a most harassing problem, for the parents were prejudiced against them for a variety of reasons. They objected to the loss of their daughters' help at home; they were reluctant to agree to their having to go to and from school unaccompanied; they imagined that literacy would lead to love letters and intrigue; and they maintained that cookery and sewing—a woman's sole necessary accomplishments, in their view—could very well be learned at home. But time wrought its changes, and eventually the leading spirits of the villages began to send their girls for a year or two to the local boys' school. Others followed their example, and in due course there arose a demand for separate girls' schools. Today the number of such establishments is rapidly on the increase. The curriculum includes such subjects as cookery, modelling, paper-cutting, drawn-thread work and hygiene, Malay women teachers being periodically brought to centres near their houses for courses of training by qualified Eurasian schoolmistresses.

Malaya, as I have indicated in a previous article, is an exceedingly cosmopolitan country, and accordingly it has been necessary to provide for the educational requirements of many peoples other than the Malays. For half a century, for instance, there has been a sprinkling of Tamil vernacular schools in the Straits Settlements, and there were already two small institutions of this nature in Perak in 1895. Apart from a few Government establishments, the Tamil vernacular schools are under private management, but they are regularly inspected by Government officials, and such of them as reach a certain standard of efficiency receive grants-in-aid. The chief difficulty has been to find efficient teachers, but estate managers have realized the need of such and taken steps to procure them. It should be added that the provision of a school is compulsory at all places of employment where there are ten or more school-aged children of labourers of any one race.

Finally, mention must be made of Malaya's measures to meet the educational needs of its very large Chinese community. Since 1911 the Chinese of the Peninsula have founded many schools to give their children a modern education in their own tongue. A few of these are free schools maintained by the generosity of individuals; some are kept going by District Societies, others by Missions; but the majority are managed by a committee of enthusiasts who undertake to collect the necessary funds from the public. The Government, however, assists with grants-in-aid such vernacular Chinese schools as voluntarily apply for assistance. The main difficulty experienced in these schools is that of contending with the confusion of tongues which results from the variety of dialects spoken by the Chinese immigrants.

In the scope of this short article it has been possible to give only the barest outline of Malaya's educational progress. I will conclude, however, with a calculation which will at least demonstrate that advancement's reality—namely, that within the last twenty-five years the average attendance at Malay vernacular and other schools (excluding English) in the F.M.S. has risen from 12,561 to 73,265, a comparison which holds good equally in other parts of the Peninsula.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDO-CHINA AND M. PASQUIER'S POLICY

By Bauduin de Belleval

(Director of *L'Indochine*, who has recently returned from Indo-China)

The success of the International Colonial Exhibition and similar considerations must not obscure the fact that the colonies are of very little interest to Frenchmen in general, and occupy a very small place in the minds of Government and public opinion alike.

Whilst in Great Britain there are many retired officials and business men who have spent a portion of their lives in India, and never lose touch with it, the French colonial administration stands completely apart from that at home, and the number of firms trading with the colonies is very small.

It is not surprising, therefore, that, although the disturbances in Indo-China were far less serious than those in the Dutch East Indies in 1927, they aroused much uneasiness in France. When news of murder and massacre is the only news ever heard from Indo-China, the public become convinced that the whole country is aflame, and everyone demands action in accordance with his feelings or (more often) his political opinions. Radicals and Socialists urge a policy of concessions. The Right take the view that the régime in Indo-China is good, that Bolshevism is responsible, and that energetic measures are required. Thus the problem has got enmeshed in French internal politics—a fact which does not assist in studying it nor in finding a solution.

The arrival of M. Varenne as Governor-General in 1925 had a great influence on subsequent events in Indo-China, and to all that has occurred since the tragic night in February, 1930, when five French officers and N.C.O.s were murdered.

M. Varenne being a Socialist, his arrival raised great hopes in Annamite Nationalist circles—hopes increased by his pronouncement that he had abandoned none of his Socialist principles. This emboldened the Young Annamite party to present to him a memorial demanding that France should, as a beginning, completely evacuate Indo-China! At the same time strikes broke out in the schools and in different commercial and industrial establishments: two French N.C.O.s were killed at a prison; and for four days Haiphong was in the grip of an outbreak which caused the death of more than thirty Annamites and Chinese. M. Varenne was compelled to turn his thoughts to the preservation of internal security, and to get reinforcements of European troops, arms, and munitions.

These events turned the attention of Soviet agents, after their ill-success in China, to Indo-China as an easier prey—all the easier because of imperfect knowledge of the Annamite language among some of the French Civil Residents, and their consequent need to rely on interpreters. Moscow had already under her orders, at the Canton school, a number of Annamite agents. Propaganda was now intensified and concentrated on the administrative errors of the Government, and on provinces with a turbulent history and areas where the lack of French colonists made it easier. The credulous and timid temperament of the Annamite was a great help. Annamites began to believe that the hour for the final expulsion of the French was near, and that the agitators were invulnerable, while others joined through fear of assassination or having their houses burnt to the ground. It is difficult to deny Soviet influence in these troubles: at each demonstration the police seized red flags and Soviet insignia, whilst disturbances always seemed to break out on May 1, or the day of Lenin's death, or the anniversary of the Revolution, tending to show that events in Annam are determined by the Soviet calendar.

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It may be urged that the Annamites, who worship their ancestors, and are devoted to the institution of private property, could not possibly welcome the setting up in their midst of a Communist Government and social system. This is quite true, and the agents of Moscow, as they did in China, act as supporters of nationalistic claims.

This propaganda is made easier by the existence of real grievances. An Annamite has very little direct contact with French officials: he has to approach them through compatriots who may misrepresent him. The French Residents leave to their Annamite subordinates the task of dealing with administrative detail, which they are apt to complicate as much as possible in order to increase their contact with the indigenous population.

Taxation is not heavy. Town taxpayers get the benefit of public works, and realize that the majority of what they pay comes back to them in some form or another, but what of the peasant, who gets neither gas, electricity, school, hospital, or road, and who has to pay more than the merchant or workman in the town who gets them all? He becomes discontented and ready to welcome Bolshevik propaganda.

How does he show his discontent?

The Annamite, though a natural grumbler, and always liable to imagine himself wronged, has a terror of being alone, a feeling easy to understand when we realize that the individual is of no account in Annam, where the two great social entities are the family and the village. An Annamite is only comfortable when among his relations and friends in the village, and the more there are of these the better pleased he is. For this reason Communist agitators have no difficulty in organizing outbreaks which involve entire villages and thousands of persons. The numbers surprise people ignorant of local conditions, but nothing is more natural; in fact, what would be really abnormal and disturbing would be to find people individually bringing their complaints before the French Resident.

Such, then, is the Annamite *en masse*. This is what sometimes happens: He drinks illicitly distilled rice alcohol and begins to talk, oaths are exchanged, and all start to march without arms at all, or with more or less improvised weapons. If the band should meet an Annamite mandarin, he is molested, struck, sometimes killed; if it meets a French colonist, he is left alone, or often he is made to turn his car and go back. It is a remarkable fact that in May, when on one occasion nearly 100 notables and mandarins were murdered, only one Frenchman (a sergeant) was killed, and he was killed by a Bolshevik agent. This would tend to show that hatred is mainly directed, not against the French, but against some of the Annamite underlings. The Frenchman, in general, is regarded without hate, and the natives are apt to rally round him. During the night when the French officers and N.C.O.s were murdered, a French colonist named Farreras, who had lived in the country for thirty years, was awakened by a band of Annamites who said that Frenchmen were being murdered, and that they had come to defend him. They mounted guard around his house till dawn. The reason was not because they were particularly fond of him, but because, in defending him, they were defending their own safety. Sufficient attention has not been given to the fact that there are hundreds of small French colonists dotted about from north to south of Indo-China in complete isolation. Weeks, and sometimes months, would pass by before it was known if any one of them had disappeared: yet not one, so far from being killed, was either molested or in any way troubled. In spite of all their efforts, the agents of Moscow cannot arouse hatred for the French in the Annamites, and all they can do is to induce the natives to agitate against the bad working of certain parts of the administrative machine.

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Long dissertations have been written on the comparative advantages of direct administration and a protectorate system:

in Indo-China France seems nowadays to prefer the protectorate. Cochin-China is the only colony directly administered by French *chefs de province,* but even there Indo-Chinese are closely associated with the Government. They have an important place in the Colonial Council which votes the Budget, and by a recent decree the franchise for the provincial councils, which have important functions to exercise in association with the Resident, has been made more wide.

Annam and Tonkin are protectorates, and in them, by the treaties of 1884, the head of the administration is a "controller" only, and has the title of Resident, instead of that of *chef de province.* In practice, especially in Tonkin, the chief mandarin (called *tong-doc*) has become more or less the servant of the Resident, and has no initiative apart from the small details of native administration. However, last year the *tong-doc* got back some of his rights, and after the incidents at Yen-Bay the chief Resident of Tonkin made it clear that the *tong-doc* was responsible for law and order in the province. It is easily understood that the Government prefers to throw the responsibility for checking sedition on to its native assistants, but as it cannot at the same time avoid linking privileges with these responsibilities, it is gradually coming back to the protectorate idea, which, after all, is the only logical one for a country with a definite nationality and civilization of its own, and where there is such a small number of French residents—32,000 only in face of 22 million, of whom 16 million are Annamites.

The difficulty is that, as we have seen, it was the power of the mandarins to which the Annamites so definitely objected, and in increasing their powers, the seeds of fresh outbreaks might be sown. The only solution to this difficulty is to be found in a more rigid control of these mandarins—a control now practically impossible, because of the small number of Frenchmen in the Civil Service and their ignorance of the Annamite language. The situation should soon be different, because the Governor-General of Indo-China—M. Pasquier—two years ago made it compulsory for certain officials to learn a native language, and has established a corps of European interpreters.

M. Pasquier has been in Indo-China for thirty-three years, and is the author of *L'Annam d'autrefois.* He has a full appreciation of all current problems, and during his last visit to France he obtained Government approval for the large programme of reforms for which he had been preparing for two years. He proposes first of all to reduce the number of minor French officials, and substitute Indo-Chinese, wherever this policy will not lead to loss of efficiency. By so doing he will reduce the friction so often found between the people and minor white officials. Careers will be opened also by this means to educated Annamites, who have for a long time locked only for Government employment, and have in general only found it a disappointment. Having climbed up the whole Service ladder himself, and been in personal control of many provinces, M. Pasquier knows that the *chefs de province* are the corner-stone of Indo-Chinese administration. For twenty years efforts have been made to decrease their importance and concentrate all power in the hands of the *Résident supérieur,* and more and more offices have been set up at Hanoi and Hué, employing in them the highest grade officials and so smothering the wretched Residents in such a flood of paper that they no longer have time to inspect their provinces. M. Pasquier has stemmed this lamentable tide by re-establishing provincial Budgets. A Resident will take more interest and have more authority in his province when he can handle money and employ it in useful public work. Instead of having as assistants to Residents youngsters only just beginning to learn their work, M. Pasquier contemplates giving them an assistant fully capable of taking their place—an interpreter and a responsible official. With an assistant of this type left in charge, the Resident can visit his province and indulge in that touring which should be his main business. A first-rate Resident should be away from his headquarters fifteen days at least every month.

M. Pasquier has just widened the franchise for the provincial councils of Cochin-China, and is proposing to do the same in Tonkin and Annam.

It has also come to his notice that the most disturbed regions are those containing the fewest French colonists, because in them the peasants cannot make complaints to the French authorities regarding the mandarins without using an interpreter, and because the Bolshevik agents can pursue their designs without hindrance. The importance of the small-scale colonists is thus undeniable, and M. Pasquier is determined to encourage an increase in their number.

Lastly, the voting of a colonial loan has placed at M. Pasquier's disposal enough funds to enable him to build railways and roads and to arrange irrigation for uncultivated or unfruitful regions. Before leaving Paris, he even broached the question of a further loan. The economic consequences of these extensive works are obvious; they will lead to a reduction in the price of many commodities. It is sufficient to adumbrate their political effect.

The two provinces of Hatinh and Vinh have been in a state of commotion, while the adjacent province of Thanh-Hoa, the most thickly populated in Indo-China, is completely quiet. This fact is due not only to the fact that Thanh-Hoa has a first-rate Resident, but also because in it have been carried out a large number of irrigation schemes, which have often increased tenfold the value of certain tracts of land: whilst in Vinh and Hatinh the resources of the country have not increased in the same proportion as the population.

For fifteen years public works on a large scale in Indo-China have been suspended because France had not the capital to invest in the colony, and refused to allow it to raise a loan abroad —a grave mistake which has led to serious economic and political results.

To sum up: the political situation in Indo-China is not really disquieting, but France has had a series of warnings which she should not ignore. Moscow plays a serious part—of that we can be certain: but Bolshevism cannot be made the scapegoat for everything. The administrative errors of the past must be atoned for, and administrative progress must be brought up to the level of the intellectual progress of the colony. Annamite nationalism is a fact which must be recognized, and political rights must be accorded to all natives capable of exercising them worthily and usefully. Such persons are admittedly only a minority, but it is an active minority and the Government must reckon with it. The mass of the population only wishes to get on quietly with its daily work, without being harassed by irritating and complicated rules and regulations, or by the threats of political agitators. It is not hard to give this class what it desires, and a few minor reforms of detail will fill it with delight. M. Krautheimer, the Governor of Cochin-China, realized this when he brought about a simplification of the formalities associated with the taxes.

A commission composed of officials, colonists, and native taxpayers could contribute interesting opinions on the simplifications of routine most urgently required and it would be a good thing if one could be summoned. For, although the Indo-Chinese problem has, as a side of it which looms largest, Annamite nationalism and the complaints of the native intellectuals, the side which interests the general population exists also. Fortunately, M. Pasquier sees both sides of the question. Confidence must be placed in him, and the result of his efforts awaited with patience, for, just as the causes of the present crisis are long-standing, so some time must elapse before the proposed remedies can show their effect.

TEACHING CHINA THE THREE "R'S"

By O. M. Green

(Late editor of the *North China Daily News*, who has recently returned from the Far East)

This is the romance of the man who set out to teach all China to read and write. Such a task is obviously beyond the power of any individual, and it would be both inaccurate and unjust to underrate the part played by others in the same ambition. But when China looks round among the reformers of to-day to see whom it may honour with statues, none will have higher claims than Y. C. James Yen, founder of the Mass Education Movement. The extent to which his enterprise has fired Chinese imagination would amaze those who think of China only in terms of perpetual brigandage and civil war. Here is something not brought to China by foreigners, but due solely to the enthusiasm and initiative of her own sons, often calling for real self-sacrifice on their part and gaining fervent popular support wherever they have preached their ideals. Against the recent years' dark background of political strife and disappointment, the Mass Education Movement stands out in brilliant relief.

It is a commonplace that the Chinese language is among the hardest to master in the world. In a suitable environment like Peking, it is not difficult to learn to speak it. I have known foreigners in Peking who, without ever studying it under a master, could converse in Chinese fluently if perhaps not accurately. But to read and write, there's the rub. Hundreds of millions of Chinese have always been in the same boat here with the foreigner. Like the Bourgeois Gentilhomme they *faisaient de la prose sans savoir,* but they could not read or write it down. Classical Chinese, formerly the only recognized literary medium, bears the same relation to everyday speech as Latin does to English. A lifetime's study is not too long to acquire proficiency in it, and great as is the Chinese reverence for education, it was simply beyond the reach of hundreds of millions of them. This obstacle to practical democracy attracted the attention of a number of scholars and the result was the Literary Revolution of 1917 to 1919 (a separate story in itself) which secured the adoption of the Pai Hua, the most widely spoken language in China, for all literary purposes. Not only newspapers and magazines but many standard works are now printed in the Pai Hua, which has already produced a large literature.

But there still remained the problem of teaching the masses to read and write even this simplified language. Six years ago, before the movement of which I am writing was really under way, it was calculated that only seven, out of eighty, million children of school age were at school and that over one hundred million adolescents had passed school age without ever having had an opportunity of learning. The struggle for life in China is so fierce, it begins so early—even at eight or nine the average boy or girl must be earning a living—there is so little time to spare from the hard behest of daily drudgery, and still less money, that unless some way could be found of teaching the masses the maximum essential vocabulary in minimum time and at minimum cost, Pai Hua would remain as unattainable by them as the classics. It is here that the inventive genius of Y. C. James Yen came to the rescue.

Yen is a native of the wealthy western province of Szechuan, a descendant of a long line of scholars of the oldfashioned stamp. He was educated in mission schools in Szechuan, and in due course went to Yale, where he was studying when the Great War broke out. The American Expeditionary Force wanted interpreters to serve with the Chinese Coolie Corps in France, and Yen volunteered. The utter illiteracy of the coolies gave him the idea of teaching them to read and write in their spare time. He opened a school in Boulogne and with the aid of blackboard and magic lantern he set himself to teach them a limited number of essential characters. The coolies responded eagerly. In 1919 Yen produced in Paris the first copy of the Chinese Labourers' Weekly, which further stimulated the men's desire to read. So was the Mass Education Movement born, and Yen returned to China after the War intent on what he had resolved should be his life's work.

There followed two years' intensive effort in conjunction with the Educational Department of the National Council of the Chinese Y.M.C.A., in evolving a vocabulary of the most often used characters. Of over 1,000,000 Pai Hua characters tested with scrupulous care 1,000 were chosen, on which four readers called "The People's Thousand Character Lessons" were prepared. The course that these involve has been found to answer the requirements of "Maximum vocabulary, minimum time, minimum cost." It enables the common man, by one hour's class work a day for six days a week spread over four months, to write simple letters, keep accounts and read Pai Hua with sufficient understanding, at a cost of about two shillings the first term and one every term afterwards. As the movement has grown, advanced classes have, of course, been formed. But even what the labourer could gain from the Thousand Character Lessons was an amazing advance from his previous darkness.

Experiments were made with the new teaching in Changsha and Hangchow, and in March, 1923, it was decided to launch a mass education campaign in Chefoo, a typical Chinese city of a province, Shantung, that is equally notorious for backwardness, and famous as the birthplace of Confucius. It is easy to get Chinese to rise to the crowd appeal. Every Chinese lives in crowds and is continually subject to the crowd influence of his own village and clan. Chefoo responded nobly. A committee of leading business men, editors, officials, teachers and students was organized, with sub-committees for finance, publicity and the obtaining of the necessary buildings. The magistrate issued 600 proclamations exhorting old and young to embrace the opportunity to learn; 1,500 posters were placarded about the city; and after a mass meeting, for the benefit of which all schools and shops were closed, over 15,000 business men, gentry, scholars and many women paraded the streets carrying lanterns and banners. Teams of boys and girls from the high school went about recruiting pupils; over 100 teachers gave their services free; 52 buildings in which classes could be held were obtained; and within two days over 2,000 students for the new learning had been enrolled. The youngest of them was seven, the oldest 67 years of age. Some, of course, have dropped out. In the main the movement has grown amazingly, and although the first ambitious cry to "make Chefoo literate in five years" could not altogether be realized, there are tens of thousands now who owe to it the ability to read and write.

The success of the Chefoo experiment led to the formation of a National Association of the Mass Education Movement, with James Yen as Director, which has pushed its campaign far and wide. Within eighteen months, Mass Education Associations were born in 32 cities, all of them entirely self-supporting, and in four years the movement had recruited 5,000,000 people, with over 100,000 teachers. The method of instruction at the beginning is the same as Yen had used in France, that is, by lantern slides, by means of which a teacher can instruct as many as 500 pupils simultaneously. For smaller classes of anything from 20 to 60 charts have been found quite effective. The schools are supplemented by home circles, conducted by an advanced student, under the eye of a travelling inspector; and perhaps the most picturesque feature of all is the People's Question Stations, where some enthusiast conducts an itinerant class for the large floating population of pedlars, ricsha coolies and boatmen, so prolific in China, and who have no other centre of instruction to which to turn.

Practical experience also showed that the original Thousand Characters was more the common man's reading vocabulary than what he needs in everyday life. This was particularly noticeable when the movement began to spread among the farmers (of which more presently); therefore, 600,000 fresh characters were tested (ten men's steady work for nine months) and 200 were ultimately adopted to add to the Thousand. Two different readers were also compiled for city men and for farmers, and finally the People's Pocket Dictionary containing 4,000 characters, by means of which the average student, after only four months' study, can practically read anything in Pai Hua that he is likely to meet.

But James Yen's imagination soon began to turn in a new direction, and in 1925 he started on what is really the most fascinating and suggestive part of all his work, namely, the education and elevation of the farmers. In China, as in all Oriental countries, big towns are comparatively scarce in relation to the country's enormous size. The peasant population of village and hamlet is the basis of the State, agriculture the foundation of the commonwealth. "It is the 'hsien' (or county) and not the city that must be taken as the key unit in the reconstruction of China," Yen wrote to his friend Dr. Alfred Sze, now Chinese Minister in London. If the nation was to advance, it could only be by raising the condition of the farmers.

But what an undertaking! The poverty and ignorance of China's peasants is something the West can scarcely grasp. Most of them live in wattled mud huts of one room, where all sleep on the bare earth. Furniture consists of a rude table, a stool or two and a few cooking utensils. Things like empty tins and bottles which the West throws away are eagerly sought after and prized. Families rise and go to bed by the sun because artificial light would be an extravagance; most of them could not afford it: A man who could be absolutely certain of £20 a year would be thought lucky. It is only a minority who touch even that.

But from the point of view of mass education, the village has distinct advantages over the city. It knows none of the distractions of town life, and students are more regular at school. The community feeling, on which the new movement thrives, is stronger, and in North China there are five or six months in autumn and winter when outdoor work is impossible. Also, because the village folk have been sadly neglected in the past, they are almost pathetically appreciative and teachable.

James Yen's vision saw far beyond the Three R's. The farmer must be taught improved methods of agriculture, hygiene and a civic sense. "Most of them," he wrote in another letter, "do not know whether they are living under a republic or an empire." He decided to settle in one particular "hsien" and make it a model for all the others. The district of Tinghsien on which he pitched in 1925 is a little south of Paotingfu, a great military centre when Peking still was the capital, on the Peking-Hankow Railway. It is a typical North China county containing about half a million people, chiefly farmers, who produce most of their own food and clothing, some of them moderately comfortable (by Chinese standards), some very poor, none really well-to-do. Altogether an ideal ground for Yen's experiment.

Just at first the farmers were a little doubtful of the propriety of their being taught to read and write. Education was a mystery too high for them, never had their fathers been permitted to pry into it. But Yen's persuasiveness, little privileges given to the families of those whose children came to his school—such as free tickets for the village entertainments he got up—curiosity, which is the strongest characteristic in Chinese nature, and the example of others, soon smoothed away these objections. Within two years there were 200 schools in Tinghsien containing 10,000 pupils, and all self-supporting. On nothing has Yen insisted more strongly than that every village must be entirely responsible for its own education costs. During the years 1925 to 1927 the bitterness between North and South was approaching the climax and Yen steadily refused to allow himself to be identified with either side by accepting a Government grant. He would work for anybody, he declared, and, in fact, his ideas of mass education have been used to a considerable extent among the soldiers of Feng Yu-hsiang, Chang Hsueh-liang of Manchuria, Chiang Kai-shek and other generals, whether at war with each other or not. The cost per pupil in Tinghsien is only fifty cents (say one shilling) for a whole term, but even this means something to be contrived in the Chinese farmer's slender budget. What is more, money has been found for the publication of booklets on "What a Farmer ought to Know" and Tinghsien now actually has a magazine (published every ten days) called "The Farmer." It costs two cents (about a halfpenny) a copy, deals with every sort of subject from rearing chickens to the duties of a citizen, and is eagerly bought by the farmers. It is the first rural paper ever published in China and in itself a wonder. Well might Yen write to Dr. Sze, "To those of us who know something of the poverty and backwardness of farmers it is nothing short of miraculous to see them actually subscribe for a paper."

More difficult than getting the peasants to come to school was it to persuade them that their farming might be much improved. The conservatism of those who live "on the land" is familiar all the world over; nowhere more so than in China. "You stick to your job," said the farmers to Yen and his colleagues, "and we'll stick to ours." Many enthusiastic Chinese students have gone to America and elsewhere to learn scientific farming with the express intention of passing on their knowledge to their countrymen. Yet they have failed. They might be able to deliver excellent agricultural lectures in a classroom, but their knowledge was foreign knowledge; they knew nothing of the special conditions of Chinese soil and climate, still less of the Chinese farmer. Yen saw from the first that success could only be won by practical demonstration, coupled with a scientific rural survey of the farmer's life and methods. His comment, in another letter to Dr. Sze, would apply to many lands besides China:

> "Probably only those survey workers (he writes) who have had their 'hard knocks' in China can realize how exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, it is to get accurate information from the people in this country, and especially from the farmers. Investigation of any kind, particularly that touching on the economic phase of the home and the farm, is greatly resented. Furthermore, even though sometimes the farmer might be willing to answer questions, being illiterate, he cannot give intelligent or accurate answers. However, through the Village People's Schools and Graduates' Societies, which enlighten the farmers on the one hand and establish contacts with them on the other, these difficulties are to a surprising extent being removed. So in Tinghsien, instead of the investigation being undertaken by suspicious-looking strangers, talking strange dialects and having strange manners, it is made by the older students and teachers of our own village schools."

An immense amount of information has thus been obtained, on topography and soil, communications and transport, rural health and sanitation, social customs and festivals, cultivation of crops, fruits, and vegetables, breeding of animals, and so forth; all of which Yen and his companions are turning to advantage for criticism, advice and improvement.

For practical demonstration Yen and his fellows persuaded the village elders rather reluctantly to grant him seven mow (a little less than an acre and a quarter) of common land, on which they proceeded to raise, by improved methods, the ordinary crops, millet and sorghum, and the vegetables of the district. Their success was so marked that next year the elders increased their grant to 100 mow and this has now become 1,200 (200 acres)—land not bought, but voluntarily surrendered by the farming community in recognition of their instructors' work. Great improvements too have been introduced in agricultural tools and in breeding stock and poultry. One incident caused quite a sensation in Tinghsien. The oldfashioned method of irrigating fields is by means of a water wheel turned by a donkey, which is slow and not a little wasteful. Efforts have been made in various parts of China to introduce oil engines, but these are quite impracticable for Chinese farmers, who can neither afford to buy nor understand how to operate them. Yen invented a pump, also worked by a donkey, which cost $30 less than the old pump and pumped half as much water again in the same time.

It would be most unfair not to mention some of the men who are helping Yen in Tinghsien, the more so that he himself pays a warm tribute to " their exceptional devotion and ability." They and the thousands of other workers in the Mass Education Movement suggest that perhaps it is only a minority of Young China which wastes its time in political wrangling. For example, Mr. Chen Chu-san, who, after taking a brilliant degree in China (under the old classical system) and studying political science and philosophy for ten years in Japan and America, was a Senator in China's first parliament, sickened of politics, took to teaching law, and finally joined Yen because he was convinced that " only by educating the people *from the bottom up* could he help to build a true democracy in China." Another is Mr. Chang Jen, an artist famous throughout China, patronized for his paintings by Yuan Shih-kai, an intimate of Liang Chi-chao the great scholar and former associate of the luckless Emperor Kuang Hsu. The Metropolitan University of Peking has begged Mr. Jen to take control of its Art College, but he sticks to the mass education cause on a beggarly salary of $140 a month (say £9) and has set himself to make every illustration in the textbooks a thing of beauty, so as to cultivate an æsthetic sense in the common people. Dr. Feng, leader of the agricultural work in Tinghsien, is a Ph.D. of Cornell in Agricultural Economics, and studied for several years in Denmark, Germany, and Rome. Distinguished professorships awaited him on his return to China, but he refused them in order to join the mass educationalists, to humanize agricultural science and bring it within the reach of every Chinese farmer. Yet another who must be named is Dr. Paul Fugh, also a Ph.D. and son of a Hanlin scholar, the highest of all degrees in old days, who studied agriculture in Oregon, forestry at Yale and rural education at Cornell. Like Dr. Feng, he has made the cry of " Back to the farm " a reality, sold all his possessions except his books, and lives as a farmer among farmers in Tinghsien, convinced that only thus can he usefully influence them.

Chinese foreign-trained students are often blamed for having no idea beyond a Government job, and for jibbing at practical work, particularly any that soils their hands. But it is not so in the Mass Education Movement and especially in Tinghsien. The leaven that must raise so huge a lump is still woefully small, and there is still a terrible amount of poison in the body politic to check its working. *E pur si muove*. No one can, or should, ignore the hundred and one things amiss in China, the wrangling of politicians over senseless points of technique, the greed and dishonesty of officials, the lack of unity and even of common sense, the sprawling armies, the swarms of bandits. It will take long to cure these evils. But one must not underrate, indeed one should all the more welcome, the good work which in spite of so much discouragement is nevertheless being done by unofficial means, the miraculous change in the status of women which is one of the most hopeful auguries for China's future, the awakening of the business class to their country's need, the dawn of a new sense of national consciousness. These influences and the work of men like James Yen and his colleagues will yet revolutionize China, long though the road must be and still beset with intolerable thorns.

In 1927 the frightful disorder prevailing in all China told heavily on the movement in Tinghsien. In the South the Communist ascendancy over the Nationalists had scarred the country with looted towns. In the North the militarists, possibly foreseeing the end of their reign, were squeezing the country dry to line their own pockets and maintain their vast armies. Business after business went smash. The staff in Tinghsien heroically cut down their salaries by 30 per cent. But while the schools could keep themselves going, the larger schemes of agriculture and social reform were threatened with starvation. Yen appealed desperately to Dr. Sze, then Minister in Washington, to help him in a campaign for funds in America.

> "The sad but true fact is that the general situation of our country is going from bad to worse. Since the activities of the Communists, the lot of the Chinese business man (hitherto our chief supporter) has been made harder than ever before. . . . The whole country is literally bankrupt. The only people who have money now are the militarists, but they are the last people on earth we want to have any *financial* dealings with. . . . What does it profit a movement if it should receive a subsidy of a few million dollars and lose its own soul?
>
> "There seems to be no alternative but to look for help from abroad. From Japan? No! From Russia? God forbid! We have to turn to our big Sister Republic the United States of America."

Dr. Sze's reply was shrewd and practical—"Have a clear-cut statement of what you have done and what you have to do. And ask for at least $1,000,000." The implication that America is only to be moved by a really big noise may be noted. So in 1928 Yen went to America. Harvard smoothed his path by giving him an honorary M.A. Miss Rockefeller heard his story and asked him to her country house for a week-end, where Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., put down $100,000 and the other guests another $50,000. Yen returned to China with $450,000 from Americans and $50,000 subscribed by Chinese in America to make up the clear half-million. With this substantial help the work at Tinghsien has been able to launch out anew.

Most important, perhaps, are the vaccination campaigns conducted by teams of boy and girl students. The principle of vaccination has long been known in China, but there is a good deal of prejudice against it. One of these campaigns got 6,000 people vaccinated in two weeks. Health education of all kinds is being vigorously pressed, and it is satisfactory to see how keenly the local gentry and business men co-operate. A school has been founded to train the youths of Tinghsien in remaking their own villages. Expensive official health and public works departments are quite beyond the peasants' ability to support. If villages are to be improved, the people must do the job themselves—as, after all, the Chinese people always have done. Once again to quote from Yen's letters to Dr. Sze written last April:

> "The motto of the School is 'Practical Education and Simple Living.' These youths sleep on wooden boards and live in rooms of mud walls and floors in the same manner as their own village folk from whom they came and to whom they must return. One of the curses of modern education in our country is educating the youths away from life with the result that the more schooling (not education) they have the greater misfits they become in their communities, especially in the rural districts."

Nowhere has reform suffered so badly as in China from raw haste, twin sister of delay. The virtue of Yen's work is that he does not try to force people to run before they can walk. To make Tinghsien a model for all time he works on simple lines within the peasants' capacity, and a model it has become. The training in citizenship follows automatically with the new ambitions and community of purpose he has awakened in the peasants and the self-respect which comes of their having proved the value of what is set before them and made it their own.

Not less is the movement of worth for the thousands of eager volunteers whom it has caught into its service. In Shanghai and Nanking boys and girls shout political "slogans" in the streets, fling about sheaves of red-hot leaflets and too often end their lives at the executioner's strangling-post. In Tinghsien the like young people tramp the country preaching cleanliness and health; and the worse their privations, the more they glory in them. No one believes that the millennium is at hand in China. There have been too many disappointments; men are grown cautious. But no one can doubt that a new China is in the making, and to that end the greatest step was taken when, twelve years ago, a young student from Yale began to teach "the Three R's" to coolies in France.

INDIA TO ENGLAND IN FIVE DAYS: A MARVEL OF MODERN TRANSPORT

By Sir M. de P. Webb, c.i.e., c.b.e.

What effects will the shortening in the time of transport between India and England have upon economic and political developments in both countries? The writer of this article concludes by claiming that the results can only be good for all concerned.

There was a time when the journey between England and India took *six months*. Travellers in those days sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, and rarely made the voyage more than twice or thrice in a lifetime. With the development of steamships, the duration of the journey was reduced to a little over *one month;* and this included transport by camel between Alexandria and Suez. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the time was still further shortened; till, at length, by using the train services between Calais and Brindisi, or Calais and Marseilles, a passenger could travel between Bombay and London, or *vice versa,* in fifteen, and even *fourteen days*! This was thought very wonderful when it was first accomplished.

But the courage and determination of Imperial Airways, Ltd. have now established a mail, passenger, and goods transportation service *by air* that completely eclipses all previous efforts, and brings England and India within *five days* of each other! It sounds incredible. Yet it is a fact. The Indian mails that are despatched from London every Saturday morning are delivered by Imperial Airways in Karachi the following Thursday afternoon; whilst the English mails that the Indian Post Office hands to Imperial Airways in Karachi every Thursday morning are regularly delivered in London the following Tuesday afternoon.*

In order to test this new airmail service under the worst possible conditions (so far as temperature was concerned), I decided to fly from Karachi to London during the month of August, when the Persian Gulf, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine, and Egypt are climatically as unpleasant as they can possibly be. I was accordingly inoculated against plague and cholera (two inoculations against the latter) as required by the Persian and Iraquian authorities. Further, I "banted" for some days, reduced my luggage to a single blue-serge suit, a few changes of underclothes, a toothbrush and a shaving equipment, and on Thursday morning the 13th August last, I betook myself to Karachi Airport, where I was promptly placed on the scale and found to weigh 209 lbs. My ticket provided for the transport of 100 kilos (say 220 lbs.) only; so my free luggage allowance was only 11 lbs! Happily my small fibre trunk and its contents weighed but little more, and the currency that I was forced to leave behind to pay for this excess luggage was, in consequence, not very heart-breaking.

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* One day longer is taken in winter-time. No doubt, when night-flying is established between India and Europe, the transit of the mails will occupy possibly only three days.

At 9.15 a.m. I said *au revoir* to my friends and took my seat in the "City of Bagdad." This three-engined aeroplane could carry 9 or 10 passengers who sit in cane chairs—one row on each side of the cabin, with a narrow passage in the middle. We were eight in all—three passengers for London, and three members of Imperial Airways Staff; also the pilot and engineer-wireless operator. In the racks above our heads were lunch-boxes and four "thermos" flasks of iced water and iced lemonade. The passage between the chairs permitted movement up and down the cabin, at the back of which was a lavatory. At the head of the cabin, and facing the passengers, were three dials—of a clock, a speedometer, and an altimeter. I should add that there were three "holds"—one forward, one aft, and one underneath the passenger accommodation. Mails, luggage, and stores had been packed in these different "holds" for delivery at various destinations.

At 9.18 the three engines were started, and at 9.20 we taxied to the eastern boundary of the aerodrome. Quickly turning round to face the wind, the pilot opened the throttles, the propellers whizzed round with a deafening roar, and the "City of Bagdad" bounded forward at 20, 30, 40, 50 miles an hour. In a few seconds we were in the air before we realized that we were off the ground; and, mounting towards the clouds at a rapid rate, we were quickly out of sight of Karachi.

The First Twenty-four Hours.—It will perhaps simplify matters, and give the reader a vivid glimpse of what actually happened, if I summarize the progress made each day. At the end of the first twenty-four hours we were at Lingeh, inside the Persian Gulf, and some hundred miles west of Bunder Abbas, on the southern coast of Persia. We had lunched at Gwadar (where, also, we refuelled—taking in about 600 gallons of petrol), landed at Jask for the night, and started off at daybreak the following morning. Sleeping accommodation at Jask—the late officers' mess of the British detachment at Jask during the war—was good. Electric fans were provided, and we enjoyed a bathe in the sea.

The Second Twenty-four Hours.—We were now close to Baghdad, passing over the great arch of Ctesiphon. We had suffered a slight delay at Lingeh owing to a punctured tyre of our under-carriage; but this did not prevent us reaching Bushire almost to time. Weather conditions at Basra decided the air authorities to keep us for the night at Bushire, where we dined, and subsequently slept under the stars at Imperial Airways Bungalow. An early-morning start—2.30 a.m.—gave us a delightful experience of the peace and repose of night-flying. We passed Abadan at dawn, and then over the palm-carpeted delta of the Shat-el-Arab, landing at Shaiba aerodrome (Basra) at 6.5 a.m. An excellent breakfast awaited us, and we started for Baghdad at 6.55 a.m.

The Third Twenty-four Hours.—This ended with us all comfortably seated in the luxurious four-engined flying-boat "Satyrus," halfway across the Mediterranean! This was a truly marvellous day's experience, including as it did one of the longest "hops" on the journey—from Bushire to Gaza, in Palestine, all in the same flying day. We lunched at, and left, Baghdad between 11 a.m. and noon; took tea in the strongly-built fortress of Rutbah Wells—in the middle of the Arabian-Syrian desert, 250 miles from anywhere—at 4 p.m.; crossed the Dead Sea, passed Jerusalem and Bethlehem after sunset, and landed at Gaza at 9 p.m., where we enjoyed a shower-bath, an excellent dinner, and a good night's sleep. We left Gaza at 2 a.m., flew in the darkness to Egypt, crossed the Suez Canal, and the Delta of the Nile at daybreak, and breakfasted at Alexandria about 7 a.m. Then, on board the flying-boat "Satyrus"—aluminium plated *outside* and something like a first-class refreshment car on a main-line British train *inside*—with a steward and bar all complete! We rose from the water about 8.30 a.m.

The Fourth Twenty-four Hours.—This period included lunch at Mirabella Bay, Crete, on Imperial Airways yacht *Imperia*; dinner in the roof garden of the Acropole Palace Hotel, Athens (with the thousands of lights of Athens twinkling around and below us). We passed a very comfortable night in this hotel. Then an early morning start from the Piræus (Athens); a most interesting flight across the Isthmus of Corinth and the Corinthian Canal; and breakfast (on board the "Satyrus") off the beautiful island of Corfu, whence the British Mediterranean Fleet proceeded to sea just as we rose from the water.

The Fifth Twenty-four Hours brought us within a short distance of London, namely, to a point in the clouds halfway between Basle and Paris! The previous day's experiences I shall never forget. They included the crossing of the entrance to the Adriatic—the Gulf of Otranto; the steady climb to an elevation of 7,000 feet in order to surmount the Apennines; a descent in the Bay of Naples (with Vesuvius "smoking" freely, a long way below us); a very good luncheon at the Grand Hotel, Naples; the passage to Genoa past Rome, Civita Vecchia, and Elba; a delightful dinner at the Hotel Columbia, Genoa; a comfortable night in a Pullman sleeper train under the Alps *en route* to Zurich; early morning breakfast in Zurich; a quick journey in a small monoplane to Basle; and embarkation on our large London biplane at Basle.

The remainder of the journey, occupying about six hours, calls for but little description. The weather was misty and cloudy, but the sun appeared at Paris. (Luncheon at Le Bourget Aerodrome at 1.15 p.m.) We left Le Bourget at 2 p.m., crossed the English Channel in sunshine (the first fine day for weeks!), and landed at Croydon—London's air port, at a few minutes past 4 p.m. So we arrived in London in a little over five days after leaving India. What a triumph for British enterprise! And what a splendid score for Imperial Airways, Ltd!

Exigencies of space forbid me enlarging as I should like on the details of the above wonderful journey. But I may perhaps answer a few of the many questions that have been addressed to me. Here are some samples:

(1) *What kit do you require for the journey?* This, of course, depends on the season of the year. August is generally a warm month in the northern hemisphere, and I anticipated that the Makran Coast, the Persian Gulf, and Mesopotamia would be "as hot as hell," as the saying goes. Indeed, I travelled at this time specially to test this point. I wore thin *khaki* trousers, shirt and coat; and carried with me one change. This proved to be thoroughly satisfactory. The Persian Gulf and Iraq were not uncomfortably hot; whilst travelling in the air at an elevation of 1,000 to 3,000 feet was delightfully refreshing, the temperature being several degrees lower than at ground level. I lived in *khaki* as far as Genoa; and changed into blue serge and a white collar in the Pullman sleeper whilst passing the shore of Lake Zurich.

(2) *Was the journey really comfortable?* Everybody's idea of "comfort" varies. I found it quite comfortable, and at times (when crossing the Mediterranean Sea) luxurious. Ordinarily, on the land planes one sits in comfortable, cushioned, cane chairs with rests for one's feet, head, and elbows. The chairs appeared to have been so designed as to leave no room to slip to this side or that, should the machine be tossed about. (Or, possibly, this appeared so to *me*, owing to my own measurements "abaft the beam" inclining in the direction of the abnormal!) Anyhow, the chairs were quite comfortable. On the flying-boat—Alexandria to Genoa—one reclined on air cushions of a luxurious type. One could read or write quite easily, or look out of the windows, open or closed, as the traveller preferred. Thermos flasks with

iced water, or hot tea, were available. Motor-cars (and motor-launches) conveyed passengers to the rest houses or hotels, where first-class meals were provided and where the sleeping accommodation was all that could be desired. The officials of Imperial Airways were always in attendance and were most courteous and efficient.

(3) *Was the journey very noisy? Could you talk?* On the land planes the hum of the engines somewhat restricts conversation. "Cotton-wool" is provided with which the ears can be plugged; and, in this way, the rhythmic hum of the three or four engines is very greatly lessened and one travels in comfort. But conversation is necessarily restricted. On the flying-boats the noise is no more than on an ordinary railway train, and conversation can quite easily be maintained. There is ordinarily so much to *see* that communications between passengers tend to degenerate into monosyllabic remarks such as "What's yours?"

(4) *Is the motion bad? Were you air-sick?* Here, again, the answer largely depends upon the personal factor. I have known people to be sea-sick on a stationary steamer alongside a wharf! On this 13th-18th August voyage, there was practically *no motion* at all except (*a*) when approaching Baghdad, (*b*) when crossing the hills of Judæa into Palestine, and (*c*) just after leaving Basle for Paris. On none of these occasions was I air-sick. But two passengers who embarked at Busra were decidedly queer when near to Baghdad. (Though they were able to appreciate the restorative qualities of British beer directly they stepped on land at Baghdad!) On the whole the planes were steadier than a railway train, and it was quite possible to write and to draw (pictures, not merely corks) exactly as on land.

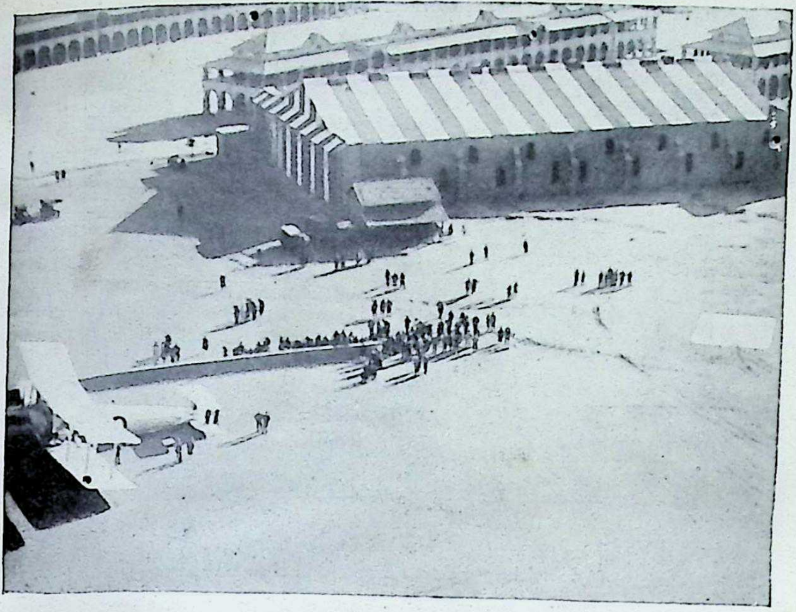
(5) *How do you know where you are?* Wise passengers carry a small-scale map of the route with them, and follow the journey hour by hour. Our pilots had spare large-scale pilots' maps and were able to lend passengers one to follow the journey from Busra to Gaza. The speedometer and the clock in the saloon enable passengers to work out their positions roughly. The altimeter enables one to see at a glance how near to, or far from, heaven one is as the day passes.

(6) *Could ladies travel by this route?* I know of no difficulty, judging by the particular journey that I made. The planes come down approximately every four hours to refuel. At these times passengers take their meals and stretch their legs. Excellent sleeping accommodation (in rest-house or first-class hotel) is everywhere provided. Imperial Airways do not supply bathing costumes—the only fact that might possibly have caused confusion to ladies at Jask, where we all took a dip into the Arabian Sea.

(7) *Weren't you at all giddy or nervous?* Not in the least. Though some people are unable to look down from a height of 50 or 100 feet, the effect of looking down from an aeroplane from a height of 500 or 5,000 feet is quite different. One simply sees the whole country spread before one like a map. There is nothing outside to indicate height, or speed, or any motion at all. The feeling is that of complete peacefulness and calm in the presence of a vast panorama of soft and delightful colouring which changes very slowly from hour to hour as one passes imperceptibly over land, sea, and continent. Not till one has tried it can one fully realize the fascination of this peaceful and beautiful experience.

And why should anybody feel nervous at such a time? My own feeling was one of complete confidence in the organization of Imperial Airways, and in the pluck and the skill of the pilots—virile, alert young Britons—two to each plane—who were controlling our flying power and steering us with such a splendid spirit of quiet audacity and determination to our various destinations.

Life means constant contacts and interchanges with our surroundings. And where the contacts and interchanges are most frequent and varied in character there life attains to its highest development. All aids to communication and transportation are, therefore, aids to human progress. Regarded in this aspect, the enterprise and machinery of Imperial Airways, Ltd. are in every way admirable; for not only are they invaluable links of Empire, but they are among the most potent of factors for bringing the different peoples of the earth nearer to each other, and so promoting greater and better understandings throughout the world. Could British pioneers undertake any better work? I think not. Let us, therefore, give to Imperial Airways, Ltd. every possible support in their splendid enterprise, and wish them still greater successes in the future than they have already achieved in the past.



KARACHI AIR PORT

(*Cf.* Article, "India to England in Five Days.")

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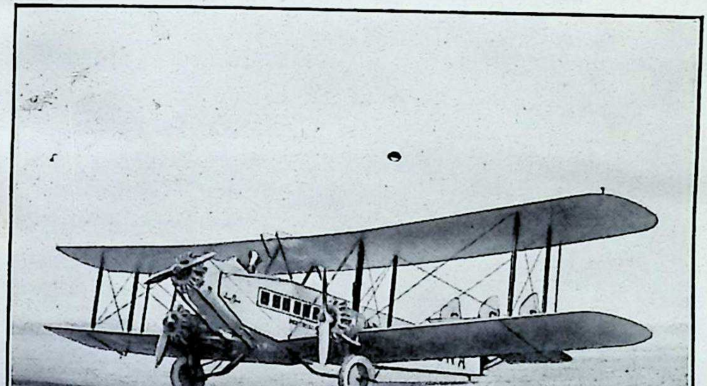

"CITY OF BAGHDAD"

(*Cf.* Article, "India to England in Five Days.")

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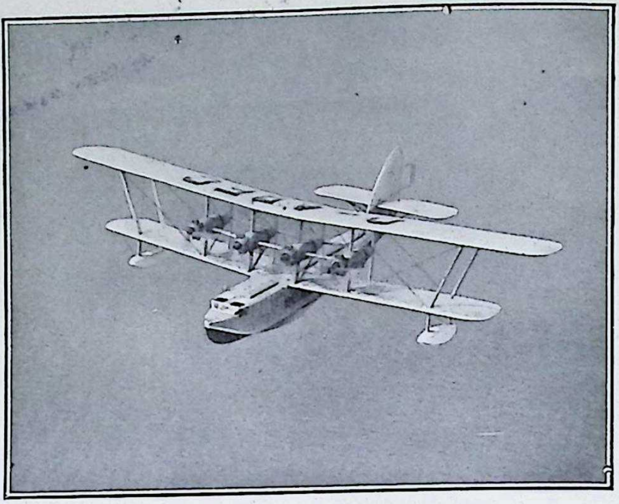

" SATYRUS "

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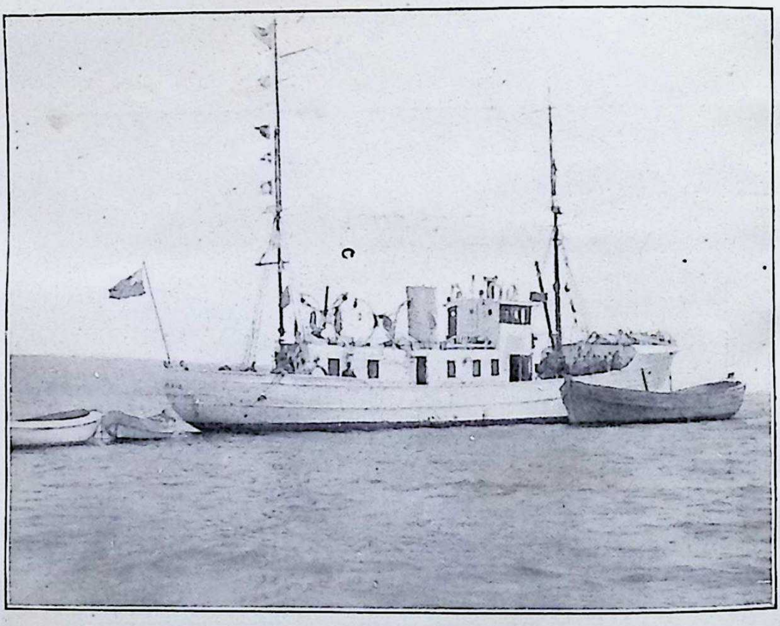

M.Y. " IMPERIA "

(*Cf.* Article, "India to England in Five Days.")

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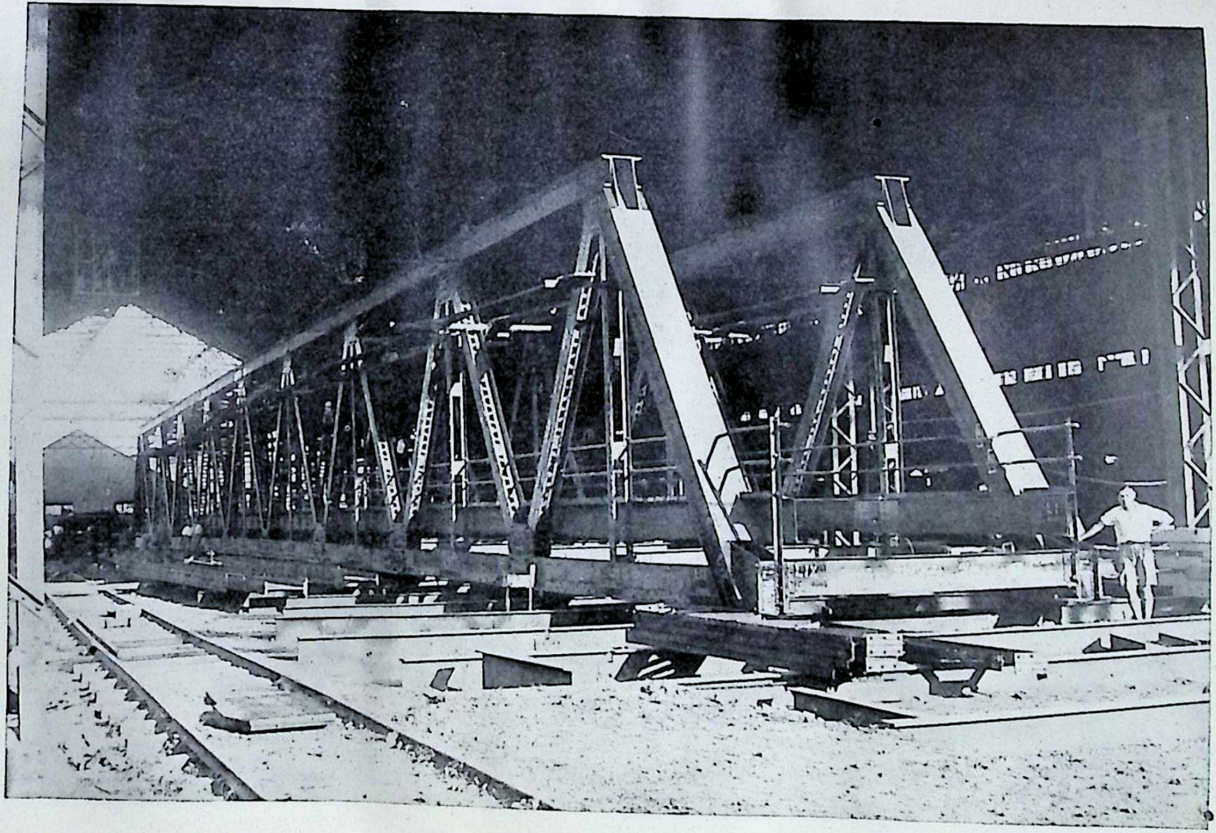

ROAD BRIDGE FOR KASHMIR STATE BY MESSRS. RICHARDSON AND CRUDDAS

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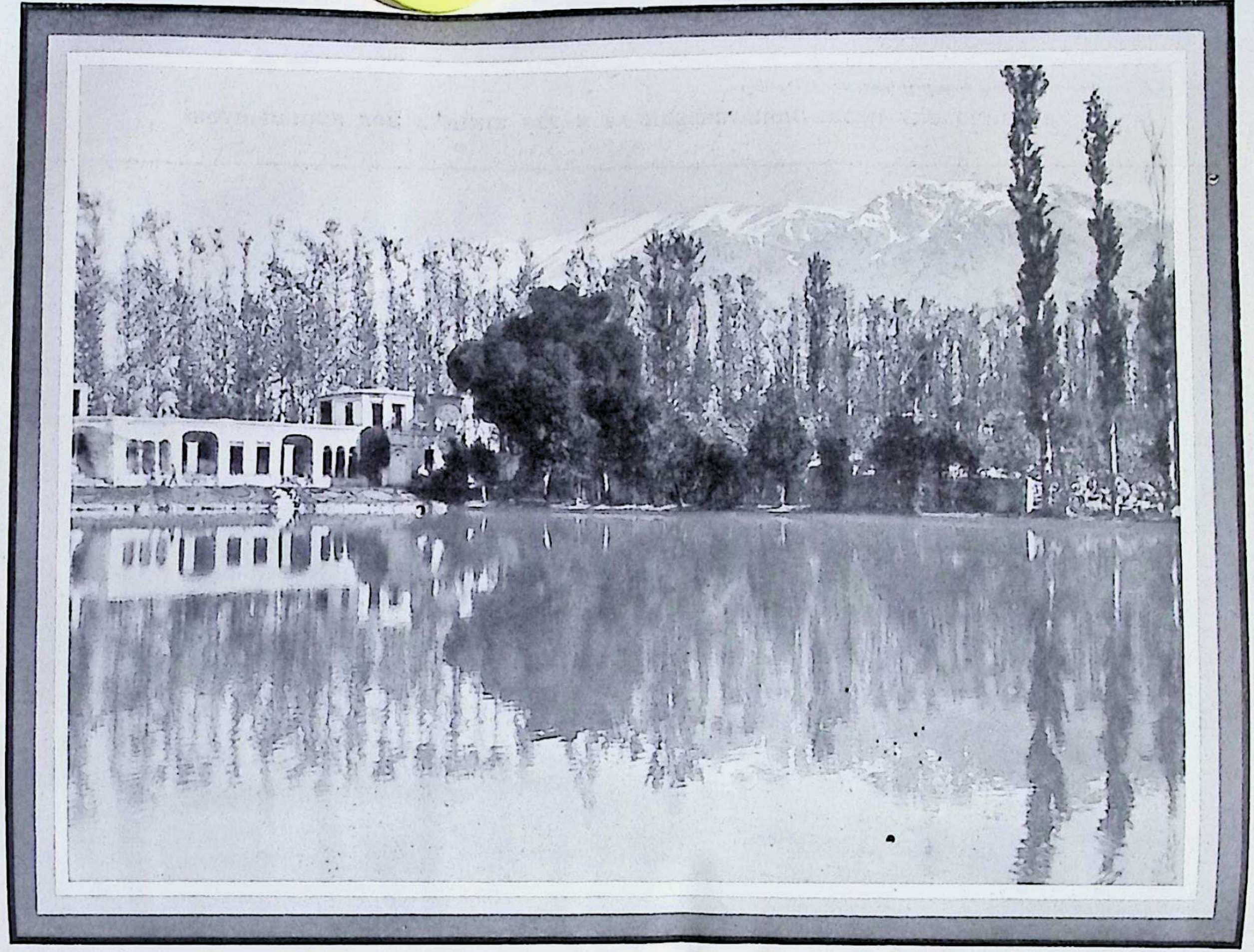

Photo by L. Lockhart.

THE PALACE OF SALTANATABAD, WITH ITS BEAUTIFUL LAKE, WHICH IS SITUATED ABOUT SEVEN MILES TO THE NORTH OF TEHRAN

THE PALACE OF SALTANATABAD, WITH ITS BEAUTIFUL LAKE, WHICH IS SITUATED ABOUT SEVEN MILES
TO THE NORTH OF TEHRAN

SUNSET AT KUPANG (TIMOR)

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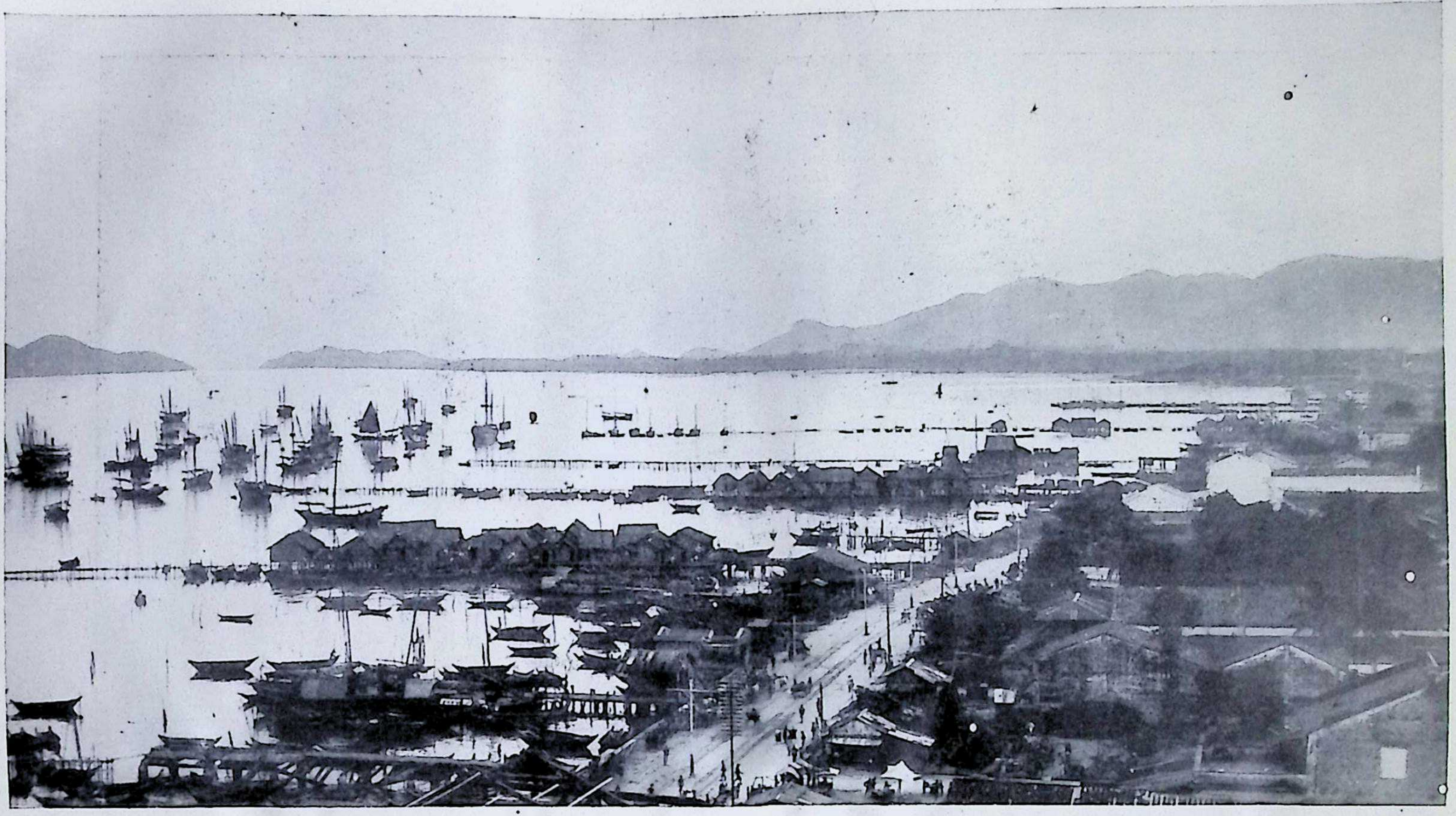

PENANG HARBOUR

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HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE, AS CHIEF SCOUT OF THE STATE

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HIS HIGHNESS SRI PADMANABHA DASA VANCHI PALA RAMA VARMA, KULASEKHARA KIRITAPATI, MANNEY SULTAN, MAHARAJA RAJA RAMA RAJA BAHADUR, SHAMSHER JUNG, MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE

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THE RULER OF TRAVANCORE

By N. Krishnamurti, F.R.HIST.S.

(Travancore Secretary to Diwan Bahadur T. Raghaviah and Delegate to the Round-Table Conference)

On November 6 last, a youthful prince of nineteen golden summers took into his own hands "the reins of a settled and well-ordered Government," to quote his words on the occasion, "not in a spirit of vain-glory or self-satisfaction, but full of an abiding sense of the responsibility entailed by this magnificent heritage." The occasion was the assumption of full ruling powers by His Highness the Maharaja *Rama Varma,* of Travancore, who as a tender boy of twelve was proclaimed, in September, 1924, Maharaja of Travancore, and who has just now come to exercise its duties and prerogatives. At the moment he is the youngest Maharaja who has taken over the responsibilities of an onerous charge.

Though the early history of Travancore is lost in the mists of time, yet through the epochs of evolution one fact has been undoubtedly revealed, her absolute integrity untouched by alien domination. And her Royal House is part of this proud tradition.

Once, in days of yore in India, two great kingly dynasties ruled the land—Kings of the Solar and Kings of the Lunar race;* to the former belonged *Ikshvaku* and *Sri Ramachandra,* the ideal prince, the hero of the Ramayana. And, to the latter *Pururavas* and *Dushyanta,* the lover of *Sakuntala,* and their son *Bharata.* Back beyond history, in the *Kritayuga* the sage *Atri,* looking at the full moon, fell in love with the image of beauty he beheld therein, and begot male offspring who was named *Soma.* He engaged himself in *tapas* (meditation) on the banks of the Ganges. One day an elephant coming there was attacked by a host of birds and killed. *Soma* was surprised to see that an elephant could fall a victim to an attack by birds, and on that spot reared a city and called it *Hastinapura*; and, welcomed and well received by the people of that city, he became its king. His son was called *Budha.* In due course both father and son won the favour of *Brahma,* and *Budha* begot a son, *Pururavas.* He grew to greatness and to fame, and ruled righteously over *Hastinapura,* and his family grew.

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* The fourth book of Vishnu Purana gives a history of the Solar and Lunar Dynasties. The ninth book of Srimad Bhagavata narrates the Solar and Lunar Dynasties.

To this branch of ancient Kings belongs the Ruler of Travancore. Coming down to historic dates, to quote the words of the new Maharaja: "I, as a descendant and representative of the ancient *Chera* Dynasty, and in accordance with the customs and usages of my country, assume the Government of the State." The *Chera* Dynasty is one of the three great Hindu dynasties which exercised sovereignty at one time in South India. The *Cheras,* and the other dynasties which ruled over Southern India in all practical independence in the early centuries of the Christian era, came of the same stock and were closely related. But the link between the *Chera* Kings and the *Chandravamsa* (Lunar) Kings is traditional. A Maharaja of Travancore who ruled in the early days of the East India Company and forged the bond of alliance with England in the face of the Mysore menace before the fall of *Seringapatam,* speaks of himself as a scion of the *Chandravamsa* in an unpublished Sanskrit work of his on Dramaturgy. In India, one so often must hark back to tradition, for history for ages lived in the mouths of succeeding generations, and memories treasured what folios did not bring under cover.

In Travancore, and its enlightened neighbouring State of Cochin, succession to rulership runs from uncle to nephew and not from father to son. The bulk of the people inhabiting the south-western portion of the Malabar coast observe this law, though during the last two decades some sections of the population have obtained legislative sanction to follow the principle of equal division of property among all the members of a family, including sons and daughters, male and female, *per capita.* But the old law holds good for the royal families. The origin of this law will be another field of speculation. It is needless to go into it here. Suffice it to say that a Ruler of the State, as the head of his family, piously prays for the birth of girls in his family, as people elsewhere pray for sons.

God blessing, a girl assures the perpetuity of heirs for his race and throne, "royally born, well-nurtured, and qualified by instinct and training to carry on his ancient and honourable tradition," in the words of Lord Curzon spoken at Trivandrum.* If a girl has not been born or if the princesses give no promise of children, the Maharaja then proceeds to adopt girls from collateral families. The Travancore succession has several times depended upon such adoption. Seven adoptions are on record, the first in A.D. 1305, and the latest in 1900. Generally princesses are adopted, but on one occasion two princes were also adopted. Children below the age of ten are carefully selected, and with due religious and royal ceremonial installed in the palace, and they are styled Ranis of Travancore. In 1900, the late Maharaja of Travancore was left with one sister, who was older than himself, and two princes, to come after him. So he thought the time had come to make a fresh adoption. So in August of that year, two little princesses, aged five and four respectively, were adopted with due ceremonial into the royal family. It was in 1857 that a previous adoption had taken place. The then Maharaja, who with others of his order viewed with grave concern the attitude of Lord Dalhousie towards States in which the line of succession seemed to run short, wrote to the British Resident at his Court:

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* Trivandrum is the capital city of Travancore.

"You are well aware, I believe, of the peculiar importance of the position held by the Ranis in our family, and indeed in the whole policy of the country, religious as well as social. Their presence is absolutely necessary and indispensable to the performance of all religious ceremonies both in our family as well as in the great bulk of our subjects."

The Princesses of Travancore are called Ranis of Attungal, which is a small village now growing into a provincial town, but which at one time was the capital of a principality ruled by a Queen. Then there arose in Travancore in the early half of the eighteenth century a warrior-Maharaja whose triumphs of conquest and consolidation led to a treaty alliance between himself and the Attungal Rani whereby she surrendered into his hands the sovereignty of her principality, and he settled the succession to the Travancore throne on the offspring of herself and the Ranis after her, and on themselves in the absence of male issue. And the two families became one, the boys of which in turn are Maharajas of Travancore, and the girls Ranis of Attungal; the latter at the same time are the Senior Maharani and the Junior Maharani of Travancore, and so on.

The adoption of 1900 has borne happy fruit. The two princesses were given excellent education—English, Sanskrit, and the vernaculars of the land, literature, history, and the fine arts—which has made them queenly representatives of India's womanhood at its best.

When the late Maharaja died in August, 1924, the senior of the two Ranis had given birth to one daughter, and the Junior was the mother of two sons and a daughter. Since then the Senior Maharani has had a second daughter. The elder of the two princes, son of the Junior Maharani, was at once proclaimed Maharaja of Travancore. But, he being a minor, the Senior Maharani, according to usage, as the senior female member of the Ruling family, was proclaimed Maharani-Regent of Travancore.

The Regency administration of seven years has just come to a close, and upon the young Maharaja has now devolved the opportunity and the privilege "to add to the lustre of the ancient and honourable house of which he is a scion," and to promote the "prosperity and contentment of five million subjects whom Providence has entrusted to his care."

Travancore is in the front rank of Indian States, and in the very forefront in educational and political advance. She is third among States in population and fourth in revenue. How the Maharani-Regent bore her trust is not only testified to by the conferment upon her two years ago by His Majesty of the title of C.I., but also acknowledged by the Viceroy, who, in his Kharita to the Maharaja, said: "The debt which Your Highness and the Travancore State owe to Her Highness the Maharani-Regent is one which is difficult for me to estimate or for Your Highness to repay."

Seven years ago, at his accession to the throne, the Agent to the Governor-General saw in the young Maharaja "a leaven of that natural dignity, highly receptive intelligence, and strong sense of duty." These qualities His Highness has diligently cultivated by study, travel, and personal knowledge of administrative matters and social bonhomie, so that his people now look upon him as "a prince in sooth whose every thought is princely." He has received a training such as a few only among the present ruling princes in India can lay claim to, and is a perfect horseman, a keen lover of music with a gift of beautiful voice, a good hand at games, and Chief Scout in his State.

His Highness has been singularly fortunate in one supreme matter. Called early to his high destiny, not only has he been surrounded by the best of influences and training, but he has been thrice blessed in his mother. The Junior Maharani is far-travelled in India and is the cultured embodiment of the enlightened womanhood of Malabar, and to her son's nurture she has given of her best. And as he has had in the past, so in the future, in his own words: "It is a consolation and a great privilege that in my task I shall have the inestimable advantage of the watchful solicitude and the unparalleled devotion of my mother, to whom I owe more than I can ever express in words."

THE ADMINISTRATION IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE*

By A. L. Saunders, c.s.i.

So much attention has lately been directed to racial and communal troubles in the State of Kashmir (it is usually known by the name of the predominant partner) that it is important not to lose sight of the fact that as regards the routine work of administration the State Government is recognized as one of the most enlightened and progressive in India. The personality of the present Chief has principally contributed to this, but there are other factors as well. The State commands a great deal of talent, both indigenous (the Kashmiri Brahmans are renowned for ability) and European; it is such a favoured land and climate that residence or station there is sought after by official and non-official alike. Europeans are encouraged there, whether as officials, missionaries, or tourists. Sir Walter Lawrence's land settlement is a famous administrative feat; he is the foremost of a great line of European State servants, among whom is to be reckoned Mr. Wakefield, the author of this report. The report itself is matter-of-fact and plainly written. It deals concisely with a variety of State activities. It is diversely entitled "Administration Report," "Municipal Administration Report," and "Report on the Departments Under the Political Ministers." Its chapters deal with sanitation, education (especially female), house-planning, water supply and control, conservancy, fire fighting, police organization, and arrangements for visitors and sport. Thus it forms a wide survey.

In the great mountain labyrinth of the Western Himalayas there was once a mighty lake somewhat similar to Geneva in Switzerland, which some 10,000 years ago burst for itself a narrow channel to the south and, pouring down as the Jhelum River, left where it had been a flat, fertile, abundantly watered valley at an elevation ideal for climate. It is still so largely under water as to make Srinagar, its capital, one of the river-cities of the world, such as Venice and the cities of the Baltic and the Low Countries. Abundant water acts both ways hygienically; a flood washes away surface filth but leaves poison behind. At one time the effects were unpleasant. "There was a time, and that, too, not long ago, when the streets of Srinagar presented in spring, after the snow had melted, the appearance of a labyrinthian quagmire, in crossing which the unfortunate pedestrian had to sink knee-deep in sticky slush." Hygiene now appeals to the Kashmiris' love of display. "During the Health Week the entire population of the city of Srinagar is employed in thorough house-cleaning and general sanitary overhauling of the city. In each ward, every day during the week, groups of Boy Scouts assist the municipal staff in cleaning the lanes and compounds of houses. Dramatic performances and lectures are given with the object of impressing upon the public, especially women and children, the advantages of living a cleanly life. The most spectacular feature of the Health Week is the monster procession consisting of college and school boys, marching in column through the city, bearing banners displaying mottoes like 'Cleanliness is next to Godliness,' and accompanied by singing and lecturing parties. The procession stops at suitable places where the singers and lecturers, who are mostly students, sing songs of health and happiness."

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* Municipal Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State. (Printed by Thacker's Press and Directories, Ltd., Calcutta.)

House-planning, city-planning, and road-planning start with some advantage in Kashmir. The valley is a single geographical entity with complete natural boundaries, the towns are not throttled by the fortifications of past ages, and the roads do not have to serve any strategic plan. The people have a genuine instinct for beauty, recalling that of the ancient Greeks; this, as well as the glorious scenery and climate, makes touring in Kashmir such a delight. It is pleasant to read of the well-devised measures for preservation of the wild life of the country—beasts, birds, and fishes. One would like to substitute some other term for the word "game" for the free creatures, but till we have a better conception of wild life generally, it must serve. Kashmir is the finest game country in the world. East Africa cannot touch it. There are now ten sanctuaries and twenty-three game reserves. The report says:

"The State is dotted over with game reserves and sanctuaries which contain, among other animals, markhor, ovis ammon, snow lynx, snow leopard, shapu, yak, kyang, and wolf in Ladakh and Baltistan; stag, wild boar, black and brown bear, musk deer, serow, panther, ibex, and gurrul in Kashmir; and pig, leopard, black bear, hare, and barking deer in Jammu. Duck of various kinds and snipe are common on the lakes in Kashmir, while pheasant, chikor, and wild fowl abound on the hill-sides everywhere.

"The total area of game reserves in the Kashmir Province, including Ladakh, is 2,555 square miles, and of those in the Jammu Province 2,282 square miles. These reserves are usually mountainous tracts, covered with dense forest, but, in some cases, they consist of undulating ground in which only scrub grows.

They are mostly fed by perennial streams and springs, but in Jammu, where necessary, ponds have been constructed by damming up ravines, in which rain water is stored for the use of game. Water supply in all cases is adequate."

This is besides fish (trout) hatcheries and preservation. Here we see one advantage of government by a single Ruler. Colonel Faunthorpe and others have warned us that one effect of Indian "freedom" in the matter of arms will be the extinction of all wild life, except where a merciful superstition intervenes, as in the case of monkeys, *nilgai,* and peafowl. Mr. Gandhi illustrates the principle of *ahimsa* by supporting the Indian peasants' demand for a universal right to possess and bear arms. What does he suppose they are wanted for?

FRANCE CIVILISATRICE*

By K. M. Panikkar

Few people can ever have the unique distinction of becoming a legend in their own lifetime. Undoubtedly Marshal Lyautey, a Royalist who conquered an empire for a Republic, has achieved this distinction. He has already passed into the legend of French history, taking his place by the side of Dupleix, Suffren, and Montcalm. The difference between these great empire-builders of a previous generation and Marshal Lyautey is, however, important. They won empires only to lose them. Every one of the celebrated names of French colonial history in the eighteenth century is suggestive of great political tragedy. As Napoleon III. said about something else, they represented a principle, a cause, a defeat. With Lyautey and the new French Imperialism the case is entirely different. The Marshal, who in his own person symbolizes the spirit of the new colonialism, can very well say that he represents a principle, a cause, an achievement—the principle of colonial expansion, the cause of France Civilisatrice and the achievement of an Empire solidly built.

The life story of the great Marshal, which was brought out appropriately at the time of the Colonial Exhibition in Paris, is much more than a personal biography. It is indeed the history of the transformation of French opinion from the narrow Gallicanism, which looked upon all colonial adventures as unnecessary commitments against the spirit and tradition of a self-contained France, to the conception of an Imperial France, a France Civilisatrice, undertaking the noble mission of bringing Latin culture and European organization to the peoples of Africa and Asia. It is unnecessary, however, to enquire how far this mission civilisatrice is based on a desire for man-power, for raw materials and for "closed" markets. Like all empire-builders, Marshal Lyautey combined a high idealism with an extraordinarily shrewd perception of the military and material necessities of his country.

The record of Lyautey in French Indo-China, in Madagascar, and in Morocco is indeed one which is inspiring to all who are interested in colonial government. Its special characteristic has been the attempt to use indigenous institutions and indigenous personnel in the building up of French power. French colonial policy before his time has been essentially a policy of attempting to transplant the institutions of the Metropolis to the colonies. Lyautey discovered that this method could only lead to the undermining of indigenous institutions and society without in any way strengthening French power. His close study of the Indian and Dutch Governments in the East convinced him that a more suitable and less dangerous form of expansion was the unseen method of strengthening the existing political and social institutions in conquered countries and leavening them up with European ideas. He tried this experiment with success both in Indo-China and Madagascar before putting it into full operation in Morocco. Its unique success in the Shereefian Empire was brought vividly before the French people during the critical days of the Great War, when Morocco remained not merely peaceful, but loyal to the French Republic.

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* *Marshal Lyautey*, by André Maurois (The Bodley Head), 12s. 6d. net.

The short parliamentary interlude in Marshal Lyautey's career, when he tried his masterful ways at the French War Ministry, serves only to emphasize the incompatibility of colonial administration and parliamentary democracy. This lesson, which the great English parties, with their instinctive understanding of political matters, realized long ago and enforced by the practical exclusion of distinguished colonial administrators from high parliamentary office, was new to the French Republic and, therefore, came as a disagreeable revelation. The careers of the two most distinguished Indian Pro-Consuls, Lord Wellesley and Lord Curzon, in the Foreign Office, only emphasized this lesson in England. In France the experiment has not been repeated after Marshal Lyautey's quiet attitude of dictation to the French Parliament and his consequent resignation and withdrawal to Morocco. The qualities that are necessary for a successful colonial administrator are, of course, very different from those required for the successful handling of parliamentary situations where members are naturally jealous of any attempt to dictate to them, and resent the assumption of ministerial superiority. His short career as a minister of the Republic came to be regarded as a parenthesis illuminating the special qualities which have raised him beyond all others as the greatest empire-builder of his time.

M. André Maurois has in this volume also justified his claim to be considered the exponent of a new technique in biography. The English public is already familiar with his unique method of treatment which attempts to portray his hero as a living force and as a vivid personality. The success of this method is dependent to some extent on the hero being well-known to the reader and the background of his personality already familiar. In his earlier volumes on D'Israeli and Shelley, Maurois has had the advantage of selecting two subjects, every detail of whose lives was already known to his readers. All that M. Maurois had to do was to present the known facts in a new perspective and to reflect by sheer brilliance of style and lucidity of presentation the picture created by his constructive imagination. He has been eminently successful and the measure of his success may be judged by the fact that Lyautey lives in this book, not merely as a great statesman and empire-builder, but as a human and lovable personality.

THE ASIAN CIRCLE

A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

The Asian Circle aims at giving to the public, through the experience of its members, who possess first-hand knowledge of various parts of Asia, an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs.

It is understood that where articles are signed in this section they do not necessarily represent the views of members of the Circle other than the writer.

The present article is contributed by Mr. Sobei Mogi, a Japanese writer, and the author of a recently published work on *The Problem of Federalism*.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MANCHURIAN QUESTION

By Sobei Mogi

Within the last few months Manchuria has given to the world one of the most urgent international problems of the day, in which national policy has revealed itself as one of mingled aggression and defence. Manchuria, except to a few interested groups in Europe, America, and especially Russia, has been practically unknown in the West, though she possesses those abundant natural resources which European Powers have been developing in China for many years.

In order to understand the underlying causes of this problem it is necessary to outline briefly the position of both China and Japan in relation to Manchuria.

Politically Japan is a modern constitutional country with parliamentary responsible Government on the basis of a well-organized capitalist economic system. The concession rights in Manchuria were handed over to Japan by the Treaty of Portsmouth after the victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. The terms of this treaty, which concerned the Liaotung Peninsula and the South Manchurian Railway, were ratified by the Chinese Government by the Treaty of Peking in 1905. From that date onwards there have been a number of treaties dealing with various political and economic concessions in Manchuria contracted with the aim of extending Japanese rights in that area. In the first place, the concession rights were only to last for twenty-five years, but in 1915, in the treaty concerning the South Manchurian Railway and Eastern Inner Mongolia, the lease was extended to ninety-nine years. Even though this 1915 treaty between Japan and China was modified in 1921-1922 by the Washington Conference with regard to the twenty-one demands of Japan, yet the conditions of the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula and the South Manchurian Railway still possess international validity. Under the present code of international law, even though China claims that these treaties were made on an unequal basis and that she had no alternative but to accept their terms, the fact that a weaker nation signs a treaty under coercion does not render that treaty invalid so long as it is ratified by both countries concerned.

There is another point which requires explanation in this connection. It is significant that Article 2 of the Treaty of Peking in 1905 may be applied to events happening today. This article is as follows:

"In view of the earnest desire expressed by the Imperial Chinese Government to have the Japanese and Russian troops and railway guards in Manchuria withdrawn as soon as possible, and, in order to meet this desire, the Imperial Japanese Government, in the event of Russia agreeing to the withdrawal of her railway guards, or in case other proper measures are agreed to between China and Russia, consents to take similar steps. Accordingly, when tranquillity shall have been re-established in Manchuria, and China shall have become herself capable of affording full protection to the lives and property of foreigners, Japan will withdraw her railway guards simultaneously with Russia."

Japan at that time was, and even now is, willing to withdraw her troops and railway guards from Manchuria but for the fact that bandits and brigands have destroyed the peace of the country where a number of Japanese are dwelling. Before the recent outbreak in Manchuria there were on an average fifty cases of brigandage every year. It should be noticed that the treaty stipulated that Japan would withdraw her troops so long as the Chinese Government was strong enough to protect the lives and property of the Japanese therein. Today the actual conditions in Manchuria prevent any Government, in spite of the legal constraint placed upon her by the League of Nations, from withdrawing the Japanese troops stationed in Manchuria. The Japanese interests involved in Manchuria may, in some respects, be compared to those of the British interests in India.

In the last fifty years Japan has modernized her political, social, and economic system on the lines of Western civilization, but the peculiar synthesis of Western and Eastern ideas and systems has produced a particular form of capitalism which may be termed feudal-capitalism.

Although the general trend of thought is becoming more advanced, there still remains a traditional spirit of patriotism peculiar to the Eastern peoples. In addition to this national sentiment the Japanese militarists have fostered a spirit of reaction under the pretext of an economic crisis in Manchuria, and thus aroused public favour for active military intervention in that area.

In Manchuria the present Japanese population is about 200,000, with about 800,000 Koreans, as opposed to 30,000,000 Chinese. During the last twenty-five years, however, Japanese colonization has not increased in numbers. This is due to the predominance of Manchurian over Japanese traders. Therefore Manchuria may be discounted as an outlet for Japan's rapidly increasing population.

On the other hand, Japan has strong economic interests in Manchuria, not only in the railways, but also in mining and other branches of industry. The total investment of Japanese capital in Manchuria—which is mainly in the South—amounts to 1,501,755,000 yen, which is equivalent to 73·2 per cent. of the total foreign investments in Manchuria. Moreover, Japanese investments in Manchuria are equivalent to 54 per cent. of her investments in foreign countries, whilst her investments in China proper are estimated to be 1,190,000,000 yen, or 42 per cent. of the total Japanese foreign investment. The ratio of Chinese to Manchurian supplies of raw material for Japanese industry is that of four to six. The main natural resources are iron, coal, timber, and raw materials for manufactured products. Practically one-third of the total iron deposits in China (nine hundred and fifty million tons) are in the zone of Japanese interests in Manchuria. The abundant supplies of raw material include the recent discovery of shale oil and the increasing salt industry, and these, together with the vast agricultural resources, are an indispensable requirement of the Japanese capitalist. From these brief statistics the importance of Manchuria economically to the Japanese industrial interests will be realized by the British public. Therefore, coupled with the question of national sentiment, there is a deep-rooted economic reason why China's well-planned anti-Japanese policy in Manchuria and in China proper should be checked.

China is now ruled by a Fascist-militarist dictatorship with provincial administration under feudal war-lords. While passing through many years of political instability China has been united by one factor: that of the repudiation of concession rights granted to various Powers. Her first opponent was Great Britain in

1926; the second was Soviet Russia in 1929 in connection with the Chinese Eastern Railway in North Eastern Manchuria; the third is Japan in 1931.

With the formation of a National Government in Nanking it seemed possible that China would develop into a stable Government. Since the revolution of 1911, when the Manchu Dynasty was overthrown and the Chinese Republic came into existence through the famous socialist decree of Sun-Yat Sen, China has endured a period of political unrest with revolutions and counter-revolutions. Manchuria, up to the death of the ambitious war lord, Chang Tso-Lin, was independent from political events in China proper. But when his son Chang Hsueh-Liang came to terms with Chang Kai-Shek for the preservation of Manchuria as an autonomous region the Chinese Government showed itself adverse in Japanese interests in Manchuria. The Nanking Government, under the dictatorship of Chang Kai-Shek and with the co-operation of the Manchurian war lords, started active resistance against the Japanese economic advance. Contrary to treaty, railway lines parallel with the Japanese railways were constructed under the pretext of political necessity, but actually with the intention of retarding Japanese economic development. At the same time, under the comparatively systematized economic and monetary system upheld by Japan in Manchuria, Manchurian capitalist enterprises gradually developed to such an extent that Japanese capitalists were seriously hampered. This was due to the throat-cutting competition, in which Chinese traders were considerably favoured by their lower standards of living. The decline in Japanese economic progress eventually produced antagonism against the conciliatory foreign policy of Baron Shidehara, who had endeavoured to promote cordial relations with China and was supported until recently by those Japanese who were dependent on China for the prosperity of their industrial concerns. But with the change of Government Baron Tanaka's "positive" policy and the sending of an army to Tsinan provoked antagonism in China, even though at this time Chang Kai-Shek utilized the Japanese Army for strategic purposes against a rival war lord. Baron Shidehara returned as Foreign Minister in 1929 and again tried to practise his conciliatory policy and improve the strained relations with China. But China had already chosen Japan as her opponent, and was applying a system of passive resistance which repeatedly boycotted Japanese goods under the direction of a boycott association in China. Anti-Japanese education was deliberately planned to foster the hostility of the younger generation against their Japanese neighbours. Consequently the popularity of Baron Shidehara's policy declined, and, incited by the Press and by agitation, the public declared in favour of the so-called "positive" policy, and supported active intervention in Manchuria.

At the beginning of 1931 there were many massacres of Koreans and the murder of a Japanese captain, Nakamura, but fighting did not occur till September 18, near Petayin. The railway line was destroyed by Chinese, and though it is reported that only two yards were affected, national feeling was running so high that this incident was sufficient to arouse the Japanese to action, and open hostilities commenced. In the skirmish which ensued the Chinese were defeated, dispersed, and disarmed. Japanese troops were then sent to capture strategic points flanking the South Manchurian Railway as a necessary measure of self-protection, and the Chinese forces were again dispersed or disarmed at Mukden, Changchung, Kirin, Chengchiatung, and Shinminflu.

The Japanese Cabinet decided that the present affair should be settled through direct negotiations between Japan and China, declaring that these would make the Japanese policy clear, that Japan had no territorial ambitions in Manchuria, and that she would respect Chinese sovereign authority.

On September 19 the League of Nations Assembly met at Geneva to discuss the Manchurian affair. At the meeting of the Council the Japanese Government was requested forthwith to withdraw her troops into the railway zone; the Chinese representative was notified that his Government should assume responsibility for the protection of Japanese nationals outside the railway zone. Disputes, however, continued, and anti-Japanese demonstrations spread all over China.

Therefore a second meeting of the League Council was convened, at which the American representative was present. Japan insisted on direct negotiations with China before the withdrawal of her troops, but the Chinese representative refused to participate in conciliatory negotiations until the evacuation of Manchuria had been completed. The League sat for a week, and repeated its demands for the withdrawal of Japanese troops before November 16 and the protection of foreigners by the Chinese Government.

The Japanese Government then began a gradual reduction of troops, but, owing to the strength of national feeling and the insecurity of the Japanese population, it was impossible to withdraw the whole army into the railway zone.

On October 26 the Japanese Government stated that in order to remove national antipathies between Japanese and Chinese subjects it was prepared to negotiate with China on the five principles which should form the basis of their international relations. They were as follows:

1. Mutual repudiation of aggressive policy and conduct.
2. Respect for Chinese territorial integrity.
3. Complete suppression of all organized movements interfering with the freedom of trade and stirring up international hatred.
4. Effective protection through Manchuria of all peaceful pursuits undertaken by Japanese subjects.
5. Respect for the treaty rights of Japan in Manchuria.

But on November 4 a dispute arose owing to the destruction of several bridges across the Nonni River. A guard sent with the Japanese engineers was fired upon by General Ma's forces. Japanese reinforcements defeated the Chinese troops, and after restoring order returned to Chengchiatung. Though the Japanese troops were in Manchuria primarily for defensive purposes there were repeated skirmishes, and fighting again occurred when the Japanese troops tried to force General Ma to evacuate Tsitsihar in order to guarantee the Taonan-Angauchi Railway.

However, when the League Council met in Paris on November 16 it was anticipated that a conciliation would be effected on the basis of the Japanese proposal of the five fundamental points. During this private session the policy was considered of despatching a Commission to Manchuria to find a basis of settlement by instituting an armistice and forming a neutral zone. The Japanese representative, on instructions from Tokyo, refused to admit the word "armistice" on the ground that it was inappropriate because a state of war had not been declared.

In the subsequent tedious meeting, which lasted till December 10, the League passed the resolutions unanimously. In particular may be mentioned one, that the two parties were to declare themselves to be bound by the principles of September 30 with regard to the withdrawal of troops and the protection of nationals. The League further appointed a Commission of five members "to study on the spot and report to the Council on any circumstances" with regard to the international relations threatening to disturb the peace between Japan and China. The Governments of Japan and China were each to have the right to nominate one assessor to assist the Commission.

After the meeting of the League Council the Minseito (Liberal) Government resigned on the issue of the economic policy of the adoption of the gold embargo, and thus gave a chance to the Seiyukai (Conservative) Government to apply a foreign "positive" policy. About the same time General Chang Kai-Shek resigned owing to antagonism and riots resulting from his negotiations with the League, and China still has a Government which cannot enforce law and order.

China has appealed to the world against the policy of Japan through the medium of the League of Nations. The question now as to whether China can protect the lives and property of foreigners is a universal one; Western Powers maintain armies in China to ensure this protection, and under present conditions this is not considered as an act of aggression. Therefore, no matter what conclusion may be reached with regard to the relation of Manchuria to China, or Japan to China, the fundamental problem of the relation of the Western countries and Japan to China remains.

INDIA, PAST AND PRESENT*

BY THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

SOME years ago—in 1924 to be accurate—I wrote a book, which I called *India: A Bird's-Eye View.* I wrote it because I was constantly being asked all sorts of questions about India by all sorts of people; and it seemed to me that if I could bring together within a reasonable compass the kind of information which my many questioners appeared to desire, I should be supplying something in the nature of a definite public want. I succeeded in compressing my bird's-eye view of India within a volume of little more than three hundred pages; and the fact that it has been reissued in a cheaper form this year suggests that it has enjoyed a certain measure of success in filling the want which existed. It is true that there were some aspects of the problem which India presents to the West which I found it impossible to deal with in my bird's-eye view, with the result that I added two companion volumes, making a trilogy in all; but it is in the main a bird's-eye view that I have been asked to give, and, since I have to compress it within the compass of one short paper, I have no option but to draw it in the broadest possible outline. Let me, therefore, get to work with a very broad brush.

To begin with, there is the background against which the daily life of the millions of India is lived. To depict it you require a canvas of immense size, for not only is India a land of vast extent but one which varies enormously in its physical characteristics. You can form a mental picture of the actual size of India without much difficulty, because, if you put aside Russia, India happens to possess an area just about equal to that of all the other countries of Europe put together. But your task becomes a much more difficult one when you try to paint in the details of this huge area. There is, for example, climate to be considered. We usually think of India as a hot country, and so, generally speaking, it is. A Siamese gentleman was once asked what the climate of Bangkok, the capital of Siam, was like.

"We have a season," he replied, "in the first, second, and third months, that is considered very cool. All the inhabitants of the exalted city put on jackets because it is very cool."

Judging by this reply, the most interesting feature of the climate of Siam was the existence of a short season which was so cool as to require the wearing of clothes. Something of the same sort

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[*] A lecture delivered at University College, London, under the auspices of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

might be said of many parts of India. Of Bombay and Madras, for example, we may truly say that for two or three months during the winter the climate is pleasantly warm, and that for the remainder of the year it is unpleasantly hot. But this description does not apply to the whole of India. There are parts of Northern India where very cold weather is experienced in the winter, even in the plains; and we must remember that great tracts of the Himâlaya Mountains—the greatest mountain system in the world—lie in India, and that those parts of India that are situated in the Himâlayas experience winters of Arctic severity. I have myself worked in India with the thermometer standing at 110° F. in the shade, but I have also experienced temperatures in India when the mercury in the Fahrenheit thermometer has fallen below zero, thus registering more than thirty degrees of frost. But the climate is even more remarkable for the contrasts which it provides in humidity than for those which it displays in temperature. If India is a land which is cursed in parts by drought, it is equally a land which is devastated in other parts by an excess of moisture. It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than that which exists between the rich, tropical luxuriance of Bengal and the stark aridity of Sind. There are huge tracts in the North-West of India where the annual rainfall does not exceed three or four inches; there are other parts of the continent where the rainfall has to be experienced to be believed. I remember a long week-end in Darjeeling, the summer capital of Bengal, when it began to rain on a Thursday evening and continued without intermission until the following Monday morning. The amount of rain registered on one of the Darjeeling tea gardens during those few days was 24 inches. There are, indeed, huge tracts of country in North-Eastern India in which an annual rainfall of less than 100 inches would be abnormal; and there is a celebrated spot called Cherapungi, in Assam, where the normal annual rainfall is 450 inches; where, in an unusually wet year, as much as 650 inches have been measured; where 150 inches have fallen in a single month; and where 40 inches have been known to fall in the brief space of twenty-four hours. Now compare with this the little village of Jhatput, in Baluchistan, where the average annual rainfall is only 3 inches, and where rain falls on the average on six days only during the year, and you obtain a fair idea of the diversity of India in the matter of its climate.

With so variable a climate you naturally get extraordinary contrasts in vegetation, ranging in kind from tropical to Alpine—from giant palm trees to tiny primulas. And in one other notable respect contrast is the keynote of India's physical characteristics, for if she possesses, as she does, immense plains which stretch away before you into infinite space—plains across which you may travel interminably and still see on all sides of you an horizon as unbroken as that of the ocean—she can also boast, as I have already remarked, of the most stupendous mountains in the world. From her northern ramparts rise, like giant sentinels, Mount Everest, soaring to a height of 29,000 feet above sea level, and other towering peaks, such as Mount Makalu, Nangar Parbat, and Kanchenjunga.

Even in the matter of the government and administration of this huge territory there are striking diversities. It is true that throughout the greater part of British India there is a more or less unifom system of administration; but scattered over the subcontinent, like islands in an ocean, are the Native States, occupying not far short of two-fifths of the whole country and embracing not far short of a quarter of its population. Here the traveller will become conscious of the atmosphere of a picturesque era of autocracy, fast dissolving in other parts of the country under pressure of the democratic tendencies of present-day movements in British India. Great and small, there are in all some 700 States governed by rulers enjoying various degrees of independence under the suzerainty of Great Britain. To give any account of feudatory India would require a separate paper; and I shall have to confine myself in the main on this occasion to British India.

So much for the background. Now what of the peoples inhabiting India? The first thing that strikes one is, of course, their overwhelming numbers—actually some 350 million, according to the census taken this year. It is easy to talk about millions, but when we speak about the millions of India do we form any adequate mental picture of what this huge figure really means? A comparison may help us to appreciate its significance. We all know that geographically and numerically the British Empire is a big thing. Apart from the British Isles it consists of immense territories. There is India itself, and then Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and countless smaller lands scattered widely over the earth's surface. The total population of the British Empire—that is to say, of all these lands including India—is approximately 480 million. But, as I have already explained, of these 480 million, 350 million are Indians. That is to say, the population of India is more than two and a half times as large as the population of the whole of the rest of the British Empire put together—Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and so on. Then as to their nature; just as the physical characteristics of the Indian continent are marked by an extraordinary diversity, so are the peoples who dwell there. In Europe we have our differences of race and language; but it is certainly true to say that differences of race and language are far greater in India than they are in Europe. Differences in appearance alone are so great that they are at once apparent even to the uninstructed eye. It would be impossible, for example, for anyone to confuse the short, sturdy figure of the hillman of North-East India, with his almost hairless Mongolian features—of whom the Ghurka is a typical example—with the tall, black-bearded figure of the Sikh from the Punjab. Nor, even at first sight, could you mistake the urbane, intellectual-looking Brahman of Southern India for the bearded and hawk-nosed Pathan of the North-West Frontier. Yet these superficial differences, great as they are, are less than the differences of a more fundamental nature which separate the many fragments of which the population of India is composed. Consider for a moment the diversity of religious thought and practice which prevails in India. In Europe we have different Churches, the Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Church, and the various denominations of the Protestant Church; but they are all the exponents of a single religion—Christianity. Now what do we find in India? Let us see. The traveller who visits India will, in nine cases out of ten, make his first landing at Bombay; and a stroll towards sunset on the beach, which sweeps in a wide semicircle towards the Indian Ocean, will at once apprise him of the fact that he has reached a land where the religious uniformity of Europe no longer prevails. In the rows of attentive figures which he will see standing, book in hand, gazing gravely across the waters to the sinking sun, he will recognize the devout descendants of the faithful followers of Zoroaster—the Parsees of the present day. But the religion of the Parsees is one only of no less than nine distinct religions which find a congenial home in India, and each one of which claims among its adherents varying numbers of the Indian peoples. In addition to Parsees there are Jews, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs, Animists, Muslims, and last, but not least, Hindus divided in their turn into sects too numerous even to count.

Then take another of the fundamental characteristics which separate humanity—language. In India the confusion of tongues is as startling as the medley of creeds. In the little province of Assam, in the North-East corner of India, about one-half of the people speak Bengali, one-fifth Assamese, and the remainder between them speak no less than 98 different tongues. In the Census Reports for India as a whole, more than 220 dialects are officially recognized, belonging in their turn to six distinct families of speech.

Nor does the diversity of the peoples of India end here. In their outlook upon life, and in the stage of their mental and social development, they are separated off into innumerable compartments. At one end of the scale you will find the fine flower of more than 2,000 years of culture, men, for example, who have attained to dizzy heights in the realms of speculative thought; at the other end men whose religion has not yet outgrown the stage of the crudest superstition. At this end of the scale the bow and arrow represent the highest achievement in the domain of mechanical invention; at the other end we are presented with the spectacle of an Indian scientist—Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose—contriving and constructing scientific instruments of such delicacy and ingenuity as to excite the astonished admiration of the scientists of the West. Between these two extremes—that is to say, the primitive aboriginal tribes that haunt the jungles in many parts of India and the highly polished and highly intellectual classes that one encounters in the great cities—is to be found almost every phase of civilization, from the prehistoric to the ultra-modern, from the Stone Age to the twentieth century.

A further contrast which is at once striking and important is that between the comparatively small English-educated section of the population and the mass of the people. When I talk about the English-educated section of the people I am referring to those Indians who have been educated on Western lines and are literate in English. They represent less than 1 per cent. of the population; but, though this seems small, it amounts to a respectable figure when we consider, not percentages, but actual numbers. According to the Census of 1921, 2½ million persons passed the test of literacy in English. And, in any case, whatever the size of this section of the people, it constitutes a versatile, highly polished, and extremely important minority which has imbibed the spirit of the Western world with remarkable success. In the ranks of the Western-educated will be found great lawyers and eminent judges, fine scholars, brilliant scientists, capable administrators, talented writers, engineers, doctors, and a large number of politicians.

To this small minority the mass of the people presents a striking contrast. The vast majority are tillers of the soil, and live by agriculture in one form or another. Actually 72 per cent. of the population, or approximately 219 million, are dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood. How different in this respect are the circumstances of India from those of an industrial country like Great Britain! In Great Britain the people live in vast aggregations in huge towns; in India they live spread over the countryside in countless villages. In England and Wales 80 per cent. of the population is classed in the Census Returns as urban; in India 90 per cent. is recorded as rural. In the whole of India, in spite of its huge area, there are less than 750 towns with a population of 10,000, and only 30 cities with a population of 100,000 or upwards.

Among the more primitive peoples one comes across curious customs. In the province of Orissa I learned of a custom which it seemed to me might, perhaps, be adopted with advantage in other countries. It is as follows: Once a year all the members of the family assemble in the largest room available. Having then stopped their ears with wool they proceed to say at the top of their voices exactly what they think of one another—an effective and innocuous way of letting off steam. In the same province I came across a village where the great event of the year was, not a bull fight, but a bul-bul (nightingale) fight. Every villager appeared to possess one or more of these small birds. The birds were matched and then fought for the bul-bul championship.

The level of civilization at this end of the scale is, of course, a low one. The religion of the more primitive tribes is often mere superstition of the crudest description. Human sacrifice was prevalent in some parts of India until comparatively recent times. Indeed, a case in which a man sacrificed his child to the goddess Kali came before me in my official capacity when I was in India less than ten years ago. And female infanticide was regularly practised by certain aboriginal tribes right up to the middle of last century, the reason for the practice given by the tribesmen being that the Sun God whom they worshipped, contemplating the deplorable results produced by the creation of feminine nature, had charged men to bring up only so many females as they could restrain from producing evil to society.

But the primitive tribes form, of course, only a small fraction of the population. On the soil of India there has been evolved through the centuries a great and distinctive civilization which has found eloquent expression in her literature and art. And no introduction to India would be complete which did not make some reference to her achievements in this direction.

For the beginnings of Indian civilization you must peer back down the centuries to a period 4,000 years or more ago. If you could do that you might notice, standing on the high passes of the Hindu Kush and gazing down upon the sun-drenched plains of India, a caravan of men, the pioneers of a race born and brought up amid the rugged highlands of Central Asia. They were a fair-skinned race, who called themselves Arya, or noble, a branch of the original stock from which we are ourselves descended; and seeing the land that it was good, they poured down into it, pushing before them or subduing the more primitive people whom they found already in possession.

These newcomers were in the habit of offering sacrifices to their gods—personifications for the most part of the forces of Nature—and of chanting hymns in their honour at the performance of the sacrifice. Though they were, of course, quite unaware of it, they were thus laying the foundations of the future literature of India. Centuries rolled by, and the next important milestone along the road is to be found somewhere about the year 1,000 before Christ, when we find a collection of 1,028 of these ancient hymns definitely recognized, under the name of the Rig-Veda, as the authoritative Scriptures of the race.

Thereafter we have to take note of another and very important development. From very early times the Indo-Aryan people displayed a tendency towards abstract speculation, and, as time went on, there were added to the Vedic hymns works of a different kind containing strange and abstruse speculations upon the nature of things, to which was given the name *Upanishat,* or books of secret knowledge. The literature of those days was not written, but was handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. This entailed a tremendous strain upon the memory, and gave rise to a sort of oral shorthand which developed into a recognized type of literature called *sutras*—strings of terse sentences in which everything was sacrificed to brevity and condensation. It is scarcely surprising in these circumstances that, as the centuries rolled by, the meaning of the *sutras* should have become obscure, or that, when writing came into general use, a number of commentators should have arisen who composed elaborate works, giving each his own interpretation of the *sutras,* and, incidentally, becoming the founders of distinctive schools of philosophic thought. One of the best known of the commentators was the theologian Sankard, who about the eighth century A.D. expounded a philosophy of a high order, having, in its main contention, much in common with the subjective idealism which many centuries later found so brilliant an exponent in the West in Bishop Berkeley. Indeed, I know of no better aid to the understanding of the Hindu outlook upon life than the famous dialogues in which the Bishop proves, step by step, to the complete satisfaction of the reader who follows him carefully, the illusory nature of the material world in which he imagines that he lives.

Of course, the philosophic thought of India did not flow down a single channel; it broke up into important branches. And notable among the branches is the literature of the Buddhists, whose founder, Sidhartha Gautama, known to the world as Buddha, broke away from the authority of the priesthood about 500 years before the Christian era. But common to all the schools of Hindu philosophic thought is one outstanding belief—the belief, that is to say, that as a man sows, so shall he reap, if not in his present life, then in one of an infinite succession of lives that lie before him. For coupled with this belief in the inexorable sequence of cause and effect is an almost universal belief in the transmigration of souls. A great deal might be said on this subject, but I must now pass on to another type of indigenous composition of great antiquity which has played an important part in the literature of India—namely, the ballads sung by village bards.

The habit of recounting the deeds of gods and heroes—of dramatizing history, so to speak—stretches back to prehistoric times and persists in the villages of India to the present day. And the vast collection of legend and folklore which has resulted from this practice may be said to be, in special measure, the contribution of the masses, as distinct from that of the intellectuals, to the literature of India. To the priesthood, nevertheless, must be given the credit for collecting and editing much of the material which has thus been provided, and for presenting it in the shape of two immense epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana,* which are to this day outstanding examples of this branch of Indian literature. They have been compared to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer, and they may be said to resemble them at least to this extent, that the one is concerned with a great war for power between rival factions, while the other deals with the wanderings and adventures of a king. They are, however, of a bulk before which their Greek counterparts pale into comparative insignificance, the *Mahabharata* alone being about eight times as long as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* combined; while there is also interposed in it a famous dissertation of a religious and philosophical nature known as the *Bhagavad Gita,* which is at once one of the most remarkable and the most treasured of the Hindu sacred books.

All these branches of Indian literature which I have so far mentioned have come down to us from very ancient times. But it must not be supposed that Indian culture has finished flowering. The literary and artistic genius of the country has, from time to time, been stirred to fresh expression by the impact of other civilizations from without. About the time of the Norman Conquest of Great Britain India was the scene of a powerful invasion —that of the Muslims, who, like the Aryan immigrants 3,000 years before, poured down on to the plains of India through the mountain passes on the North-West, bringing with them a religion, a civilization, and artistic standards differing profoundly from those of the Hindu peoples. To the art, and particularly to the architecture, of India they have made a striking contribution; many of the outstanding buildings of the country, such as the Taj Mahal, the world-famed tomb at Agra, and the mosques and palaces of many other cities, being in the main attributable to their genius. To the pictorial art of India they have likewise made a notable contribution. The miniatures of the Moghul school of painting are admirable portraits, the accuracy of the likeness being assisted by strict attention on the part of the artist to minute and delicate detail. Realism rather than idealism is the characteristic of Moghul art; the artist being concerned to reproduce faithfully what he saw; so that in any Moghul landscape painting, for example, the various trees appearing in it can readily be identified. But it is precisely in this respect that the art of the invaders differed from the indigenous art of the Hindus, outstanding features of which are an attractive mysticism and imagination. These latter characteristics are due to the outlook of the Indian artist; for just as the Indian philosopher dismissed the world of matter as an illusion, so did the Indian painter, or sculptor, seek to represent the reality which he detected behind the appearance of a thing rather than the appearance of the thing itself. When an Indian artist wishes to convey the idea of infinite power as an attribute of the deity he paints a figure with an unnatural number of heads or arms. To the European, to whom this mode of expression is unfamiliar, the result is apt to seem fantastic. Not so, however, to the Indian; for these conventional forms, which he employs for this particular purpose, are traditional, and are made use of in his literature as well as in his art. There is, for example, a passage in the *Bhagavad Gita,* descriptive of a vision in which the hero of the battle is permitted, for a moment, to see God as he is. He thus describes him: "With mouths, eyes, arms, breasts multitudinous, I see thee everywhere, unbounded Form."

Islam is not the only civilization from without that has affected the development of Indian literature and art; and, before leaving this subject, I must refer briefly to the influence of another and more recent incursion—that of Great Britain. Until comparatively recent times the language of culture in India was Sanskrit, the old classical language of the Hindus, just as in England, up to the sixteenth century, the language of the cultured classes was Latin. It is, indeed, less than a hundred years since the Indian peoples—awakened from their apathy by impact from the virile civilization which flowed in upon them from the West—began to realize the literary possibilities of the languages of their daily life. In Bengal in particular was this the case. Here, as a result of the labours of a band of Indian scholars, the Bengali language gradually succeeded in combining the grace and dignity of Sanskrit with the directness and vigour of English, and in becoming a live and artistic medium of expression. The result of this development was the appearance of a whole galaxy of modern Indian writers, including poets, dramatists, and novelists. It may seem invidious to mention by name any one of the many who are already famous in the history of modern Indian literature. Yet among the pioneers of the nineteenth century the name of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the novelist, described by his admirers as the Walter Scott of India, stands out; while among living Indian writers the name of Rabindra Nath Tagore, winner of the Nobel prize for literature, at once occurs to one as a poet and writer of outstanding eminence whose command of English is so great that his works, brilliant though they are in their original language, lose little of their quality when uttered by him in the English tongue. Here, then, we have a new milestone on the long road of Indian literature and art—one which marks the beginning of an epoch, the possibilities of which may be dimly guessed at, even though, as yet, they cannot fully be foreseen.

But it is, of course, in the domain of architecture rather than in that of letters that the artistic genius of India is most plainly apparent to the visitor. In some parts of the country he will come across great series of temples hewn out of the living rock. I have the most vivid recollections of a visit paid to the cave temples of Ellora, in the State of Hyderabad. Here are to be seen side by side, hewn out of the face of a vast scarp of rock, a most remarkable series of Buddhist retreats and Hindu and Jain temples stretching for more than a mile in length. Elsewhere one will find temples built in the more ordinary way, the beauty and delicacy of whose ornamentation is unsurpassed anywhere in the world. On the summit of Mount Abu, in Rajputana, there are certain Jain temples whose whole interiors are beautified with delicate but extremely elaborate carving in white marble which is quite exquisite and must be seen to be appreciated, or even believed. And then, again, in the North-West, at Delhi and Agra, where for two centuries the great Muslim dynasty of the Moghuls held sway, you come into touch with the splendour and grandeur of Muslim architecture, magnificent structures of red sandstone and white marble. Spaciousness and purity of line strike one at once as their outstanding characteristic. The ideas for which they stand seem to have been born of the freedom of vast spaces acting upon simple and vigorous minds. They lack both the intricacy and the subtlety of Hindu religious architecture. Indeed, in the respective types of architecture of the Muslims and the Hindus you may find a key to the profoundly different environment in which the founders of these two great communities were respectively nurtured.

Hinduism was born in a soft land of tropical beauty and luxuriance, a land fragrant with the scent of flowers and sheltered by immense forests of creeper-clad trees in great variety. In such surroundings multiplicity and diversity rather than unity seemed to be the characteristic of the universe. Hinduism, consequently, peopled the Universe with an infinite number and variety of gods and spirits; and in their religious buildings the Hindus gave expression to a sense of beauty characterized by floridity, complexity, and luxuriance, derived, we may be sure, from contemplation of their physical environment. With the elaborate ornamentation and detail of Hindu architecture contrast the simplicity and purity of line of Islamic buildings, and then consider the early environment of the Muslim peoples, and you will find that it was the very antithesis of the early environment of the Hindus. For Muhammad was born and lived amidst the awful aridity of Arabia. Here no luxuriance of vegetation, no complexity of outline, met the eye of man. It was a land of vast spaces and uninterrupted horizons, a desert land where the outlines were simple and clearcut against the sky, where rock and sand stretched unbroken before the eye; a monotonous land; a land in which the infinite possibilities of Nature were unknown. In such a land not multiplicity and diversity, but singleness, or unity, seemed to be the characteristic of the universe; and it was these traits—simplicity and grandeur—that found expression when the Muslim architects set to work to embody their ideas of beauty in wood and stone. Similarly, they did not people the unseen world with a multiplicity of gods, but with a single God—a God with the attributes of the land in which they lived; a stern and jealous God.

THE HINDU PEASANT

By Stanley Rice

(Author of *The Challenge of Asia*, *Life of the Maharaja of Baroda*, etc.)

It is commonly said, like many other things that are commonly said about India, that the Indian peasant, the tiller of the soil who lives in the villages that together are India, has persisted through the ages, unchanged and unchanging, as the East itself was supposed to be. When Asoka carved his famous inscriptions, when Buddha and Mahavira preached their Protestant doctrines, when Mahmud of Ghazni raged through the land and Mahommed Ghori fixed the yoke of Islam upon the country, when Timur brought death and desolation, when Babur flashed from the hills to overthrow the Lodi dynasty at Panipat, the Indian ryot was to be found peacefully ploughing his land. Waves of invasion flowed over him and left him as a rock is left by the sea. Kings might strive with kings, creeds with creeds, and races with races, but, like Gallio, he cared for none of these things so long as the sun shone and the rain fell.

That is the legend, crudely put perhaps, but I hope not unfairly. And it seems cruel to attack—I will not say shatter—this dream of Arcadian simplicity. For the Indian peasant is, like everyone else, the product of his country, his fathers, his heredity, and his traditions. He is not a mere statue carven long ago, and now, if we may believe the Congress, a little the worse for wear; he is made of flesh and blood, and is subject to all those influences which affect our common humanity. Unfortunately, the material is scanty from which we can gather the state of the peasantry at any given time, for Hindus, when they were not engaged in philosophical discussion, were pouring out encomiums on the ruler and were notoriously lax about dates, and Mussalmans were so busy recording the wars and massacres, assassinations, and intrigues of the various Princes and Princelets that they paid little attention to the misbelieving common folk. Yet there are sometimes sidelights which help us to see why the peasant is what he is, and to throw some light upon that supposed inscrutable subject, the Indian character.

The first influence, then, which moulded the life of the peasantry was, of course, caste. Whatever be the origin of caste—and scholars are still groping after that without bringing conviction—we know at least the attitude of early Hinduism towards it. The famous passage in the tenth book of the Rig-Veda, which gives us the legendary beginning of caste, ascribes the lowest place to the Sudra, and the laws of Manu were harsh towards him. The Sudras were the servile classes. Between the first three (orders) and the fourth there is a great gulf fixed.* If, as Professor Rapson says, the Vaisyas were originally the tillers of the soil, it seems probable that, as the country developed, towns grew up and commerce became more lucrative and therefore more attractive, the Vaisyas abandoned their old occupation to the Sudras and themselves became merchants. Certain it is that the vast majority of the Hindu village peasantry are now Sudras, and they have for centuries been nurtured in the belief that they are inferior, that, as we should say, they "belong to the lower classes," and must submit to their betters. And this submission, not as in Islam to divine, but rather to human, authority, has been inculcated during many centuries, so that it became second nature, just as it has become second nature to a Westerner to use money, to wear clothes, and to do a hundred and one things no one gives a thought to until the East suddenly reveals that it is possible to do quite differently.

There can be little doubt that as the main castes came into being they settled down into the villages in company with their Dravidian predecessors and took on many of their customs, especially religious beliefs. That has happened everywhere, and there seems no good reason to suppose that India was an exception. The Atharva Veda, which deals entirely with spells and incantations, even now used in liturgical rites by the educated as well as by the ignorant, is a reflection of this Dravidian influence, for nothing could be more striking than the difference in tone and substance from the earlier hymns to the Nature Gods in the Rig. And this mingling of the races has brought about in the main two things. Side by side with the Brahmanical religion, which has its foundations in the Veda, has persisted for centuries, from a time, we may say, before history was written, the old pre-Aryan, in some respects perhaps aboriginal, cult of village deities, presiding over smallpox and cholera; probably we could discover, if we had the wisdom and industry of a Frazer, forms of the Corn Goddess or the Earth Spirit, or legends and customs of the Spring. Frazer does, in fact, mention the case in the Island of Nias, where the villagers sought to keep out illness by means of a rope of palm leaves, and I myself have seen such a rope slung across the entrance to an Indian village, though the ceremonies were less elaborate. They did not keep out the cholera, and explained that, as they had forgotten to close the back door, the whore got in that way. Or, again, you may find in *The Golden Bough* an instance of knocking out the front teeth of a supposed wizard to prevent the man from uttering malevolent incantations: and that, too, can be corroborated from experience. With all that the villagers, in Southern India at least, often have little village shrines to Rama as the avatar of Vishnu, and to Aiyanar, the servant of the gods, for whose behests, as well as to go his police rounds in the village, a stock of earthenware horses is always kept. Among the Marathas there are many customs, observed even today by educated men, though they cannot tell the reason of them, which are clearly traceable to the Atharva Veda, or find their counterpart in similar practices in other lands.

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* Rapson, *Camb. History of India*, Vol. I., p. 54.

I am not setting this down in the spirit of *The Golden Bough,* but to explain how it is that the old Vedic religion, which has survived the onslaught of various Mussulman iconoclasts as well as the more pacific attacks of Buddha and Mahavira, transformed in the course of time by an intermixture with older cults and by the speculation or enthusiasm of saints and thinkers, has persisted even among the more sophisticated townsfolk, who probably do not know why they do these things, and, if they knew, might repudiate them as old wives' tales, while they continued to conform to custom. Much more, therefore, is tradition strong in the villages which could not be reached in the earlier days by the changing times and cannot easily be reached even now. Superstition, of which there would seem to be more than enough in Europe, is more obvious in the Indian village because it is more alive in the affairs of every day. So hard does custom die that at the time when the air was full of controversy about child marriage and the orthodox were strenuously defending what they regarded as a part of religion, thousands of parents hastily betrothed their infant children before the day when the abominable thing became law. And here we begin dimly to perceive what is perhaps the keynote of the peasant's character. His innate respect for authority has not only kept him loyal to existing powers, at least until very recently, but has led him to acquiesce in their decrees, except when in his simple eyes they are overridden by what he regards as higher authority. When an attempt was recently made in one part of India to improve education by concentrating the schools, thereby forcing the castes to mingle with the no-castes, in accordance with advanced ideas of a common humanity, protest after protest was presented. And so because his conservatism is strong, because he fears that an innovation may, in some way which is dimly understood or not understood at all, violate a precept which he has learned from his youth up as part of the conduct of life, he prefers to keep to the ancient ways where he knows that his feet are safe.

And superstition breeds suspicion. A man who believes in goddesses of cholera and smallpox, in magic and devils, in omens and incantations, will naturally think twice before he brings down upon him the wrath of these evil spirits, who for all he knows may be offended by something that appears quite harmless Is it this idea—for perhaps this is no more than an intelligent guess—which prompts him to offer sacrifice, albeit of fruit or flowers, to the demon of the railway engine when it first arrives spouting smoke and perhaps fire like a veritable dragon? or to suppose that the god or goddess of a river must be propitiated with a human sacrifice when he (or she) has been insulted by the span of a new bridge? Of course such crudities as these do not exist everywhere and to some it may even be a fantastic idea that such superstitions can in any way be connected with the prevalent suspicion; yet can it be said to be so fantastic when a man will believe that a piece of straw tied round the wrist is a cure for snake bite, or that a piece of iron laid in the house or worn on the person can keep demons at bay?

Fantastic or not, there are also historical reasons which may appeal more strongly to those disposed to look for utilitarian causes. For many centuries the peasantry of India were the playthings of the nobles, as indeed they were in early England and notably in pre-revolutionary France. The sovereign was all-powerful, and his Court must be maintained in splendour; the people existed for the sovereign, not the sovereign for the people. Without going back into those old times, which may or may not have been golden, consider for a moment the long line of Mussulman kings with their hatred of the idolater, the melancholy procession being varied from time to time by such princes as Firuz and Akbar, who had learned, or were innately wise enough, to know that their prosperity was bound up in the welfare of the village folk. There is nothing in administration that begets the habit of suspicion like uncertainty. And what certainty was there that after the pacific rule of one prince a tornado of tyranny might not set in? War succeeded war in everlasting and painful procession: the peasant, of whom it is said that he blithely tilled his field while the deadly quarrel went on next door, never knew when the fruit of his toil would be destroyed, his fields ravaged, his very house laid in ruins, in pursuit of a feud in which he had but a faint interest. In 1367, we read, "The Hindus, horrified by the massacre of 400,000 of their race, including 10,000 of the priestly caste, proposed that both parties should agree to spare non-combatants in future." And, again, "The Hindus now had reason to repent their breach of the human treaty between Muhammad I. and Bukka I., for never in the course of a long series of wars did either army display such ferocity as did Ahmad's troops in this campaign."* In the face of these holocausts of *non-*

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* *Camb. Modern History,* Vol. III., pp. 382-397.

combatants, which were doubtless accompanied, as they always were, by pillage, rape, and arson, how can it be maintained that wars and invasions flowed over the peaceful ryot and left him unchanged? To go no further, how does anyone suppose that the great armies were maintained as they marched up and down the country regardless of misbelievers of whatever creed?

The peasant has, it is further contended, implicit faith in the justice of the Englishman, and that is on the whole true, not because he knows anything of English ethics, but because he has implicit faith in anyone whom he has tried and not found wanting. The English Government is impersonal; its servants are almost always sincere and almost always incorruptible, and that for reasons into which we will not now enter, and perhaps more than all they stand aside from those personal cross-currents and complex conditions which are always present to their Indian colleagues. To the ryot seeing is believing. There is little doubt that, if Akbar's servants were as their master, the peasantry trusted them also, once they had proved them. For illiterate though they may be in the sense that we attach to literacy, they are always wideawake to their own interests, so far as they understand them, and, like the elephant who first tests a bridge before he ventures to put his weight upon it, they must be satisfied before they respond to any innovation, however well meant, and a single failure will be enough to deter them. They are, after all, poor, not with that extreme poverty which it is the delight of indignant publicists to proclaim to a scandalized world, but still poor enough not to be able to risk the unknown or even the still unproven. It is better to be content with a moderate return by the well-tried methods of ancestors than to rush blindly into experiments which in the hands of a government, with trained officers and with apparently unlimited resources, may be successful, but the success of which in untrained and inexperienced hands may be doubtful. Let the other fellow try it first; if he succeeds, let others make the attempt, and if they succeed—well, we shall see.

From what has been said, we shall have obtained some clue to the apparently contradictory attitude of the peasant to movements sincerely undertaken in his behalf and seemingly impregnable in demonstration. Here you have a people, still firmly believing in the efficacy of pilgrimages to obtain the boon of male offspring, yet reluctant to adopt the obvious advantages of the co-operative system, ready to accept the wildest stories that seem to transcend the limits of imaginative fancy, yet averse from the demonstrable benefit of the humane castration of cattle, prepared to build a temple but not to disinfect a tank, to drink physically infected water but not ceremonially polluted. Such contradictions, which are the despair of the administrator, are the product of a mixture of religious prejudices, of historical tradition, of an ingrained superstition, of shrewd common sense, and of a prudence amounting to mistrust. Why does the ryot still cling to the moneylender and his usury rather than join a society where money is so much cheaper and is financed by banks of proved stability? Partly because the moneylender does his best to dissuade him, having himself vested interests which the law of self-preservation impels him to defend; partly, too, because he is accommodating and will allow the debt to accumulate, which the society cannot afford to do. But largely, also, owing to mistrust and suspicion of the various hands, known and unknown, to whom the money is surrendered. That is a feeling not unknown in Europe; it is safer to have your money in a stocking, where you can see it and feel it and handle it, than to give it over to a bank, which, for all you know or can do, may fling it into the sea. In the Indian village it is more a question of borrowing than of saving in a stocking, but the moneylender is at least known; he has perhaps been the banker of your father, and his father of your grandfather unto the third and the fourth generation, and when you see banks failing through dishonesty, or petering out through incompetency, it is wiser to keep to the old paths than to venture into new ones which may prove disastrous. All history has taught you to steer clear of uncertainty, all tradition is there to uphold custom, all authority advises you not to abandon the ways of your ancestors.

Following the same line of thought, may we not explain the reluctance of the ryot to adopt the humane method of the castration of bulls? The operation has been performed in a primitive fashion for very many years, perhaps for centuries, for its usefulness is well recognized in the service both of agriculture and of stockbreeding. But here, again, seeing is believing; the way of the ancestors gives ocular proof, but how can you be sure if the calf after a couple of seemingly futile nips gets up to graze as if nothing had happened? What matter if the old way produces more pain and even puts the animal out of action for several days? Experience shows that he will recover, and the modern operation, if unsuccessful, cannot be tested until too late.

Which brings us to another charge against the Indian ryot, the charge, namely, of cruelty to animals, a sin in English eyes that is only second to the sin against the Holy Ghost. But, again, we must not judge the ryot according to standards which are not his. His religion teaches him—for reasons that are not yet satisfactorily explained and at which we can only guess—that it is sacrilege to kill the bovine species. Here we do encounter a cross-current, for, though oxen are not killed, the influence of aboriginal or pre-Aryan cults seems to impose as a higher law the sacrifice of buffaloes to a village deity. For just as in Levitical times the sinner in ignorance was bidden to bring "a young bullock without blemish," so at a certain festival even in a modern Indian State it is customary to sacrifice a ram, which is a recent substitute for the aforetime buffalo. That is the law that has persisted through the ages. But ordinarily, perhaps owing to the inspiring influence of Buddha and Mahavira with their doctrines of "ahimsa" and the sanctity of all life, the ryot will not deliberately kill, and an ox or cow not at all. While the beast yet lives he is carefully tended, and, in places which especially value their stock, unremittingly. Yet, like many others not fully emancipated from the bondage of ignorance, the Indian ryot lacks sympathetic imagination. "Thou shalt not kill," said Clough, in bitter satire:

> "Thou shalt not kill, but need'st not strive
> Officiously to keep alive."

Out of sight is out of mind. By not killing you have kept the Law; but the Law has not told you "officiously to keep alive." And so we find in the Panchatantra that the merchant whose bull had sunk in the mud did not destroy him, but left him to caretakers, who in their turn abandoned him to his fate. In like manner it was related only the other day of bulls that sank irretrievably in the sand of an unbridged river that they were left helpless to the tender mercies of birds which pecked out their still living eyes. This is not deliberate cruelty. If you may not kill and cannot stay, what are you to do? It is the cruelty of ignorance, the cruelty of a mind which refuses to dwell on what it would much rather forget, far less reprehensible in ethics than the cruelty of Nero or of the Spanish Inquisition, or of those who in India itself flayed and mutilated and impaled their human victims.

It seems to us incomprehensible that the ryot, who is so slow to accept what to us is obvious, will swallow greedily any fantastic fairy tale which has sufficient currency in the bazaars. He is for all his shrewdness a primitive man, compared with the more sophisticated peasantry in Europe, and remains so even if we discount the fact that few of us really know the rustic mind of England, let alone France or Germany. Realism is the property of the educated. If you can believe that the charms of the Atharva Veda are always efficacious, in spite of evidence to the contrary, that cholera can be kept away by a magic string of leaves, and that spirits are all about you, waiting for chances to injure, there is no great difficulty in believing any idle gossip of the bazaar, however improbable. In this case there is the tradition of the ages to support you, coupled often with fear and suspicion; in the other there is but the word of the official, who, for aught that is apparent, may have some sinister design upon social or religious life. All reformers find opposition; all innovators have to overcome scepticism, and yet the innovations of yesterday become the commonplaces of today. The Indian ryot is removed from the experience of every day by one or two degrees because he has not had the same advantages.

There remain, however, other characteristics which can hardly be explained on these lines, but which we, not being analytical psychologists, are content to class as national. At times impassive and stoical, infinitely patient in adversity, the Indian of the lower and peasant classes can be roused to gusts of unreasoning fury which die down as easily as they are born. Every student of India knows this. He knows that such terrific spectacles as the massacre of Cawnpore are due, not to any deep-laid plot and not necessarily to any deeply felt antagonism, but often to some chance incident which causes crowds to collect, and separates them into opposing camps on the basis of race or of creed. When the countryside believed that the British Government was overthrown and that the reign of Gandhi had begun, they were, in their excited enthusiasm, blind to all reason and evidence, and, when the passionate fit was over, they accepted calmly enough what should have been clear from the beginning. There was once a case on the west coast which began with a man placidly sweeping up some dead leaves and ended by a father dashing out the brains of his baby girl to take vengeance on his enemy.

But, with all his feelings and his contradictions, the ryot is—and this, too, might be ascribed to the national character—a gentleman. In hospitality he need not fear competition within the limits of his humble means, and, in spite of what is sometimes said to the contrary, he is as capable as any man of gratitude, not only for favours received, but for effort made perhaps without result. He has, and is careful of, his own self-respect, and if he is prone to factions in his village, that is in large measure because of the narrowness of his outlook. We all regard him with liking, if not with affection, no matter in what part of India our lot has been cast, for we are all prompted by the man himself to—

> "Be to his faults a little blind
> And to his virtues very kind."

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सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN INDIA

By Sir George Anderson, C.I.E.

(The author was until recently Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab)

Two reports of considerable importance and interest have recently been published on the subject of college education in India. The first is that of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India, which was appointed by the International Missionary Council at a meeting held at Williamstown, Massachusetts, in July, 1929. The chairman of the Commission was Dr. A. B. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and the members were all men of repute and experience either in India or in America. The report is replete with interest and with stimulating suggestions. The second is the report of the Indian Military College Committee, which was appointed by the Government of India. The chairman was Sir Philip Chetwode, Commander-in-Chief in India, and the committee included a number of officials, Indian public men who had shown interest in the subject, and representatives of the Indian States. The report is a brief and practical document, but it is somewhat overshadowed in bulk by a number of additional notes which appear to travel beyond the actual terms of reference.

The appointment of the Commission was a wise step and was prompted by the educational missionaries themselves, who have long been feeling that the system is proving too strong for them. In these days of constant change it is advisable from time to time to take stock of the situation, and to examine whether present policy is in harmony with present conditions and whether a clearly defined objective is being placed before the workers in this important part of the mission field. That there have recently been rapid changes in the life of India there can be no doubt, and time may show that these changes have been even more widespread than is realized at present. The Commission have amply supported this contention in an admirable introductory chapter entitled "Changing India." "The disruptive effects of new economic forces in an old traditional society," the growing spirit of an aggressive nationalism, agrarian unrest, the reawakening of the Muslim community, the uprising of the outcaste, the movement towards the emancipation of women, the advancement of the Christian Church, all have contributed towards this changed position. In the sphere of religion there are now prominent two contradictory movements, the one towards a return (though in many ways an artificial return) to extreme orthodoxy, which itself is allied with a spirit of militant communalism, and the other not only away from orthodoxy, but away from religion altogether. In this welter of confusion the student community is fast losing its bearings. Many of the students are taking refuge in an easy-going compromise in the belief (if it is to be called a belief) that all religions are equally good and true. In illustration, the Commission quote the statement of a Bengali student that he prayed daily to Buddha, Krishna, Kali, Christ, Muhammad, and Socrates. But, as they go on to urge, "a half-way house to a bold affirmation that all religions are equally false is the assertion that all religions are equally true;" and it is not a matter for surprise that the forces of secularism are fast gaining ground. But it is just these very difficulties that give to missions today even greater opportunities of service to India than in the past. This thought is well expressed in a striking passage of the report: "The ancient social system of India is far less ready than was England in the eighteenth century (at the time of the Industrial Revolution) to adapt itself to the new economic forces, and the dangers of disruption and chaos are correspondingly greater. There surely was never a greater challenge to the healing and transforming power of the Christian message than this chaotic and troubled India of today."

Having thus painted the background of their enquiry, the Commission proceeded to examine whether the Christian colleges, as now circumstanced, are in a position to rise to these great opportunities. Though they were careful to pay a well-merited tribute to those who have worked hard and well in face of great difficulties and to point out that many of the defects recorded in the report are due to causes beyond their control, their answer was in the negative. "The colleges have long been out of relation to the Christian Church," and that at the very time when in other spheres of activity a large measure of autonomy is being entrusted to it. This criticism is supported by the comparatively small number of Indian Christian teachers and students working in the Christian colleges. The proportion of Christian students in the Madras Presidency and States is one-fourth of the total enrolment in these colleges, and in the north it is only 6 per cent. The Edwardes College, Peshawar, with only 2 Christians out of 118 students, and the Indore Christian College with only 8 out of 364 are extreme examples of this shortage of Christian students. As the Commission observe, "it must be difficult for the Christian atmosphere to be maintained in a college when it has only 37 Christians on its rolls out of 1,063," as is the case in the Forman Christian College, Lahore. And this unfavourable position is rendered even more difficult when the staff is also preponderantly non-Christian. If the women's colleges are removed from calculation, the proportion of Indian Christian teachers is only 35·2 per cent. as against 64·8 per cent. of Indian non-Christian teachers. The Commission were also driven to the conclusion that there has been deterioration in the educational efficiency of the colleges. This is due to many causes: to swollen numbers owing to the painful necessity of balancing accounts by means of increased fee-receipts, to depleted staffs, and to insufficient financial support. Even in the Madras Christian College, with its fine record of past service, it is recorded that "with over 800 students, with a Senatus of about 16, with laboratories and libraries cramped for lack of funds, we cannot hope to do more than mark time." The colleges have also become entangled in a vicious university system, with its restrictive regulations, with its mass examinations and mass teaching, with its material outlook. Thus, in the opinion of the Commission, the colleges have lost the initiative which once was theirs, and are becoming content to accept the position as they find it and to concentrate on the work of character-building and personal influence and on their religious teaching. The staffs have therefore been placed in an impossible position. They are asked "to do second-class educational work in order to have a chance of doing first-class religious work, a position in which no Christian teacher can acquiesce."

The Commission discarded the idea of things continuing as they are, and also that of the missions retreating altogether from the university connection and seeking other opportunities of achieving their ideals. They also rejected the proposal of creating a Christian university, as it "would have at least the appearance of increasing the communalism which is already the curse of India." They tried to reach a solution from within the existing system on the ground that, though it should never be exclusive, Christian work should always be distinctive, and they therefore tried to devise distinctive features for the colleges. The curriculum of the colleges should be based on the principle that Christianity would best be understood by those who had received a well-balanced training for the understanding, the judgment and the imagination, and thus teaching on these lines should be an antidote against the growing tendency towards secularism among the students. In addition, the college staffs should undertake new functions of extension and research which would associate them more intimately with the rest of the Christian enterprise. It was hoped that by these means not only would the trained judgment of the staffs be harnessed in the cause of the Christian Church, but also that as a result of this wider intimacy with practical problems the actual teaching would become a more inspiring reality to the students and would turn their minds to a love of service in place of the present quest for Government service, in which but few can be successful. In order to cement this more vital connection with the Indian Church, the agency and the machinery of the colleges should be remodelled. A common organization is proposed with a view to uniting all the colleges in the common Christian purpose, and the government of the colleges should be transferred to boards of direction functioning in India. A larger proportion of Indian Christians should be employed and greater responsibility entrusted to them. The colleges, again, should be restricted in numbers and should become more residential. Thus, they should become "the expression of the initiative and responsibility of Indian Christians."

Throughout the report there is an apprehension that the missions may be prevented from carrying out these or other reforms by the interference of Government and the universities, but there seems little justification for these fears. The real ground for complaint against Government and the universities is not in their interference, but in their very inactivity and in their compliance with much that is futile which now passes as university education. It is in this respect that the report of the Indian Military Committee will be of value. The two main recommendations of the committee were that the course of the proposed college should be one of three years, and that the age of admission should be between eighteen and twenty. It was with reluctance that the Committee made these proposals, as the Indian cadets would receive their commissions at a later age than the English cadets who receive their training at Woolwich and Sandhurst; and arrangements were suggested with a view to counteracting this handicap in the matter of ordinary promotion, attainment to command, and pension. The Committee were driven to these conclusions by defects in the educational system of India, which they summarized in these words:

> "There does not seem to us a sufficient guarantee that boys have always received an adequate schooling in what are usually considered to be the basic subjects of school education. Such general education should be given in a good and well-regulated school, but we observe that many boys pass matriculation at the early age of fifteen (or even younger) and then proceed to a college. They thus lose the bracing stimulus of school life, and are denied suitable training in those qualities which are so valuable to success in life. However beneficial it may be in other directions, a college education is no substitute for good school education (with its school

discipline, its school games, and its school methods of work) for boys who are on the threshold of professional study."

It would appear that, in their summary of the present position of the Christian colleges, the Commission did not take sufficiently into account the new complexities which have recently been introduced into the college system. The number of students is rising by leaps and bounds; and, as was observed by the Indian Military College Committee, many of them "are so deficient in English that they cannot follow the lectures which are delivered in that language." The Hartog Committee arrived at similar opinions: "The Indian universities are not giving adequate attention to the adjustment of admission to graduation standards, but, on the contrary, are overburdening themselves, and are allowing their constituent and affiliated colleges to overburden themselves with a large number of students who have little or no chance of completing a university course successfully and on whom the expenditure of money on university education is wasted." A further complication is caused by the fact that in recent years the very type of student has been in a state of transformation. In the past, the students were mainly the sons of the professional, official, and urban classes, and the task of teaching them was comparatively easy and straightforward. In recent years, more and more boys from the villages have availed themselves of the extended facilities for school education and are finding their way to the college classes. These, in particular, need support and guidance from the college staffs, who should possess a right understanding of their needs and difficulties. There can be little wonder that the position, already difficult, has been rendered far more difficult by these further complications. In short, the students are far more numerous than they were; a large number are unfitted for university education; others are as yet too young for such education; others, again, are ill at ease in an urban environment; and all are handicapped by an inferior type of school education, which is dominated from top to bottom by the demands of the matriculation examination, and which, in the case of many, is far too short. The so-called enslavement of the student is the result. Dire economic necessity drives most of the students to regard Government service as almost the only means of earning a livelihood; and as the numbers in Government service are limited, the unemployment of students is a serious phenomenon. In such circumstances the enslavement of the teacher follows inevitably, as unless he teaches as and what the student wants, the colleges would quickly be denuded of their students.

It is a fallacy to assume, as many seem to assume, that the solution of India's educational difficulties is merely a question of money. Indeed, additional money may only result in an accentuation of these difficulties. The Hartog Committee rightly urged that it is the waste and ineffectiveness of the educational system in India which is so baffling: "Money is no doubt essential, but even more essential is a well-directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies determined to eliminate waste of all kinds." It is unfortunate that the Government agency does not seem to be even as competent as it has been in the past to carry out this difficult task. In the first place, the Government failed for many years to establish a new service in place of the old Indian Educational Service, with the result that the higher ranks of the educational services are already seriously depleted. In the second place, little seems to have been done by the Government of India to carry out the proposal of the Hartog Committee that some co-ordinating educational authority should be established. It therefore seems probable that things will continue to drift, though not to smoother waters.

The report of the Commission now lies before the mission authorities, who, after reviewing every aspect of mission work, will be faced with the responsibility for framing a policy in such a way that the valuable agency and the considerable resources which are now available will be used to the best purpose. In this task they will be much assisted by the Commission's report. There should be general agreement that a common organization should be created with a view to binding all the colleges together in a common Christian purpose, that the government of the colleges should be transferred to boards of direction functioning in India, that the Indian Christian element (if more recruits with suitable qualifications are forthcoming) should be increased both in numbers and in responsibility, that the colleges should be restricted in numbers and become more residential. It is not possible, however, to accept the proposals regarding the work of extension and research without reservation. If the primary purpose is to encourage in the staffs a right understanding of the students and their peculiar needs, then much benefit should result. But it is somewhat optimistic to expect that the hard-worked staffs will be in a position "to answer the questions which the community is asking." The majority of Indian Christians are of the poor and needy who live in villages; and there is a danger that the investigations of the college staffs will be vitiated by their urban environment. And there is still the much wider question whether, in the depressing circumstances which have been described, it is advisable to continue within the existing university system. If, however, colleges are to continue, they must be good and therefore expensive. It seems inevitable that they should be reduced not only in size, but also very largely in number.

The Commission realized that they were surveying only one portion of mission enterprise in education, and that very possibly other portions have stronger claims to support; and it may well be that some of their suggestions which do not lie strictly within their terms of reference will prove to be the most valuable. They clearly felt that the women's colleges are more fortunately placed than the men's colleges, and that money spent on the education of girls will be fruitful of good results. They also urged that there is "no more imperative need in the whole of the Christian enterprise in India than the provision for Christian boys of schools such as Christian parents in the West would feel to be satisfactory for the education and training of their sons." In this respect, again, the report of the Indian Military College Committee will be of value. The Committee noted with satisfaction several steps which are being taken to improve and to prolong the schooling given to Indian boys, and expressed a hope that "the aims of the late Mr. S. R. Das will soon be realized and that a school or schools of the type desired by him will soon be established." It is significant that, in their proposals for the recruitment of cadets, the Committee felt bound very largely to go outside the existing system. The Commission also suggested that increased scope lies before the missions in the training of teachers, work in which the American Presbyterian Mission at Moga in the Punjab have already set so excellent an example.

Whatever be the result of these two reports on the matters at issue, they will certainly exercise much influence. Reading between their pages, many admirable principles emerge, such as:

1. Education divorced from religion is bound sooner or later to cause trouble.

2. The education of the intelligentsia should not be maintained at the expense of the education of the masses; and the intelligentsia should be trained for service to the masses.

3. Unless there is a well-defined policy and a competent agency to carry it out, much that passes for education will prove wasteful and ineffective.

4. A well-conducted school is a more fitting place than a college for a boy between the ages of fourteen and eighteen.

5. A university should not be cramped by the presence of large numbers of students who are not fitted to benefit by university education; nor should admission to Government service be the primary aim of the students. University examinations should be used as little as possible as the admission test to Government service.

6. The school and the home should be in harmony with each other.

7. Little and good. The aim of a mission should be to make a distinctive contribution towards the better life of the people rather than to compete with Government and other agencies in providing the ordinary facilities of education to large numbers.

8. Colleges should not be aloof from the lives of the people.

9. The education of girls is as important (or more important) as the education of boys.

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सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
E BOOK

SIDELIGHTS ON CHINESE CHARACTER

By Brigadier-General C. D. Bruce, C.B.E.

(The writer was for sixteen years in China, both in pre and post-war days, including seven years as Chief Commissioner of the International Police in Shanghai, acted as adviser on police affairs to the Chinese Government, and was for six years in command of the Wei-Hai-Wei "Chinese Regiment." He has travelled extensively in the interior as well as in Central Asia and Russian Turkestan. He is the author of *In the Footsteps of Marco Polo*, a journey overland from Simla to Peking.)

A Passport to China. By Lucy Soothill. Hodder and Stoughton. 21s. net.

La Chine Nationaliste, 1912-1930. Par Jean Rodes. Paris. Librairie Félix Alcan. 15 francs.

An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan. By Lady Macartney. Ernest Benn, Ltd. 10s. 6d. net.

Chine. Par Marc Chadourne. Dessins de Covarrubias. Paris: Librairie Plon. 15 francs.

To readers of books upon the Far East the Sino-Japanese dispute in Manchuria is probably the event upon which they desire further information. The expert may be aware both "why" and "how" the dispute arose. The man-in-the-street may well feel confused, not to say amazed, why such an apparently trivial cause—the interruption of traffic upon the South Manchurian Railway by Chinese soldiers—should have raised an international situation of world-wide importance.

A careful perusal of these four books will help to throw light upon the matter. In its own degree each book has a contribution to make towards the understanding of Chinese character. Without some such understanding any attempt to explain the "how" or the "why" of the Manchurian dispute is merely beating the air. To grasp the fundamentals of Chinese character is to go a long way towards understanding not only the Manchurian dispute but also most of the trouble which has beset that unfortunate country during the last half-century. In *A Passport to China* is depicted the life-story of a missionary's wife, and in this simple but informing book we read what Chinese character can be. Here in the daily round, the common task of peasant life, for good or for evil, we are shown character at its highest level and at its lowest.

The story of their life, as the late Mrs. Soothill and her husband lived it, can never be told again, for to live such a life in China is no longer possible. That such a life must at times have been heartbreaking in its disappointments, in the failure of its hopes, in its isolation from friends and home, is no doubt all true, but it was saved by the high purpose which never failed to sustain the two it most concerned.

Commencing with early impressions on board the little coast-steamer *Yung Ning* ("Eternal Peace"), which carried the newly married pair to their new home up "the Bowl" river south of Ningpo, the reader is introduced to the "City-of-the-South," its inhabitants and modes of life. We are told about Chinese officials, also about the British Consul and other missionaries. Consuls like missionaries can be a little mad at times. But consuls, Mrs. Soothill tells us, had no monopoly of madness. Some missionaries were out to break any such monopoly. One in particular could be very trying. His idiosyncrasy lay in his invariable habit of signing all letters, business or otherwise, "Yours in Christ." As a missionary discussing with a distant colleague their mutual life's work no fault could be found with such a signature. Only when attached to his monthly order for stores from Shanghai, tinned salmon, sausages, soap and so forth, might it have sounded a little out of place.

Not the least attractive side of Mrs. Soothill's book lies in its intensely human attitude. It shows us the friendships existing between Sing Su, her husband, herself, and their many devoted Chinese friends. There are numerous stories illustrating the ties between the "foreign devils" and those they came to help. Few among them equal in simple pathos and horror that of Saloa the leper. That of the "Passport to Heaven" is hard to beat for human poignancy.

A question Mrs. Soothill constantly asked herself, and it is a question which repeatedly occurs to the mind of any thinking foreigner, is, why the obvious and outstanding good points inherent in the characters of so many Chinese of the peasant class are so rarely, so very rarely, found and shown in the lives of officials? It is necessary to have lived in intimate relationship with the peasant classes to realize the vital truth of this fact.

Whatever may have been the individual opinion in the past as to missionary work in China, Mrs. Soothill gives us quite plainly the Chinese official view in the early eighties.

"In our salad days," she writes, "in the City-of-the-South the greatest obstacle we had to contend against was the Mandarins. From the highest, called the Taotai, down to the smallest of the innumerable throng of officials, they were dead against us. Nor can we withhold a measure of sympathy if we succeed in putting ourselves in the place of either Mandarin or people."

Mrs. Soothill quotes the reasons for this attitude. A well-known Anglo-Catholic has recently emphasized the fact of the growing breach between organized religion and those people who for various reasons stand outside its borders. It is every day becoming more obvious, he continues, to the modern temperament of both old and young, religious, philosophical, or scientific, that inasmuch as different Churches appeal to different types of mind it is futile to hope that any one Church can or may be the Church of all humanity. The question naturally arises: Is there, then, not any point at which the best elements in each religion can meet, be it the Christian religion, Confucianism, Buddhism, or Shintoism?

Life in the backwater of a small Chinese city may be narrow, may seem wasted, may even become harmful to foreigners who attempt to lead it. This depends, for the most part, upon their personality. The late Mrs. Soothill lived this life for many years without losing her ideals. She has left behind her an extremely interesting record of it, of her Chinese friends, of their characters, and of their sterling worth.

In *La Chine Nationaliste* M. Jean Rodes has surrounded his readers with a somewhat different atmosphere. That he paints a more sombre picture and in darker colours than those made use of by the authoress of *A Passport to China* is not to be wondered at. In this little book of under two hundred pages M. Rodes writes of a period when dark clouds had already begun to hover over China. Some had already begun to break, others were gathering on a stormy horizon.

M. Rodes is a man of the world, and began as a war correspondent during the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905. He is the author of other books on China. This little volume is one of a well-known French series of *Questions of the Present Day*. It is a book English readers would do well to study. There can, of course, be little of novelty in any story of the last five-and-twenty years in China. But the story can be, and in this case is, told in a manner English readers do not often have the chance of reading. M. Rodes knows his subject thoroughly, and offers a point of view of China which the logic of the French mind visualizes perhaps more clearly than does our less exact British mentality. The story begins with the Revolution, the ousting of the Manchu Dynasty and the attempt of Yuan Shih-Kai to found a new one. From the epoch-making year 1912 to the murder of Chang Tso-lin, the actual ruler of Manchuria at Moukden in 1928, we are given a carefully explained narrative of all the main events. The last chapter of the book carries the story down to February, 1930, upon which date the Nationalist, so-called, Government of China issued the diplomatic note informing the Governments of Great Britain, the United States, France, Holland, Norway, and Brazil that it had decided to abolish Extraterritoriality. The fulfilment of this amazing decision, now postponed until January 1, 1932, does not come within the limits of M. Rodes' book.

On the major events which occurred in China during these twenty-five years the author has some interesting comments to offer. Amongst the events were the endless civil wars, the rise of the Canton party in 1917, and the election of Sun Yat-Sen as the Southern President, Sun Yat-Sen's appeal for help to Moscow, Communists, North *versus* South, Chang Tso-lin, the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Government and Foreign Powers. About all these matters M. Rodes has his own point of view and does not hesitate to state it. Chapter I., Part 2, should be of special interest, as M. Rodes commences by outlining the policy in the mind of Sun Yat-Sen from the moment he became master of Canton. The aim and object of this policy was to free China and to place his country—outwardly at any rate—upon an equality with other Western nations. To do this China must be unified, and the first step was to impose his will on the North and occupy the Yangtze Valley. It was left to Chiang Kai-Shek nominally, actually to Borodin the Bolshevist agent with the Soviet General Galen and his staff, to carry out this intention. Aided by money, arms, and munitions supplied by Moscow, the first coup succeeded beyond all expectation. Following the Changsha brutalities, the occupation and massacre at Nanking, came the advance upon Shanghai, the richest and most tempting prize in all China. That this consummation was prevented by the hurried despatch, just in time, of the Shanghai Defence Force by the British Government, all the world is aware. Following this came the attempt to advance upon Peking by Chiang Kai-Shek, his failure and temporary resignation.

M. Rodes tells of the murder of Chang Tso-lin in detail. He does not pretend to say who was responsible, but quotes the various stories current at the time. The second and successful advance on Peking is described, as is the removal of the capital to Nanking. Towards the end of the book M. Rodes discusses the policies pursued by the various Great Powers in China, and this is not the least interesting portion of it. M. Rodes dates the decline of European prestige in the Far East from the time of the Washington Conference of 1921-1922. At that period, he says, the chaotic condition of China was already well understood, and should have been made use of to resist the illegal and excessive demands of Chinese diplomats, also as a standpoint from which the whole situation in China should have been discussed afresh.

England, writes M. Rodes, followed the policy of abandoning her concessions at Chinkiang, Amoy, and Hankow and has surrendered her lease of Wei Hai Wei. What benefit of any kind has she received by her policy? America continued to play the rôle of "best friend" to China, to a large extent at the instigation of American missionaries. She also concluded with Nanking a commercial treaty without any warning to the other Powers who had participated in the Washington Conference. Japan's relations with China were at this period particularly difficult and the Chinese manifested their hatred to both Japan and England by intensive boycotts. Nanking, without any warning, abolished —on paper—the Japanese Treaty of Commerce about to expire. At the time this is being written the relations between China and Japan have become still more embittered. France, to some extent, M. Rodes considers, has followed the policy agreed upon at Washington by not allowing herself to be led by the nose. France, within certain limits, has kept her freedom in all her dealings with China. In spite of pressure she has retained her concessions at Hankow and, so far, her own courts of law at Shanghai. This, according to M. Rodes, without losing " face " in her dealings with leading Chinese. Soviet-Russia, as M. Rodes understands her policy, is the only Power which, having employed, *vis-à-vis* China, the " energetic means " of other days to regulate their relationships, scores. Considering, as M. Rodes points out, that Soviet-Russia has been mainly responsible in later years for creating the " Anti-Imperialist " movement in China, this strikes him as somewhat surprising. Had M. Rodes remembered that, as always, the Chinese yield anything to force, nothing to sweet reasonableness, his surprise might perhaps have been less. Obviously he could not be cognizant of all the influences actuating the various Powers in their dealings with China, influences which no doubt impelled each to act as it did. It is certain that weighty reasons could be produced to uphold the various policies. That they have, so far, failed individually in effecting their purpose may be unfortunate. Turning the other cheek has not achieved the desired end, but may this not point to the fact that another policy is indicated—viz., a united policy tending to help China to extricate herself and her toiling millions from the bog in which they are, at present, helplessly wallowing.

It has recently been remarked, and by another Frenchman, that reconciliation and understanding between Europe and Asia would be the great task of the coming generation—a task worthy of the finest minds.

An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan should remind readers of the loneliness and banishment so frequently suffered by British officials who represent the Empire in far distant lands; also, it should not be forgotten, suffered by their wives and families. Lady Macartney is one of these ladies condemned to pass many years of her life—seventeen in all—remote from kith or kin. In cities so isolated as Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan, Meshed in Persia, Kabul in Afghanistan, and in many others the life lived by British diplomats and British representatives is sufficient to test the quality of the strongest, both mentally and physically, for such loneliness, such isolation as is their portion is quite capable of inducing physical disability. That it rarely does so speaks very highly for those subjected to such a test. In a sense this test may be said to be the hallmark of all our great Empire-builders and administrators.

In *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan* we have a very interesting record of life in one of the most lonely of these outposts of civilization. Chinese Turkestan, or Sinkiang, to give its Chinese name, as everyone now knows, is one of the most distant seats of Chinese authority—so far as that authority runs—under Chinese jurisdiction. How long that authority is likely to endure hangs chiefly upon the present and future trend of Soviet-Russian policy in Central Asia. Lady Macartney's story closes with the commencement of the Great War, but much has happened in Central Asia since the end of the Great War. Russian Turkestan has passed through one revolution after another. What may yet happen on the Russo-Chinese frontier in close proximity to which Kashgar is situated, again, depends chiefly upon the immediate orientation of Chinese policy.

Sinkiang as a province has always been entirely neglected by both past and present Chinese Governments, as the present writer knows from personal experience. In the present chaotic state of affairs in China that Government has neither the will nor the power to do more than tolerate stagnation, leaving the future awakening of the province to Soviet-Russia. Already her strategic railways run in comparatively close proximity to Kashgar itself, and are connected directly with Moscow. Upon the Chinese side of the frontier there is no railway communication of any kind within a thousand miles.

A considerable portion of Lady Macartney's book is taken up with her journeys to and from Kashgar through Russian-Turkestan and Russia proper, and are well worth reading. To anyone who may have travelled in Russian-Turkestan in pre-war days, her description of the post-routes, the Central Asian Railway, the officials and the people will recall happy memories of kindly hospitality from old-time military and civil officials, also of a contented and peaceful population. Lady Macartney saw the fringe of the 1911-1912 Revolution reach that far distant borderland, and, as frequently happens in China, the officials flying for asylum to the safety of the British Consulate. This custom is not unknown at Shanghai, Hong-Kong, and other harbours of refuge when clouds are lowering in the interior of China. The account of Lady Macartney's last journey home from Kashgar partly by the post-route and across the Russo-Chinese border is not the least interesting of the many descriptions to be found in her welcome book.

When writing *Chine*, the author of this small book, one imagines, made no pretensions to being other than a bird of passage. But M. Marc Chadourne has the eye of a hawk in picking out, while mentally hovering, just what he is in search of. The contents of this book may be compared to a series of flashlight mental pictures, and a very penetrating light it is which M. Chadourne throws upon his various subjects. There are, of course, many matters he does not touch upon, in spite of the somewhat comprehensive title of the book. The various questions discussed are treated in a whimsical and often metaphorical manner which conceals truths a reader may sometimes have to probe for: but they are there.

The illustrations of the book by Covarrubias are something out of the common. Though line-drawings after a style resembling that made use of by early Egyptian artists, the illustrations are extraordinarily successful in depicting not only the outward self but the inner soul of the human subjects, if this can be done in so simple a manner. To anyone familiar with the subjects of these portraits in real life these sketches will fairly hit him in the eye. Cruelly realistic as some are, from the humble rickshaw coolie to the "Napoleon of China," Chiang Kai-Shek, the drawings are speaking likenesses of outstanding types in Nationalist China to-day. Soldiers, bandits, communists, students, merchants, flappers —dancing and otherwise—even domestics, all are there, and by the pencil of a consummate artist available for study by readers who may have had no opportunity of seeing, at first hand, types about whom they have so frequently read and heard.

In the opening chapter the author finds himself soliloquizing at the base of the Great Wall upon its significance to China. Chü Yung Kuan and the Nankow Pass have been written of and described hundreds of times and naturally, for down the latter may have passed, millenniums ago, the vanguard of the human race. For M. Chadourne "La Muraille de Chine vit," and it is, metaphorically speaking, "the father of all Chinese Dragons," this wall which climbs and crawls for hundreds of miles across China. Round the Great Wall as China's guardian dragon M. Chadourne weaves his picture of China.

He has something to say upon most of the burning questions of the day, and the unfailing humour of his treatment of these subjects makes easy reading. The author's favourite method is to find a local friend on the spot, and in conversation with him to impart to his readers the information he desires to put before them. M. Chadourne can be serious as well as humorous, as his description of Borodin's career and of Moscow's attempt to drag China into the Bolshevist orbit testifies. He has interesting sketches to offer of life as lived both by foreigners and Chinese at Shanghai, Hong-Kong, Nanking, and elsewhere. Even if Shanghai may feel a little bored at being asked once again to look at its latest portrait, dwellers in this "modern Babylon" will be repaid for the trouble of looking at M. Chadourne's impressionist sketch.

Of politics as pursued in China by the Great Powers he has something to say, and what he writes of the various activities of Great Britain, the United States, France, and Soviet Russia is worth noting. In M. Chadourne's opinion, one gathers, the present state of China is merely a passing phase. He seems to see, as many who have spent their whole lives in the country and have written about it long before him have thought, that China, once she has fully assimilated Western *technique*, will be found pursuing the even tenor of her Chinese way long after some Western nations have ceased to count.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, 1601—1930. By L. S. S. O'Malley, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, retired. With a foreword by the Right Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (*John Murray.*) 12s. net.

(*Reviewed by* J. V. S. WILKINSON.)

The Indian Civilian is a trained compiler, accustomed to the collection of facts and the production of miscellaneous monographs. Forgotten tracts by Civilians on crop and trade statistics, the customs of aboriginal tribes, and the inscriptions in Jesuit graveyards, lumber the secretariat libraries. Moreover, there has been a whole series of fine I.C.S. historians, from Orme onwards. Yet for some mysterious reason no Civilians, I think, have yet attempted to write the history of the Service as a whole. Presumably the fascination of the subject did not compensate for its difficulties—difficulties arising from the endless variety of the work, the many changes that have taken place in the conditions of service, and the bewildering range of the problems that the I.C.S. has had to confront; for no history of a civil administration can ignore the history of the country administered. Mr. O'Malley has done his work extremely efficiently. His book is well arranged and clearly written, and while leaving out very little that is worth recording, it avoids the tedious and unnecessary. It eschews sensationalism, but is thoroughly interesting almost throughout.

The process by which the modern Civilian developed out of the Factor or Writer of a seventeenth century Merchant Company was a continuous one, though Mr. O'Malley is clearly correct in his view that the first real I.C.S. started under Warren Hastings. The merchants were systematically trained and transformed into administrators, and in a few years Hastings, who had no sentimental affection for the old Collectors, could pay a handsome and sincere tribute to the efficiency and honourable traditions of the new officials. Trading was henceforward confined to the regular commercial department, which was abolished in 1833. The transfer of the Government of India to the Crown after the Mutiny, while it made little difference to the position and prospects of members of the I.C.S., led inevitably, though with no catastrophic change, to a complete uniformity of conditions. The history of the next fifty years was, for the most part, one of peaceful but remarkable progress; but early in the present century, largely as a result of the settlement of the country and its long immunity from external trouble, peaceful times gave place to a new species of unrest, and the Service was confronted with a completely fresh set of problems, which have been further intensified in the perplexing post-war years. Mr. O'Malley brings the more strictly historical portion of his book up to 1930, and devotes his later chapters to special aspects of his subject, including a general survey of the I.C.S. considered as a "bureaucracy" and in its relation to the people, with an analysis of the process of Indianization and an account of the various systems of selection and training which have been adopted from time to time. The last two chapters give some details of the achievements of Civilians in other walks of life.

In the central portion of the book the author has to touch on some controversial topics, and it is possible that he may be criticized for departing, here and there, from a strictly judicial attitude. But the book makes the better reading for being much more than a colourless chronicle. In such a passage as the following, moreover, Mr. O'Malley undoubtedly expresses a point of view which is shared by most members of the Service, and the subject is certainly not irrelevant to I.C.S. history. "The hope that the Civil Service would undertake the political education of the rural masses has not been, and is not likely to be, fulfilled, though it still seems to find favour with some. . . . The education of the masses is not the duty of any Civil Service in the world, and though the Indian Civil Service has duties and responsibilities not expected from other Civil Services, it may well be questioned whether it is possible for it to engage in work of this kind without giving up the character of a non-political body, which is essential to the existence of any Civil Service." It is a little curious that the I.C.S., while it has a fairly high standard of verbal wit, has never produced a satirical writer of the calibre of Aberigh-Mackay. The identity of "Al Carthill" is, naturally, veiled in obscurity. If there is a second edition, some fuller account of Civilians' distinctions in the field during the war would be welcome.

No member of the I.C.S. can fail to be interested in this "History," and it should appeal to the outside reading public. How far, one wonders, is it generally known that the Service contains only just over 1,000 members, that the proportion of Indians is getting near the halfway mark, or that only four peerages have ever been conferred on Civilians?

MODERN INDIA. Edited by Sir John Cumming. (*Oxford University Press.*) 3s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

The success of a co-operative enterprise such as this depends primarily upon two factors. The first is the skill of the general editor, the second is consistency in outlook among the various individual contributors. Sir John Cumming has done his work well; every page shows the impress of his careful thoroughness. His colleagues, who are for the most part also former members of the Indian Civil Service, possess in common the standpoint of Englishmen who have devoted many years to the service of India.

The purpose of the book, as defined in the General Editor's preface, is modestly limited. Sir John Cumming explains that it is not a history of India; it does not profess to supply solutions of the problems of current politics, nor does it forecast the future. It is intended rather to set forth some important elements of the Indian situation by means of a dispassionate presentation of things as they are, together with some account of the causes which have made them what they are. At first sight, it seems open to doubt whether a symposium of specialized contributions is as effective a form of conveying to the general reader some knowledge about India as would be a broad survey emanating from a single brain. Such a book as *Modern India* inevitably challenges comparison with Sir Richard Temple's *India in 1880*. Further, it is, I think, undeniable that among the contributors to this present volume there is at least one, and quite possibly more than one, who would have been able, could he have spared the necessary time, to produce a work worthy to be set side by side with that of Sir Richard Temple. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that since 1880 there has been such specialization in the work of the administrative departments; there have been so many detailed studies covering particular branches of the Indian problem, that the task of a single author who should desire adequately to survey the field covered by this book would be laborious as well as difficult.

With the exception of the first chapter, which is a general account of the country, people, languages, and creeds of India, the remaining sections of the book are devoted exclusively to the discussion of particular problems. Sir William Barton illustrates in himself the dual function of the present Political Department, writing both on the India of the Princes and upon the Afghan frontier. Both contributions are valuable introductions from the standpoint of the general reader. In the fourth chapter Sir William Marris discusses with his usual clarity the machinery of Government; while in the fifth and sixth chapters respectively, Sir George Barrow treats of the Army and Mr. O'Malley of the Services. In chapter seven, the General Editor deals illuminatingly with Law and Order. The next two chapters are particularly valuable and interesting. Sir Philip Hartog lucidly discusses the complex problems presented by education in India, while Sir Denison Ross deals in outstandingly brilliant fashion with Indian Art and Culture. The next three chapters deal with matters of particular interest to the Indian masses. Mr. Moreland discusses Land Revenue, Sir James Mackenna explains the closely connected subjects of Agriculture and Famine Relief, and Sir Thomas Ward introduces the reader to one of the greatest achievements of British rule in India, namely, the marvellous system of irrigation. In the thirteenth chapter Sir Clement Hindley explains a scarcely less remarkable achievement, the Indian railway system, and thus leads on directly to Lord Meston's discussion of Public Finance. Mr. Foley's explanation of the problems of Drink, Opium, and Salt is particularly valuable in view of the misapprehensions so widely current, less perhaps in this country than in the United States, concerning all these three topics; and, supplemented as this chapter is by Dr. Vera Anstey's investigation of the problems of Population, of Poverty, and of the so-called "Drain," it should go some way to disperse the miasma of accusations with which the creditable record of British India is all too frequently surrounded. The book is completed by Sir David Chadwick's exposition of the subjects of Trade and Industry, and by Sir Alexander Murray's account of the position of Indian labour. It is unfortunate that there is no chapter dealing with Indian political developments. Such an omission is the more to be regretted, as it is likely to interfere with the appeal which an otherwise useful book will make to the public for which it has been designed.

BULLETIN OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM. New Series. General Section. Vol. II., Parts 2 and 3. Madras. 1931.

The first monograph deals with the Sri Vaishnava Brahmans, and is compiled by Diwan Bahadur K. Rangachari. It is an example of the growing importance of Indian scholarship.

We learn about the ritualistic observances of this group of Brahmans which hardly differ from that of other Brahmans, we further learn of their religious worship and ideas; but the larger portion, equal in importance to previous chapters, is that dealing with the customs and ceremonies. Twelve half-tone plates illustrate the text, which is interspersed with respective texts and their English translations. The growing number of people interested in Indian anthropology will benefit by the study of this critical and conscientious treatise.

The second Bulletin contains a descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Instruments exhibited in the Museum by Mr. P. Sambamoorthy, with 9 plates. Here, again, the Museum has been most fortunate in obtaining the services of an able Indian specialist in music, and his store of knowledge is thus placed at the reader's disposal. In the introductory sections the author deals with musical instruments generally, their classification, evolution, and the place of music in Indian life. Thereafter the arrangement in the gallery is explained, which was undertaken by himself, and finally there comes the descriptive catalogue itself. There are stringed instruments, wind, percussion, and miscellaneous instruments, and finally tribal instruments of the west coast and of a tribe of the Nilgiris. Although a number of books on Indian Music have been published, the present monograph proves to be a valuable and desirable addition.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF COLONIAL HISTORIANS IN PARIS

In September last an international congress of colonial historians—the first of its kind—was held at Paris in connection with the Exposition Coloniale. It was organized by a committee of French scholars, under the presidency of M. Alfred Martineau, formerly Governor-General of the French Settlements in India, and now Professor of Colonial History at the Collège de France. There was a considerable attendance of foreign scholars interested in the subject, and in all twelve nations were represented at the conference. Among the English contingent were Dr. A. P. Newton, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London, Professor Hart of Exeter, and Mr. C. M. MacInnes of Bristol University.

Although a start was made with the preliminary work on the afternoon of September 21, the formal opening took place on the following day, and was performed by Marshal Lyautey, assisted by representatives of the Minister for the Colonies and the Minister of Public Instruction. The sittings on the three following days were devoted to listening to communications on a wide range of subjects. Asia had its turn (with Oceania) on the afternoon of the 24th, when papers were read on a number of topics, including the careers of three famous French adventurers in India—Law of Lauriston (by M. Froidevaux), Claude Martin (M. Besson), and François Raymond (Ali Yar Khan)—and of the traveller Victor Jacquemont (M. Renault). Other papers dealt with the proceedings against Lally (M. Chassaigne), the Ostend Company (M. Olagnier and the Abbé Prims), the ships of the French East India Company in the eighteenth century (M. Charliat), and the purchase by England of the Danish colonies in the East Indies and Africa (M. Norregaard).

One of the chief aims of the congress was to prepare and publish a guide to the bibliography of the subject, from the year 1900 onwards. For this purpose each of the nations represented was asked to compile a list of such works (limited to those of real importance) issued in its territory during that period, together with a general report. As regards Great Britain, the task of preparing the bibliography was undertaken by Professor Newton, with the assistance of the Royal Empire Society; and he also contributed to the proceedings a valuable paper on the materials for colonial history available in British archives.

During the course of the congress, much hospitality was shown to the foreign members, including a *soirée indochinoise* at the Exposition and a concluding banquet.

THE NORTHBROOK SOCIETY

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1931

THE Annual General Meeting of the Northbrook Society was held at the Society's rooms, 21, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7, on Thursday, September 17, 1931, at 4 p.m.

Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, Chairman of Committee, presided, and among those present were H.H. Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Mrs. J. C. Nicholson, Mrs. H. S. L. Polak, Mrs. Gordon Roy, Miss Percival-Hall, Col. W. M. Coldstream, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Dr. F. S. Gotla, Mr. C. E. Buckland, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. Gordon Roy, Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. E. Oliver, and Mr. E. Oliver, Hon. Secretary.

Letters regretting absence from the meeting were read from Lord Harris, Lady Bomanji, and Mr. L. Cranmer-Byng.

The Hon. Secretary read the notice convening the meeting, and then read the Report for the year 1930 as follows:

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1930

The past twelve months under review, ended December 31, 1930, have been a period of steady progress along the lines that are now the settled policy of the Northbrook Society. The work of the Committee has been divided between the several functions of considering applications from Indian students for financial assistance in completing their scholastic courses, and, after investigating the necessary particulars, selecting the most deserving: in co-operating with the National Indian Association in functions for welcoming distinguished visitors on return from India or bidding God-speed to those going out in useful positions, and in otherwise extending hospitality on suitable occasions by way of social reunions of Indian residents and British friends of India.

The maintenance of the Sir Dinshaw Petit Library up-to-date as a special useful department of the Society has also engaged the constant attention of the Committee. To these ends the whole of the available income of the Society's funds has been devoted.

GRANTS-IN-AID AWARDED DURING THE YEAR

The following Grants-in-Aid were made during the year:

Mr. A. S. Kalapesi, who studied for the Ph.D. Degree at the Imperial College of Science, London, and after attaining it is on the teaching staff of St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram, a student for the D.Litt. Degree, studying at the London University.

Dr. M. D. Patel, a student for the F.R.C.S. Degree at Guy's Hospital. Dr. Patel has secured his degree and returned to India.

In every case the grant has been for £50.

Previous grants of £50 made by the Society include the following:

Mr. H. S. D. Chaturvedi, a student at Leeds University for the Ph.D. Degree.

Mr. M. S. Modak, a student at London University for the Ph.D. Degree.

Miss Premja Chaudhuri, a student training for the London Teacher's Diploma.

Mrs. Tatini Das, a student training for the London Teacher's Diploma.

Mr. J. H. Contractor, a student of Civil Engineering at the Technical College, Darlington.

Mr. L. A. Bhatt, a student for the Ph.D. Degree at London University.

Dr. J. C. Ray, a research student at the London School of Tropical Medicine.

It will be seen from this steadily increasing list of the beneficiaries of our funds that the scheme of the new Constitution of the Society, devised primarily to provide educational help, is proving successful.

THE SIR DINSHAW PETIT LIBRARY

The Library has been supplemented by a selection of new books recommended by the Library Committee, for whose invaluable services, prominently assisted by our valued colleague, Captain Cranmer-Byng, the Committee wish again to make their grateful acknowledgment. The Library Committee has been strengthened by the election of Dr. R. P. Paranjpye to fill the vacancy caused by the lamented death of the late Mr. J. C. Nicholson; thus, with the co-operation of Mr. H. S. L. Polak, forming a most efficient body of selectors.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

The following social functions have been held in conjunction with the National Indian Association during the past year:

Musical and Dramatic Entertainment, kindly organized by our President, Lord Harris, from among his friends, on October 2. This, as on a previous similar occasion, was highly enjoyed by a numerous gathering, and both our Societies, which had the benefit of it, are greatly indebted to his lordship for giving us so pleasant a treat.

Reception to meet Visitors from India, on November 7.

LOSS THROUGH DEATH

The Society has to record with regret the death of Sir Edward R. Henry, Bart., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., a member since 1904. This friend of India has lent his support to our Society ever since up to his lamented death.

RETIREMENT OF MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE

In conformity with Regulation 34 of the Articles of Association, the following members of the Committee are retiring, but, with the exception of Lady Bomanji, who is retiring on account of urgent domestic claims, are eligible and offer themselves for re-election:

Lady Bomanji (resigned),
Colonel W. M. Coldstream,
Captain L. A. Cranmer-Byng,
Princess Sophia Duleep Singh,
Mrs. J. C. Nicholson,
Mr. H. S. L. Polak.

In place of Lady Bomanji the Committee recommend the appointment of Mrs. N. D. Damry, a lady member of the Society.

AUDITED ACCOUNTS

The Hon. Treasurer's Audited Accounts are placed on the table for inspection.

The Chairman, in reviewing the work of the Committee for the period, said that if the record had no exceptional features, it was one of solid progress and sustained educational encouragement along the lines adopted under the settled policy of the Society. Before touching further upon the subject, he desired to voice what he was confident would be the sincere regret of all present at the absence of their distinguished President, Lord Harris, owing to the severe indisposition through which he had been recently passing, and their good wishes for his speedy recovery. (Cheers.)

Referring to the twofold objects of the Society, he said: (1) In the matter of granting financial assistance to thoroughly accredited and approved Indian students in the later stages of their training for degrees or diplomas, the work of the Committee was not the simple business that it might appear at first sight; for it required the utmost discrimination and investigation in order to ensure that the applicants selected were deserving, and would employ the grant strictly for the purpose for which it was made. It was a fixed rule to restrict the awards to those who were at the latter end of their training and were sponsored by the heads of their colleges or those immediately responsible for their instruction. The Committee were happy to find that all of those to whom the benefit had so far been given had proved their good faith, and most of them had succeeded in securing useful and lucrative appointments. (2) The social activities of the Northbrook Society are directed to bringing together the British friends of India and her people by means of periodical functions where they can meet in social intercourse, or by entertaining distinguished visitors from India or those who were going out to high official positions or for work of public usefulness. These entertainments have been given in co-operation with the National Indian Association, and much of the success attaching to them must be put to the credit of the Association's very efficient Secretary, Miss Beck, to whom your Committee wish to express their appreciation of her co-operation.

One of the pleasant duties of the afternoon would be, the Chairman said, to elect in the vacancy on the Board of Trustees of the General Fund Sir Atul Chatterjee, whose distinguished name would doubtless prove a source of strength to their Society. (Cheers.)

The Chairman then made gratifying references to the work of the Society's Hon. Secretary, Mr. Edwin Oliver; to Mr. Gordon Roy, the Hon. Treasurer, who had given so many years of devoted voluntary service; and to Mr. Gregory, who for nearly twenty-one years had been a diligent and competent official of the Society; and spoke with regret of the withdrawal of Lady Bomanji from the Committee. He concluded by asking their venerable and steadfast friend Mr. Buckland, Vice-President, to propose the motion for the adoption of the Report and Accounts. Mr. Buckland then proposed the adoption of the Report and Accounts, which was seconded by Mr. Polak, and carried.

The motion for the appointment of Sir Atul Chatterjee, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., as Trustee of the General Fund in place of the late Mr. Nicholson, was proposed by Princess Sophia Duleep Singh and seconded by Dr. Paranjpye, and supported by Mrs. Nicholson, and carried with applause.

The motion for the re-election of the Vice-Presidents was proposed by Colonel Coldstream and seconded by Mr. Gordon Roy, and carried.

The motion for the re-election of the Hon. Treasurer was proposed by Dr. Gotla and seconded by Mrs. Oliver, and carried.

The re-election of the retiring members of the Committee, with the exception of Lady Bomanji, whose resignation on account of pressing duties and engagements was much regretted, was proposed by Mrs. Polak and seconded by Miss Percival-Hall, and carried. Lady Bomanji's interest in the work of the Society will, however, be maintained. Mrs. N. D. Damry was elected to fill the vacancy.

The motion for the reappointment of the Auditors was proposed by Mrs. Oliver and seconded by Mrs. Polak, and carried.

Mr. Polak, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, said that they had one and all come to regard Sir Mancherjee as an institution, and it would indeed be difficult to think of the Northbrook Society apart from his beneficent influence, wise direction, and devoted interest. The motion was carried with acclamation.

In returning thanks, the Chairman said that the welfare of the Northbrook Society was to him a sacred trust, for since its inception by Lord Northbrook he was allowed to lend what little help he could to the promotion of such purposes as the Society represented. It was a source of much satisfaction to him to feel that the Society was now fulfilling so faithfully its original wishes and ideals. He was grateful to Mr. Polak for his kind words; but to him and his other colleagues was due the success for which he was given the credit.

Mr. Buckland returned thanks on behalf of the Vice-Presidents for their re-election, and the proceedings were then brought to a close.

CORRESPONDENCE

MORTALITY FROM SNAKE-BITE IN INDIA

A LITTLE time ago *The Times* contained an account of an unfortunate Burman found to have been swallowed by a python. If an occasional gruesome incident of this kind were all the Indian and Burman mortality from snakes, there would not be much to worry about. But the real problem in this line is that of deaths from poisonous snakes. The figure under that head is about 19,000 per annum. In spite of the increase in population the total mortality tends to fall very slightly, but it is still high, although it does not attract very much general attention. The reason may be that the victims nearly all belong to the inarticulate section of the population, and further, owing to their sporadic character among villages often far away from the main centres of population, that these cases do not come much under the notice of medical men. As instances of unnatural death they are reported through the police to the District Magistrate without anything in the shape of scientific details.

It would seem that there are in India about forty kinds of poisonous terrestrial snakes, of which the cobra, krait, Russell's viper, and echis are the most common. It is important to note that of these four the two first named are of the colubrine type and kill (as investigation has shown) by paralysis of the respiratory centre. The two latter types are viperine, and kill more slowly by hemorrhage consequent upon the destruction of the coagulative power of the blood. Apart from this, whatever be the type of snake—indeed, even if it be non-poisonous—to be bitten by it is a loathsome experience, and the shock to most people severe. And so is the pain where the snake is poisonous.

In spite of the labours of men like Lamb and Wall, it cannot be said that much success has as yet been achieved in the effort to grapple with the snake pest in India. To a large extent among Hindus there is a religious aversion to killing snakes. And nobody expects to be bitten, but if he is bitten, the sufferer is disposed to give himself up for lost. Effective treatment requires to follow on the bite with the least possible delay. Most of the cases, again, occur away in the villages at night. The nearest dispensary with a possible—and it is only a possible—supply of serum may be miles away, and there are difficulties about getting the patient there, even if he is willing to go. And the serum, which rapidly deteriorates, may prove quite ineffective, either because it has lost its vigour or because it is not appropriate to the poison of the offending snake. Such serum as there is—antivenene—is operative only against the poison of the cobra and Russell's viper.

The contrast with Brazil is interesting. It is to be remembered that the population of that vast country is less than one-tenth of that of India. And here I should like to refer to a special Brazil issue of *The Times*, dated June 21, 1927, for an account of the Butantan Institute, near Sao Paulo. It appears that 4,000 to 5,000 persons used to die yearly of snake-bite in Brazil, prior to the establishment of the Institute in 1902. Now it is claimed that as a result of serums invented by Dr. V. Brasil, and widely distributed among farms in particular, snake-bite mortality has been reduced to one-third of the old figure.

In the light of the very gratifying advance made by Brazil in tackling its snake problem, one is inclined to ask whether India might not make a more intensive effort in this line. Brazil, I note at once, has two advantages. Its poisonous snakes are all of the viperine kind, in which, as already noted, the poison does not work so rapidly as the colubrine poison does. Further, in that country, scientific effort is backed up by eager and intelligent lay effort, so that the right treatment is applied at the nearest farmhouse without delay. Still, could India not get nearer than it has done to the Brazilian standard?

I have no heroic suggestions to make, but this much at least is practical. An examination of the statistics shows that mortality from snake-bite is highest in the United Provinces, Bengal, and Bihar. Between them they account for about three-quarters of the fatalities. No doubt within each of those provinces there is one area or more where the mortality is specially heavy. Why not select, anyhow, one such area in one province, at least, and concentrate on that, offering special facilities—so far as they exist to be offered—for the prompt treatment of snake-bite. If the result were, as it should be, a very appreciable reduction in fatalities, the way might be opened for a wider movement with some hope of popular co-operation.

I am not referring here to measures such as snake-killing, which might offend, or even to an extended use of boots in the few months each year that the risk is greatest. But I will close with this observation. The more a man shrinks from killing snakes as impious, the more ready should he be to investigate with a view to discovering suitable serums for the treatment of the human victims of snakes. In this field young Hindu scientific talent has a fine opening.

H. Harcourt.

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IN this brief paper I shall dwell on the Indian constitutional problem as a lawyer deals with a law case, but applying the comparative and the historical method in searching for an interim conclusion or judgment. However vast a problem may be it is susceptible to rules of law when the facts and the origin of the facts are known. This is true of the physical and of the organic universes. In these regions we are struggling for knowledge, and, as knowledge comes, we are able to enunciate interim rules of law, universal principles which appear for the time being to solve all lesser problems. I believe that to be true also of the social interactions of mankind. I long ago, in my capacity as Quain Professor of Comparative Law in the University of London, endeavoured to lay down three primary principles relating to human groups. I hold that

1. There is a dominant tendency in the individual man to strive so to regulate the group to which he belongs as to afford to the group, and therefore to the individuals forming the group, a maximum of protection from environment.

2. Within the group the relations of individuals are always tending towards stability of conduct.

3. There is a dominant tendency of a group which has attained consciousness of corporate life to strive so to regulate the sum total of groups to which it belongs as to afford to the aggregate of groups, and therefore to itself, a maximum of protection from environment.

I have tested these principles in many forms of society, the humblest as well as the greatest, and apparently they are true. I am anxious to test them with regard to India. The Simon

Report, the Round-Table Conference, and material contained in the *Cambridge History of India* make possible such testing and enable, so far as I am concerned, a conclusion to be reached: a conclusion which may not satisfy some minds, but which seems to me a substantial step in the direction of that grouping of groups which is, after all, the root of nationalism.

FRUITS OF THE CONFERENCE

I have heard of some impatient thinkers on Indian subjects who have condemned as fruitless the Round-Table Conference. For my own part I think that the fruits of these Conferences are of priceless value, and the work of the Lord Chancellor, as chairman of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the Conference, as something which will go down to history, not as a valiant attempt to get into line recalcitrant material, but as the first real attempt to understand the Indian mind, its relation to the past, and its approach to the future.

The term "facts" in this connection includes not only the stabilized facts of the past, but what may be called the potentialities of the present. Indian history, though too little known, is, at any rate, through the unremitting labours of specialists, capable of being known to all. These give the lawyer the static facts, which are, in the main, beyond dispute. The present attitude of the Indian mind, the mind of Hindu and Moslem alike, is based on these facts, though there are many angularities springing from that base. The Round-Table Conference, so far as it has gone, is to my mind, at any rate, the first definite *exposé* of the Indian mind, with its many ramifications, based on the facts of Indian history. The Conference has had, in relation to the whole problem, the effect that pleadings, discovery, interrogatories, and the examination of witnesses have in relation to a law problem; while the Simon Commission has given the necessary "view," as lawyers call it.

The Conference has brought out into the open differences of opinion, claims of right, allegations of wrong, fears of results, hopes of justice, appeals to equity, which are a necessary part of the process of a great suit, the bringing into perspective of a real and fundamental issue that the High Court of Parliament (so to speak) has to solve. The Round-Table Conference may properly be regarded in this light. Not one of the facts, not one of the potentialities or opinions (which are facts in themselves) could have surprised any observer of Indian history. But the main point now is that we have all the issues noted down from the Indian points of view, not the British Indian point of view only, but the points of view of the vitally important Indian States. It may well be asserted that the Round-Table Conference, if we regard it as a stage of one of the greatest *causes célèbres* that history has known, has been an astounding success.

COMPARATIVE INSTANCES

I propose to relate the conclusions that the Round-Table Conference has brought forth to the group system of which I have spoken, but before doing this I must make an *excursus* into the world of comparative law and history. This is necessary if we are to understand the Indian problem as it will affect both East and West. We might take comparative examples on the one hand from mediæval China and the other hand from the kingdoms that the Greek successors of Alexander the Great set up in Hither Asia. It would be useful to make these comparisons, since, in the fourth decade of the thirteenth century of our era, when Marco Polo visited China and was received at Peking by the Grand Khan, staying in China for seventeen years and being appointed a Governor of a Chinese city, we have a picture of a vast land where there was an immensely strong central government coupled with a system of provincial delegated governments: an instance of federalism combined with central power which secured peace and prosperity for a long period in the whole empire. On the other hand, the history of the Greek conquerors of Hither Asia long before our era showed the essential weakness of a non-federalized system even when the rulers were all of the same race and represented the same civilization.

More familiar instances are, however, desirable, since China presents a special stock and Hither Asia was in the main non-Aryan. I refer, therefore, to two European parallels to the case of India. The Aryan races and tribes that invaded and occupied India were of the same stock as the races that dominated Greece, Italy, and the West of Europe as far as Ireland. Sir Henry Maine emphasizes the fact that the common source of the Hindu and the dominant European stocks inevitably makes the relationship of the two races easier, since there is a fundamental source of kinship and equality. We can argue, therefore, from the comparative method.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The Roman Empire in the great classical period presents a close parallel in size as well as race with modern India. The problem of building up the Roman Empire was of the same magnitude as the problem of building up an Indian Empire, and the lessons to be learnt from the Roman experiment are curiously applicable—even to the extent of the inclusion in a Confederation of quasi-independent kings and princes—to the problem which the proposed Federation of India presents. It is a very long story, the building up by the great Augustus and his immediate successors of what was in fact an immense Federation with an extraordinary degree of freedom in the different provinces, the ruling of it exhibiting a minimum of outward force and the maximum of real control. From Syria and Egypt to Spain, France, and Britain the central control was manifest, and yet the visible signs of control were slight and the freedom of the provinces was plain even in such difficult regions as modern France.

There is a lesson to be learnt from the composition of the Roman Empire at its greatest time which is plainly applicable to a federated India. The Roman Empire, moreover, was an Aryan Empire as India is today. The parallels between the two positions are startling. Despite the great changes that have been wrought by modern science, the bulk of the inhabitants of rural India are as they were 2,000 years ago, and at present enjoy that same measure of peace and security which was one of the main features of the Roman Empire. The cities of India are not more sophisticated to-day than the greatest cities of the Roman Empire, though the civilization of the former is over-ridden with the devices of modern science. The idea of political representation was not absent in the Roman Empire, and there was always an appeal to Rome whether in political, constitutional, or legal matters. The salient fact was that Rome was the almost unconscious centre of real control. That was the strength of the classical Roman Empire.

On the other hand, in the Holy Roman Empire, which lasted almost from the time of Charlemagne to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the salient fact was that there was confederation without central control. The machinery of the Holy Roman Empire was in a degree good, and yet the absence of central control subjected Europe to centuries of continual warfare. The lessons to be learnt from the Holy Roman Empire are as obvious, from the point of view of an Indian Confederation system, as the lessons of Imperial Rome. But one good thing the Holy Roman Empire, with all its faults, achieved. Despite ceaseless internecine quarrels on a Continental scale it kept the hordes of Asia and the threat of Constantinople (after the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire in 1453) in check. India has many potential external enemies, and weakness at the centre in India would be more dangerous than the weakness of the centre in Europe, since there would be no guarantee whatever that highly organized external enemies could be kept at bay. France and Austria successively held the gate in Europe since they were strong though the Holy Roman Empire was not strong. But in India there are no individual monarchies which could play the part that Austria played in the sixteenth century.

My first argument from the comparative point of view is that the clamour from some influential urban Indians for independence (as it is called) is futile, since it would inevitably bring a period of pure chaos succeeded by a foreign yoke more bitter than anything India has had yet to bear.

"INDEPENDENCE"

There is much talk at the present time about the virtual independence of the various members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In fact that independence still turns upon the fact that it is a Commonwealth. The various great Dominions of the

Crown would speedily have to fight for their existence East and West, North and South, if it were not for the practical unity of the British Empire. The Dominions and the Colonies have at any moment the call of all the powers of the Crown. The case of India is not different in this respect. The centre of the system is, in all directions, in active existence, though, as in the case of classical Rome, the fact is not emphasized in any region. The fact and not the manifestation of the fact, except in extreme instances, is what matters. In modern China the centre has disappeared and chaos has resulted, as in the case of the Holy Roman Empire.

Secondly, it is necessary to refer to the group system, the groups and groups of groups, the grouped principalities and powers of which India has always consisted. There could be no better illustration of the law of groups, the Natural Law of Federations, than is presented by the vast sub-continent which is called India. In the southern and western dispersions of the Aryan stock, though we see still surviving some remnants of the group system and modern developments of that system such as trades unions and the unions that make the strength of every profession, yet the group system is not existent in its primal perfection in the way that it still exists in India. In the group system we see internal self-protection, internal unity, and internal powers of growth. The history of India from the very first shows this group system at work. The men who became the Brahmins were the earliest custodians of tribal tradition, and they were the custodians, not only of the patriarchal groups that were the origin of the Hindu Joint Family, but of greater and ever greater groups which formed eventually, out of the tribal system, great kingdoms, vast empires, by a deliberate process of federation and devolution of authority in provincial areas while retaining a vastly strong federalized centre. It is unnecessary to go into detail in this matter, though I might point to the development of the tiny kingdom of Magadha in the fourth century before our era into the vast empires of Chandragupta and Açoka: empires built up by a gradual process of federation and devolution dominated by the central power.

The Indian Group System

The point is that there is and always has been in India a universal group system which is singularly capable of effective combination and federalization, singularly capable of constitutional development: a development that has taken place in repeated instances in the last 2,500 years, though in all instances when the Central Power failed the groups broke up politically though not socially.

The social side of the group system is very important, since the material exists for new developments. The strength of the social system is not only the Hindu Joint Family system but the Caste system. I say this deliberately despite Sir Henry Maine's stern condemnation of the caste system and despite many apparent disadvantages which it entails. The caste system was a fruit of the Brahmin model, and was the effort of successive classes of society to strengthen their religious, social, and economic structure by a bond even stronger than was afforded by the Joint Family. These groups cross and there is apparently much loss as well as gain in the crossing of the two sets of groups. The Muhammadan invasion in the seventh century made the Caste system and the Joint Family system stronger in the effort—the successful effort—to resist by peaceful means the emergence of a new Power. But from the present point of view the caste system of groups—which may exceed in numbers 3,000—is a grouping so universal, so intentionally provided by the religious traditions, which are tribal traditions, of the whole Hindu or quasi-Hindu community, that it cannot be neglected, and offers—as trades unionism in Europe and America offers—opportunities which statesmanship must grasp. Whatever else the caste system of groups means, it means a group system which has extended into the poorest and most despised social classes in India, and like all groups it is capable of affording spokesmen in any representative system for all classes.

The Representative System

My third and brief argument is that all the Aryan races, East or West, are singularly capable of a system of representation. It is in fact that capacity for representation which has enabled all sections of the Aryan race, and races which have assimilated the Aryan ideals of freedom, to become great. It is true to a limited degree that East is East and West is West, that Occidental methods of social progress are very different to Oriental methods. But India, when once you have grasped the community of ultimate structure that is part of (let us say) the English world and the Indian world, must be ruled out of this idea so far as constitutional growth is concerned. The growth of social democracy in every country, East or West, is a very slow business, but that India, with its unbroken group system, is capable of adopting, in the modern sense, as it was capable in the ancient sense, the principle of representation, there can be no doubt. My point is that in India there is the material for constitutional federation and that the time has come for further advances to be made.

The reforms of eleven years ago, which introduced a system of general election for provincial councils and for the central legislative assembly, have begun to familiarize the vast population of India with the idea of representation in the modern or English sense, though the rapid recrudescence of Hindu-Moslem tension is a fundamental difficulty from the point of view of the constitution maker. Communal strife was practically non-existent a generation ago; yet it is a short view to think that it has been created by the hope of political enfranchisement. It has been merely re-awakened and the hope is that the recrudescence will die down.

GENESIS OF REFORMS

The conception of universal political enfranchisement was a product of the Great War of 1914—1918 and the noble part that India played in it. Mr. Montagu's announcement of August 20, 1917, was followed by the Montagu-Chelmsford report of April, 1918. The announcement had the full support of the Coalition Government, and the words "responsible government" were added by Lord Curzon himself. No challenge was made to the announcement by any party in the State. The Montagu-Chelmsford report was followed by the Government of India Bill, 1919, which was passed without a murmur of dissent and exactly represented the announcement of August 20, 1917. The Statutory Commission summarized the reforming principles that were reached in 1919 as follows:

> Authority, instead of being concentrated at the Centre, was to be in large measure devolved on the provinces; the opportunities of the Central Legislature for influencing the Government of India were to be increased; the control of Parliament over the whole of Indian government was to be modified by marking out a portion of the provincial field in which it would be no longer exercised.*

It is unnecessary here and now to deal with the reforms of 1919 and the measure of self-government created in the provinces and in the ambit of the central legislature, or to consider the difficult subjects of dyarchy; that is to say, reserved and transferred subjects. The only point it is necessary to mention is that in 1909 the Morley-Minto reforms introduced the elective conception and with it the principle of a separate Moslem electorate. The Reforms of 1919 followed the same precedent, and separate or communal electorates were (very unwillingly) created both for the Sikhs of the Punjab and the Moslem areas. The Simon Report says:

> Representation of rival communities and different interests is the only principle upon which it has been found possible to constitute, by the method of direct election, the legislative bodies of India, and this is the more significant as the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report manifestly struggled against it.†

This was the chief difficulty against which both sessions of the Round-Table Conference has struggled with apparent unsuccess.

The Prime Minister's Announcement

The present position is summarized by the statement made by the Prime Minister to the Conference at the close of its second session on December 1, 1931. He reaffirmed the declaration of policy made last January on behalf of the Labour Government as the policy of the present Government, and that policy is the policy of 1917, 1918, and 1919 carried further along the lines of the declaration of 1917. The Prime Minister said:

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* The Simon Report, p. 122.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

> Responsibility for the government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political rights and liberties.
>
> In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new Constitution to full responsibility for her own government.

His Majesty's present Government in particular desire

> to reaffirm their belief in an All-India Federation as offering the only hopeful solution of India's constitutional problem. . . . Owing to the absence of a settlement of the key question of how to safeguard the Minorities under a responsible Central Government, the Conference has been unable to discuss effectively the nature of the Federal Executive and its relationship with the Legislature. Again, it has not yet been possible for the States to settle amongst themselves their place in the Federation and their mutual relationships within it.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

The Prime Minister, however, said that "the great idea of All-India Federation still holds the field," but he dismisses the weighty suggestion, as not commending itself to the Conference, of a "partial advance" by making possible "the assumption of full responsibility by the Provinces." He said to the Conference:

> You have indicated your desire that no change should be made in the Constitution which is not effected by one all-embracing Statute covering the whole field, and His Majesty's Government has no intention of urging a responsibility which, for whatever reasons, is considered at the moment premature or ill-advised. It may be that opinion and circumstances will change, and it is not necessary here and now to take any irrevocable decision. We intend, and have always intended, to press on with all possible despatch with the federal plan.

The plan is already in existence. Lord Sankey's Federal Structure Sub-Committee has elaborated its plan, its safeguards, its Federal Court. It would be possible, after the three special Indian Committees have reported and one more meeting of the Round-Table Conference, to draft the new Indian Constitution, with some temporary measures dealing with the protection of Minorities and the form in which the Indian States will join in the Federation pending agreement upon those subjects. It will not be, as the Prime Minister said, "a satisfactory way of dealing with" the problem of Minorities, but that problem will not hold up the drafting of the Constitution.

VALUE OF A PARTIAL ADVANCE

Personally I advocate, with many other persons, a "partial advance" by giving free responsibility, with the necessary safeguards, to the Provinces, but it is said to be difficult if not impossible. I do not see the difficulty as a question of draftsmanship, since in very many Acts and Statutes of Parliament there is provision for the successive operation of the various parts of a whole scheme. By all means let the "one all-embracing Statute covering the whole field" be made into law, but make provision for the Provincial Constitutions to come into operation at one date and the whole complete Federal scheme at another and a later date. "The powers entrusted to the Governor to safeguard the safety and tranquillity of the Province" must be "real and effective," as the Prime Minister stated in his speech of December 1, and current events show that this is indeed necessary. But that should not defer the setting up of the new Provincial Legislatures with their large powers and enlarged responsibilities.

FEDERAL STAGES

The growth of a Federation, as I have tried to show in this brief paper, involves the idea of devolution of powers coupled with a strong centre, not only a strong centre in India but a strong centre at Westminster. If the strength of the centre is assured, then the sooner England gets on with the work of devolution the better. The framework of the Federation is practically complete, but it awaits various decisions and assents on behalf of India—British India and the States of India. In the meantime the Provincial Government may well become operative in order to show the way to the new Central Government in which both British India and the States of India will combine. It may be a long time or it may be a short time before the complete Federation, as drafted by a complete Statute of the Imperial Parliament, comes into being as an organ of government of the vast subcontinent of India. In the meantime the "partial advance" of a complete statutory scheme is not only feasible but desirable, since it will show that India is capable of the weight of devolved responsible government under proper safeguards. Moreover, it seems to be a logical development of the Doctrine of Groups with which I began my address. The ancient group system, of which India is the most important example in the world, will have in this Halfway House the opportunity of manifesting the essential unity of British India and the wisdom of the far-sighted vision of a Federation of All-India as part of the British Commonwealth of Nations: a League of Nations indeed.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, January 19, 1932, at which a paper was read by Professor J. E. G. de Montmorency, M.A., LL.B., on "The Halfway House in India." Sir Leslie Scott, P.C., K.C., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Lord and Lady Headley, Sir Amberson Marten, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir George Godfrey, Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. H. K. Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Dr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mrs. de Montmorency and Mr. de Montmorency, jnr., Colonel A. S. Roberts, Major Gilbertson, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Sale, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. J. K. Das Gupta, Mrs. Mowbray M. Spencer, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Mr. A. E. Rushworth, Mr. S. Altaf Husain, Mr. K. Curtis, Miss Corfield, Miss E. L. Curteis, Miss Stirling, Mr. Usher, Mr. P. Roy, Dr. A. Shah, Mr. C. A. Mehta, Miss B. Toynbee, Miss Hopley, Major and Mrs. Richmond, Miss Caton, Mr. G. P. Pritchett, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mr. L. S. Dancer, Mr. James J. Nolan, Mr. F. W. Ross, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. F. W. Westbrook, Mr. H. B. Holme, Mr. F. W. Green, Mr. F. Grubb, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to thank you for the honour of allowing me to preside over this lecture by Mr. de Montmorency. I have a letter from Lord Lamington expressing great regret that he is unable to be present today.

(The Lecturer read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to an extremely interesting paper from Professor de Montmorency which will make us all think now and after we leave this room. I have been invited by your Secretary to offer you a few observations, but I observe that, by your printed rules, the Chairman is asked to request various members of the audience to address the meeting, with no suggestion that the Chairman himself should do so. I accept that polite hint, because I regard silence as the chief function of a chairman. I have the honour first of calling on His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

His Highness the MAHARAO OF CUTCH thanked the Chairman for giving him an opportunity of saying a few words, and also thanked the audience for their warm reception. He had no intention of attending the meeting that afternoon, and was not aware it was to take place until Sir Leslie Scott informed him of the fact and asked him to attend. He made these observations in order that they would understand that he was not prepared to make any detailed comments on the wonderful address which had been given by

Professor de Montmorency. The paper to which they had listened led them to great principles. It was a paper which must make them think a great deal, and the problems embraced were so vast that any definite opinions could not be expressed in a hurry. The subject was of as great interest to India as it was to this country, because providentially their destinies had been interwoven, and he personally regarded this as of great benefit to both countries. Coming as he did from one of the Indian States, the idea of an all-Indian federation had engrossed more of his attention than the other points, and he was very glad to see that so distinguished a lawyer as the lecturer took a favourable view of the possibilities of federation. It was difficult for him to give a complete picture of that federation, but he did think that it opened a field of thought, possibly of action, and an opportunity which no sensible person should fail to grasp. He was very pleased that the lecturer had referred to the part which the Indian States must necessarily play in the federation of the whole of the continent. At the moment it might appear that there was a tension of feeling between English thought and certain sections of the Indian people. He had been personally associated with Englishmen for more than half a century, and that association had taught him that English people had a very strong moral asset—the ability to take a fair-minded view of men and their efforts. He did not think there were people in any country in the world who could take so fair-minded a view of any problem as the English people. Hence India should feel safe in leaving her destinies to be guided, not governed, by the British people. The quality of fair-mindedness of the English people was most developed amongst their lawyers; and he congratulated the lecturer and the Chairman on possessing those qualities. He felt he ought to emphasize on that occasion the importance of the sovereignty and the rights of the States and the part they had played in the history of India, and particularly since India's connection with the English. He hoped that the States' rights and privileges would not be lost sight of, and he was confident that they would not be lost sight of.

Professor Rushbrook Williams said he would like to join with His Highness in paying his tribute to the extraordinarily interesting character of Professor de Montmorency's address. It was an address which opened up the Indian problem from a point of view which they needed to appreciate—namely, the point of view of the legal mind. They had often had the political mind bearing on India, with results which he ventured to say were, on the whole, none too happy, and he thought it was time that they should have the legal mind also brought to bear, since the legal mind possessed a sense of constitutional justice together with an appreciation of those fundamental principles of equity which held the Empire together. It was for that reason in particular that he welcomed the angle from which Professor de Montmorency tackled the problem. As an amateur historian, he would take the great liberty of supplementing in one or two directions what Professor de Montmorency had said. He would venture to challenge the exactness of the parallel which the lecturer drew between the conditions which the western-moving branch of the Aryan-speaking peoples found in Europe and those which were encountered by the eastern-moving branch of the Aryan-speaking peoples in India? Europe could in those remote days show nothing which approached the tenacity, the all-pervasiveness of that civilization already existing in India which in India, for want of a better term, they called Dravidian.

He would like to point out that in the lecturer's extremely interesting and, to his mind, suggestive and accurate description of the Indian grouping system, Professor de Montmorency had omitted that one element which was the characteristic Dravidian contribution thereto, by which he meant the village community. In fact, there were three, and not two, great examples in India of the operation of the group system—the joint family and the caste; yes, but in between them the village. There could be no doubt that the characteristic form which the Indian village community had adopted was to a very large extent based on pre-Aryan, Dravidian institutions.

He would like again to reinforce the Professor's point by making a further statement: It was just because the group system was so powerful in India that the State had assumed through Indian history a form strange to our eyes. The typical view of the State as set forth, not merely in the Hindu law books, but also in the Moslem treatises on political science, was that of an organization very largely external to the individual. He begged the question for the moment of there being no individuals in India; that was, from one point of view, strictly true; the Indian was not so much an individual citizen as a member of a group or a series of groups; but on the postulate that there existed in India private citizens, the orthodox political position of these private citizens in India contrasted considerably with the orthodox political position of the private citizen in Western society. The great difference was that in India the authority of the State touched the private citizen at only one small segment of the total circumference of his social contacts; the remainder of that circumference was controlled by quasi-voluntary organizations—the Professor's " groups "—with which the State had nothing whatever to do.

Comparing that system with the West, in the West one had noticed the successive increase of the functions of the State and its control over the life of the individual. India had nothing to show parallel to that; on the contrary, the Indian group had remained tenacious of its rights, and protective of those who enjoyed those rights. If it was not straying away too far, he would say that one of the fundamental criticisms he had to make of the Whitley Labour Commission Report was the endeavour which was obviously made there to set the path of Indian labour along the path of Western trades unionism, without making sufficient allowance for the fact that the Indian labourer was not the isolated, helpless, uncorrelated individual that the British labourer was before trades unionism began, but that he was in effect a member of an already existing group. They had only to strengthen the existing group spirit and they would have a trades union spirit more adaptable to Indian conditions than anything which had been imported from the West.

To resume his argument, the result of these conditions was that the State in India was by tradition a peace and tranquillity enforcing (not a law and order enforcing) and a revenue collecting entity; that meant to say that they had to look, as the Professor had said, to the group rather than to the State as the embodiment of political activities. If the manner in which the group functioned in India were examined, they would be struck by the fact that the joint family, the village, and the caste tended to operate best either among direct blood kin or people very closely connected with one another by common ancestors and within a certain definite territorial area, large or small. If they kept that fact in mind, and also bore in mind the fact that India had witnessed some thirteen or fourteen different empires before the British, each one of which was started from the impetus provided by a certain infusion of culture from outside, they got this position—that the political development of India, owing to the function of the group system, tended to concentrate inside small areas.

The result was that throughout the whole course of Indian history there were to be observed individual kingdoms holding their positions with extraordinary tenacity, whilst what he called the external State, the great empires, rose and fell. One of the reasons why so many empires in India had risen and fallen was the facility with which the individual units or organizations could cohere together when they were submitted to the same feudal supremacy of an empire, and the facility with which, as soon as that supremacy was threatened, they could break off again and assume their own life just as they were before. That was, as it seemed to the speaker, an argument why the scheme of federation, as the Professor had so correctly forecasted, was the only suitable future for India. That was also borne out as being the only suitable future for India by a brief examination of Indian history, because only with a system which permitted those local cultures to survive and which permitted the local individualism to have its full scope, and at the same time provided a bond of union without uniformity, could one conceive India being occupied, as it were, by one super-State.

The point which the lecturer made about the adaptability of the group system seemed to the speaker to be an illustration of the light which the legal mind threw when it approached a politico-constitutional problem, because there could be no question that in the group system they had in India a method of representation which, if properly adapted to the requirements of the new constitution, was at least as effective, and probably more effective, than the ballot-box system of the Western democracy. It was, of course, the system upon which, under the old-fashioned constitution of an orthodox Indian State, the Durbar depended. It was a system upon which one could rely, in order to arrive at the opinion of the people at large, and groups of people, very quickly. It was a system which threw up men whose word, as the Americans said, "goes" among enormous masses of their caste fellows for whom they were authorized to speak. In many respects it possessed the advantages without the disadvantages of the Western representative system. There were States in India—he had Hyderabad particularly in mind—which were endeavouring at the present moment to adapt this Indian group system with the object of founding upon it a modern representative institution, not by means of the ballot box, but by means of the old group system. He concluded by expressing his warmest thanks to the lecturer.

Mr. G. F. Pratt said he was not quite sure that Professor Rushbrook Williams, in criticizing the Whitley Commission Report on Labour Conditions in India, had sufficiently taken into consideration the fact that the Indian labourer working under the industrial conditions which were becoming more and more prevalent in India, especially in the big urban centres, was entirely uprooted and cut off from the village community, and entirely cut off from the social environment in which he had spent the whole of his life before he became converted from a rural labourer into an industrial labourer. They would find that point very clearly brought out in a very excellent little book by Miss Margaret Reed, which summarized and popularized the Whitley Commission Report. Referring to the very interesting address that they had heard from the lecturer, he would like to follow him in two directions: one when he went back into the remote past into the history of the successors of Alexander, and the other when he groped into the future for the application of the group system in the future constitution of India. Going back into the past first, he thought that the history of those kingdoms gave them some very interesting lessons. One was that the great weakness of those kingdoms was due to the fact that they crushed the indigenous population by a system of rule which imposed excessive taxation levied ruthlessly and mercilessly by subordinate officials who were of alien blood and race. In British India the subordinate officials were all Indians, but in those ancient kingdoms it was the *Greculus Esuriens* who preyed upon the peasant populations in Asia and Syria and Egypt; so much so that even at that remote period a feeling or spirit of nationalism, centuries before its time, was aroused in the subject populations, and to a great extent contributed to the weakness of those rulers and facilitated their downfall when they came into conflict with the centralized power of Rome. Another point was with regard to the future constitution of India. One of the most important aspects of that would be dealt with by the Franchise Committee, one half of which was already on its way to India.

All that he wished to say with regard to that was to mention the very interesting suggestion which had been made in some quarters about basing a franchise in the last resort upon the very village community to which Professor Rushbrook Williams had referred as being one of the basic facts upon which Indian life was built. The suggestion briefly was this: They all knew that adult suffrage had been demanded, especially by Congress, and he thought, also, by Mr. Gandhi, as being a necessary feature of the future Indian constitution. He did not need to say anything about the enormous difficulties which adult suffrage in so vast a country, with that vast population, raised; but the suggestion to which he referred to a certain extent met those difficulties, and to a certain extent met the demand which had been put forward for adult suffrage by the Congress and the Congress supporters, by the proposal that for any given constituency (and the constituencies in India were very extensive) the representatives should be chosen by a double process of two elections; that the first electors should be the village community, who would out of their own unit put up a body of electors on the basis of one elector for 50, or 30, or 100 of the population of that village, and that those representatives so chosen should then proceed to vote for the candidates nominated for election in that particular constituency. The Franchise Committee possibly would have to deal with that proposal, and if that proposal were to find favour in their eyes it would certainly incorporate in the future constitution of India that very vital and essential factor of the village community, which was at the bottom of the whole of Indian life and history.

Mr. ALLTAF HUSAIN wished to make one point that seemed to him to arise from the address. The strength of the centre had been emphasized in the address as being paramount in any successful scheme of Commonwealth or League. They knew very well that the political tendencies of today were moving very rapidly upon the general scheme of economic nationalism as distinct from the political theory of the centre. Whenever they considered any general problem other than the question of international peace or prosperity, those political pleasantries went on very well until they came down to brass tacks—the economic questions relating to the various units. When that occasion arose, all the constituents cast their eyes upon their various States, or nations, and on such occasions their sympathies and their harmony turned into a sort of discord. He would therefore like to be enlightened by the Professor as to whether the centre, which seemed to be the basis of the scheme, could exercise efficiently and impartially its function as the centre and also its national function as an ordinary constituent member of the Commonwealth or League. Where would it be in that dual position, either as the centre where the authority of the League resided, or just more or less a sort of ordinary unit, which would appear to be in a great measure impractical, unless the centre were a Commonwealth Parliament? He might illustrate his meaning by an example. England, the centre, was now off the gold standard. South Africa, a constituent, was not. England said to South Africa: "You should not do this, as the disparity in the exchange will injure English commercial interests, besides being harmful in other ways." South Africa replied: "It may be so, but our currency policy is considered to be in the general interests of the country." Now, was England speaking on this matter as the disinterested and impartial arbitral and co-ordinating centre, or purely and exclusively for the English nation?

The CHAIRMAN: May I add just a word or two, with your permission? It seems to me that federation is obviously the only possible solution by which all India can be united together. But federations are essentially of two kinds. There is the federation which tends to become unitary, in which the constituent federating units tend to lose their power and their individuality, and the centre tends to become more and more powerful and more all-pervading. There is also the federation where the vitality and individuality of the provinces, of the parts, remains, if not dominant, at any rate always forceful, and where the union between them at the centre is a means of guidance, particularly in foreign affairs; in short, where the centre does not absorb the political life of the parts.

That particular question—the choice of the right type of federation—it strikes me, is the most important practical aspect of the discussions about federation in India today. The address to which we have listened, and each of the speeches to which we have listened, have, from different angles, insisted upon the existence in India of local vitality, of local tendencies to local grouping for different purposes.

When I was in India four years ago advising the States, if one thing struck me more than another it was the sense in each State of separate autonomous existence, with its own institutions and with its own genius of development. That sentiment I believe to be characteristic of the whole of India in different ways, and I cannot help feeling profoundly that it is probably the dominant characteristic of India when viewed as a problem of government, and that everything possible ought to be done to build on that pre-existing natural capacity for local grouping of one kind or another. It is a thing, as the speakers this afternoon pointed out, almost unknown in the disintegrated conditions of Western democracy. We had it in England to a great extent at one time, but it does not exist today; it does not exist in the United States; it does not exist in France; but in India it does, and the true genius of statesmanship in constitution building depends on utilizing the natural predispositions of the people for whom you are building the constitution.

We all have to recognize that the political force of Indian nationalism is today to a great extent displaying itself before the eyes of the world in the form of an express desire for a central government of a responsible character. To a very great extent that manifestation represents real opinion; and I do not intend to suggest any doubt that a central government is, for some purposes and with certain functions, essential in any constitution for a federation of India; and when I appear to be using words of limitation I hope the protagonists of a central responsible government in India, if they happen to read my observations, will not think that I am in any sense trying to nullify the power and scope of a central government in the sense in which I understand that they ask for it. But I am quite certain that they do not want to lose the immense strength which comes from building on natural tendencies, already existing provincially and locally throughout India, and that they would be the last to say that they want to impair the powers of self-development to be found in every local unit of area in India.

There is one factor in the modern world which was not present in any of the great empires of the world with which the paper this evening has dealt, and I believe that factor will have a profound influence. In any federation, however much it is built on the true basis of federation—that is to say, on the consensual joining together of a large number of units pre-existing independently—however much you emphasize that as the original character of your federation, modern invention, modern science—trains, aeroplanes, telegraphs, telephones, wireless—which unite the most distant places with the greatest rapidity with any centre, will always tend to cause the tendency of a federation to be towards the centre, and not away from the centre. For that reason, because the tendency will be centripetal, I cannot help feeling myself that you want to build from the local unit upwards, and to be careful not to impose a federation of a unitary kind, building from the centre outwards. And that is peculiarly true in regard to the States of India. It is obvious from the map and from history that a federation of all India is an absolute impossibility without the States; and consequently the States are essential to any scheme to be propounded, as I think is generally recognized today. We want to consider very carefully what the genius is of the States as distinct from the genius of British India in the various parts of British India. I have always felt that I should like to see how a federation in which, so to speak, the monarchical principle of the States is allowed to develop in accordance with the religious traditions of Indian kingship, modified gradually by the modern desire that the people ought to share in the government, will progress in competition with—as it were running a race alongside of—the kind of democracy which seems to be wanted in British India. The more we can let the two run side by side as different kinds of local autonomous government within the units of the two sides of the new federation, the better chance there will be for a development ultimately of a federation of all India which will suit its conditions and history.

It is that aspect which I have ventured to think is the important one to be dealt with today, to consider what exactly are the true relations between locality or province or state and the centre, and how to start your confederation. If you start with the federal idea rather than the unitary idea, you may rest assured that as time goes on and India learns to find its own way in the political world, there will always be a tendency towards a greater and greater assumption of power by the centre, with the consent of the provinces, following what I feel sure will be the natural tendency of things.

Mr. J. J. NOLAN, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to Professor de Montmorency and to Sir Leslie Scott, said he was associated with a portion of India which was not going to be troubled with that part of the problem they had been discussing, the portion of India with which he was associated being Burma.

Professor DE MONTMORENCY, in a brief reply, said: I agree with His Highness very cordially about the necessity for guidance on the part of the Central Power. Guidance is a thing which is indistinguishable from true government; government is not necessarily a centre of force, but it is necessarily a centre of guidance. With regard to Mr. Pratt's interesting point, I cannot go into or deal now with the question of electoral reform. Professor Rushbrook Williams pointed out, not unnaturally, several omissions which I gladly and sadly admit, since if I could have got into my brief paper all the facts, then I think that the problem I set myself would have been easier; but my lectures on India at University College deal with the points, or most of them, which Professor Rushbrook Williams mentioned. I think in the report of this meeting the learned supplement which he gave will be extraordinarily valuable.

Mr. Husain asked the question whether the centre could work efficiently as a centre, and also as part of a system. Well, I do not think that there is any difficulty about that at all, because the functions are different, and differences of function do not involve differences of personality. I think that the centre can exercise administrative, judicial, and all sorts of other business without losing its main characteristics as a centre, to which Sir Leslie Scott referred. I should not venture to criticize Sir Leslie Scott in any event, and, indeed, he comes to the same conclusion as myself. As a matter of fact, I think that the differences created by the new facilities for movement to which our Chairman referred are very much less than you might expect. Modern China is an example where modern weapons and modern means of communication are immensely developed, and yet, since there is not a real centre, the whole empire is in chaos. I must thank you all for your very cordial reception of my remarks, because, as I have said, I was working under great difficulties of time and space, and I was really afraid of offering my limited observations to your instructed sense.

I

THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN INDIA

By A. D. Lindsay, c.b.e.

(Master of Balliol College, Oxford)

My subject is a large one and has many aspects. I propose for the purposes of this lecture to concentrate on what was perhaps the central problem with which the recent Commission* was faced—the place of the Christian colleges in the university system of India. The problem may be looked at from two sides—from the side of the missionary societies, or from the side of the Indian universities. We may either ask, Can the missionary societies maintain colleges which will fulfil their missionary purpose if these are to submit to the regulations enforced on them by the university system? or, Is there room in a university system for colleges which have a distinctively missionary purpose? The position of the colleges as at the same time part of missionary enterprise and part of the university system can be seen clearly in the fact that the proportion of the total cost of the colleges that is contributed in India is 68 per cent., while 32 per cent. comes as the contribution from overseas to their maintenance. Of that 68 per cent. about one-third represents Government grant, and the rest fees paid by students.

The subject can perhaps best be understood if we see why this connection of the Christian colleges with the university system has become a pressing problem of late years as it was not before. In the early days of Western education in India the missionary societies set up colleges because they were convinced that Christianity could get no hearing from the educated classes in India until the mind of educated India had undergone what Dr. Miller called a *præparatio evangelica* which would enable it to understand the Gospel. This *præparatio evangelica* they found in Western culture, a culture inspired and developed by Christianity. There was at the same time a widespread Indian demand for education in Western culture, and Government had, if it was to produce men in India capable of running its administration, to train men in Western culture. There was thus a large coincidence in the teaching which the missionary societies wished to give for their own purposes and the teaching which the Government wished to give for its purposes. With an elastic system of university organization it was therefore possible for the missionary societies to give the education they wanted, making their education a balanced whole of religious instruction and general culture, and yet such as to fit into the Government system, to receive financial aid from it because they were doing work, which Government wanted done, as well as achieving their own purposes. This organization was provided by the affiliating university and the system of grants-in-aid. What has happened in the hundred years since the Christian colleges were founded to make that position less tenable?

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* See *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India.* (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 3s. 6d.

MISSIONARY TEACHING AND GOVERNMENT REQUIREMENTS

1. In the first place, the enormous development of university education brought into being a large number of colleges which depended largely on fees and which needed much more stringent regulations. Regulations which are necessary for the inefficient are often cramping to the efficient. Even apart from that, it is the nature of the affiliating university to run to regulations. The Sadler Report speaks emphatically of the wooden regularity which the Indian university system tends to impose.

2. Secondly, the recommendations of the Sadler Report have led in some provinces of India to the setting up of a new type of university. The new unitary universities are, I think, undoubtedly an improvement on the old type, but they leave less room for the independence of purpose of the missionary college.

These are real but, I think, comparatively minor difficulties. Of course, if Indian public opinion turned more definitely against religious education, as nationalist public opinion has in Turkey, there would be greater difficulties in any relation between Christian colleges and the universities. But that has not yet happened, and, though the danger is not negligible, it is not, I think, very great.

The serious changes in the position are these:

3. The effect of a century of Western education has been to change very remarkably the mind of educated Hinduism. It follows that the education which formed the best *præparatio evangelica* for the Hinduism of 1830 will almost certainly not be the best today. The Christian colleges need to think out afresh what should be the content of an all-round Christian education, and it may not follow that there should be any such coincidence between that and the education wanted for the purposes of the universities. If the Christian colleges are to stay in the university system, can they retain their freedom to give a balanced all-round Christian education?

4. Further, and perhaps most serious of all, is the changed character of Indian university education. The Sadler Report has described how the enormous increase in the number of students in Indian universities has demoralized the Indian universities. University education is now open to many classes in the community to which it was formerly closed, and the universities have been swamped in consequence. But the fundamental evil of this present condition of affairs is the extent to which university education is dominated by the pressure of the examination for Government service. This has produced the appalling intellectual unemployment to which every recent report on Indian universities bears witness. It is largely responsible for the excessive preoccupation of Indian students with examination results. Economic pressure makes this inevitable.

One last new factor in the situation must be mentioned. Since the early days of the Christian colleges there has grown up in India a native Christian community. It numbers now about five million. It is beginning to send students to the universities in considerable numbers. But it has its distinctive educational needs, and it is at least doubtful whether, if it started to build up a system of higher education to meet its needs, it would produce the Christian colleges just as they at present exist.

From all these considerations the missionary societies have been forced to ask whether the alliance of the Christian colleges with the universities is any longer possible. There were some in this country and in India who thought that the missionary societies should abandon the enterprise of college education altogether. Bishop Whitehead, for example, who had had great experience of missionary education in India, had declared himself against the whole system; and a good many people shared his views. The gravamen of his attack on the existing system was that the Indian university system is so corrupted by the economic pressure which makes success in Government examinations the only test of education that any college taking part in it necessarily found its Christian purpose perverted; and that while much noble effort was being wasted in this hopeless enterprise, the native Christian Church was being starved of the knowledge which it needed for its upbuilding.

THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM

The effect produced upon me by reading the answers to the questionnaires, which were sent to us before we left for India, and by what I saw of the colleges in India, was on the whole to confirm Bishop Whitehead's verdict, though not to make me agree with the conclusion he drew from it. I think that, as things are at present, the connection between the Christian colleges in India and the universities is bought at too high a price. The colleges are not really free to determine their education. The real crux of the situation, as Bishop Whitehead said, is that it is dominated by the purpose of achieving success in examinations for Government service so pervasively that no efforts, however noble, can really prevail against the system. Of course that is a sweeping generalization. There are exceptional places and there are good bits of work to be done everywhere. Students in economics and politics, for instance, seem to choose these subjects largely because they believe that they will thereby be better equipped to serve their country. But on the whole I think the condemnation is sound.

What appeared to us most significant was that the colleges had—many of them—gradually come to acquiesce in the badness of the arts side of their education, and to defend the participation of missionary societies in university education on what we came to call "the opportunity theory." That theory condones the bad conditions of teaching and the doing what is really second-class work for the opportunities of Christian influence which it brings. This theory, under the less polite name of the bait theory, had been repudiated by earlier pioneers of missionary education and is still repudiated by missionary societies. But we came reluctantly to the conclusion that most colleges, often escaping their own notice and always against their will, were working on it.

This is not a criticism of the teachers in Christian colleges who are doing noble work in an impossible situation. As we say in our Report: "What we are asking ourselves is whether the conditions under which we are allowing our Christian teachers to work are not often wasteful of their best gifts. . . . The Christian colleges have largely lost control of the content of their education. They have had to give their teaching and exercise their influence in an atmosphere largely perverted by the necessity of examinations. They have had to spend so much time and energy in creating and maintaining their opportunities for service that they often have not time and energy to use their opportunities as they might. They have had to attach to their staff a large proportion of non-Christian teachers who for the most part are indifferent to their Christian purpose and sometimes actually work against it."

IF THE WORK OF THE COLLEGES WERE SUSPENDED

If this be the case, why can we not give the simple answer that the alliance between the Christian colleges and the universities has proved impossible—that the Christian colleges should come out of it or cease to be? Why should not the missionary societies give it all up?

The answer is that if nothing can be done about the present situation, Christian colleges should be given up; but that that would be in many ways a disaster it is worth making great efforts to avoid. It would be a disaster to the Christian community in India. For it would mean that Christianity would not count in the development of the higher thought of India, and that the Christian community would be deprived of Christian university education. The first of these consequences would, I think, really be the more serious. For Western thought divorced from the Christianity which helped to produce it is having unexpected results in India. We found an almost universal opinion in North India among both Hindus and Muslims that the student population of North India cares nothing for religion at all. His prevailing creed is economic determinism.

That was roughly the position with which we were faced, and at first sight it looked as if the problem were hopeless. But while I went out to India feeling that, I came back convinced that, if certain conditions could be fulfilled, a new era of fruitful work would begin for the Christian colleges in India.

THE COLLEGES AND THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

How did a solution appear? I shall begin my answer to that question by mentioning one more criticism of the colleges as they are. The Christian colleges are curiously out of touch with the Christian community. They are more governed from the West, and more governed in India by Westerners, than any other part of the missionary enterprise. They know little of the educational needs of the Christian community. They are doing almost nothing to supply the knowledge wanted by that community. It seemed to us significant to find the National Christian Council of India building up organizations for research into problems of village life, for example, as though the economic departments of Christian colleges did not exist. From this criticism came the beginnings of the answer to our problem. We found, all over South India, the workers, the pastors, and teachers of the Christian community faced with all manner of problems and trying experiments of all kinds to meet the difficulties of the village.

But their experiments were usually carried on in ignorance of what had been done elsewhere. There was not nearly enough knowledge behind them. The Indian Christian community in South India is in crying need of knowledge to help it in its problems—knowledge on social and economic questions, medical and agricultural knowledge, religious and theological knowledge. And yet its colleges are not acting as organs of knowledge, but merely as places which teach the students within their walls. The mass movement could not now go to the colleges, as the colleges know little about the needs of the villages. But Christian colleges ought to be, and could be, places where there were men who knew the problems of which the villages wanted the answers, and made it their business to find the answers and communicate them to those who had to apply knowledge in the field. When we got to the Punjab and went to see Dr. Harper, of Moga, we rejoiced to find that this idea was not an empty dream. Dr. Harper at once produced a list of questions which he wanted answered, and which he was sure men with access to libraries and powers of practical research could answer for him.

Proposed New Functions

We proposed therefore that the colleges should add to their existing function of teaching the students within their walls the two new connected functions of providing the community with the knowledge it needs for its practical problems and of disseminating that knowledge through the pastors and teachers of the community. It then occurred to us that if that were done, not by a specialized department in the college, but mainly by so increasing the college staff that its various members might each have their turn of studying the needs of the community and of trying to solve their questions, work both at what we have called extension and what we have called research, then the teachers in the colleges would have a sphere where they would not be hampered by regulations and the exigencies of examinations and where they could exercise all their powers of initiative and scholarship. That would be sure to affect their teaching, and the students would have the advantage, pitiably rare in India at present, of being taught by men who are themselves finding out. And we hoped that the spirit of research and of service which would inspire these new functions might infect the ordinary teaching for university purposes, and that the whole of the college life might gradually be orientated towards the practical service of the community through knowledge instead of towards success in examinations. That will not seem a merely vain hope to anyone who has observed the effect on the teaching of economics and politics in our universities in the last twenty-five years of the development of the Workers' Educational Association in this country.

There we seemed to see an answer to most of our crucial questions. For though we do not know what the modern version of the *præparatio evangelica* should be, we are confident that it can only be worked out in India by colleges in close co-operation with the Indian Christian community; and we are also sure that one of the great gifts which Western Christendom has to give to India, a gift which India admires and welcomes, is the power of putting the scientific mind to the service of the merciful heart.

THE COLLEGES AND THE UNIVERSITIES

And, lastly, we thought we might even in this way recover that large coincidence of purpose which made the alliance between the Christian colleges and the universities of India so fruitful in old days. For if the Christian colleges are at present not integrated in the life of the community, neither are the Indian universities integrated in the life of India, and Hindu and Muslim opinion is as critical as we are of the present dominance of Government examinations. The Indian universities have at present gone a long way in the first stage of the democratization of a university system. They are now becoming open, as they never were before, to all classes of the community. But their education is still a ladder. And the universities do little or nothing to serve the community as organs of knowledge. The university education which is intended to fit men for the higher professions and for

Government service does not fit them to understand the actual needs of the ordinary people whom they have to serve. Rather it removes them into a different world of ideas. An adult educational movement of the kind which has done so much to the universities of the West is even more wanted in India if the isolation of the universities is to be overcome, and we think that if the Christian colleges will show the way in this matter the universities may well follow.

These are the bare outlines of our central proposal for the new venture of the Christian colleges in India. The proposal is meant to be practical. To carry it out on an adequate scale would take a lot of money, but experience in the West encourages me to hope that even a little done in this direction may easily lead to a new orientation. In such matters a little leaven leavens a large lump.

I have left out much that perhaps needs explanation, but this will probably be enough to promote discussion.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, February 16, 1932, when a paper was read by Mr. A. D. Lindsay, C.B.E. (Master of Balliol College, Oxford), on "The Christian Colleges in India."

The Right Hon. Lord Irwin, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present:

Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., and Miss Maclagan, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Stanley and Lady Fisher, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Lady Hartog and Mr. Hartog, the Right Rev. Bishop Eyre Chatterton, the Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail, C.I.E., C.B.E., Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Mr. M. Hunter, C.I.E., Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Canon Arthur Davies, the Hon. Emily Kinnaird, Mr. Stanley Rice, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Rev. Dr. H. Weitbrecht Stanton, Rev. Dr. William Paton, Mr. J. H. Lindsay, Miss Ashworth, Mr. G. Pilcher, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. M. E. Watts, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. S. Altaf Husain, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. J. F. Sale, Mrs. Weir, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. K. N. Das Gupta, Mr. A. E. Rushworth, Mr. D. Ross-Johnson, Lieut.-Colonel A. G. Hamilton, Miss Curteis, Rev. O. Younghusband, Mr. H. B. Edwards, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. C. A. Mehta, Mr. C. Richardson, Mr. P. A. Selfe, Miss Edith M. Lloyd, Miss Catharine D. Richards, Mr. Vincent Conolly, Mr. W. T. Wells, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. K. S. Shelvankar, Mr. M. S. Macphail Holt, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, Miss A. M. Duff, Miss H. M. Duff, Mr. Philip S. Hay, Mr. A. Arden, Rev. Alexander Ramsay, Miss Bartlett, Mr. T. Eardley Wilmot, Mrs. Leslie, Mr. M. Dingwall, Mr. A. H. Brind, Mr. A. M. Ritson, Mr. Sunder Kabadi, Mr. E. W. Adikaram, Mr. M. A. J. Noble, Mr. F. M. C. Dinsha, Miss Moore, Mrs. Swayne, Miss Dawson, Mrs. Spicer, Mrs. Miller, Rev. R. M. Gray and Miss Gray, Rev. J. Moffatt, Mr. R. Morley, Miss Gravatt, Mr. and Mrs. Wrench, Mr. and Mrs. Todd, Miss Hopley, Mrs. Murray-Dunlop, Miss Jennings, Miss Wills, Mr. J. A. Westrup, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to announce that I have received a letter from Lord Lamington expressing his regret at being unable to be with us this afternoon. My short duty is to introduce to you our lecturer, Dr. Lindsay, who, indeed, I think scarcely requires any introduction by me, as I have no doubt that all of you know him either personally or by repute. I first met Dr. Lindsay when he was performing the duties which have been responsible for bringing him here this afternoon—namely, when he was acting as Chairman of the Commission into the work of the

Christian colleges the winter before last. You will also, no doubt, be aware that the genesis of that Commission was, as he will tell you, a desire on the part of those concerned to take stock, so to speak, and see whether the Christian colleges were being successful under the modern conditions, in the changed universities and a changing India, in fulfilling the purpose for which they were founded and which they had for many years been pursuing. I may perhaps claim a certain hereditary interest in the problem with which the Commission dealt, as my grandfather, Sir Charles Wood, was partly responsible, so I read in the Report of the Commission, for unwittingly raising the problem with which the Christian colleges are now faced through the development of the policy of grants in aid, and, therefore, it was with that degree of family interest, in addition to other interests, that I found myself reading the Report to which Dr. Lindsay and his colleagues had set their names. I do not know whether everybody here has read it; I may say at once I have not read it all, but there is one chapter in it that I have read three times, and that is the chapter entitled "Changing India." It strikes me as a particularly acute, penetrating, wise, and sympathetic analysis of the forces, or some of the major forces, that are at work in the field that we are principally met here to consider. I am at present only an obstruction in the road which I must remove in order to leave the road clear for Dr. Lindsay, whom we all mainly desire to hear. (Applause.)

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: It is not my intention to stand between you and others who may take part in the discussion for more than a moment or two, but I wish to record my own sense of how stimulating and suggestive I have found Dr. Lindsay's paper to be. I had the opportunity of reading it in proof, and I was relieved to find him make the correction, which my ingenuity had not suggested, which relieved Indian universities from the universal charge of demoralization. I have no doubt in my own mind that he and his colleagues are right when they say that, in their judgment, it would be a disaster to the life of India if the missionary societies were to adopt the course that is suggested, only to be dismissed—namely, the course of getting out of the business and closing down—and I feel that for broad reasons, that indeed must be present to the mind of anyone who thinks about the problem, but which perhaps none the less merit passing mention. I think that it is impossible to exaggerate the contribution that Christianity must have made during the time that it has been operating through missions in India in at least three directions, and no doubt in many others; but I have three principally present to my mind.

One, of course, is the direction of social service such as Dr. Lindsay had very much in his mind when he was discussing the actual means that might be taken to bring the colleges into closer touch with the national life; but surely we may say that much of what stands in India today for the awakening conscience in matters of health and social amelioration owes a great part at least of its origin to Christian influence introduced through various channels of Christian thought.

Then surely Christianity must have a very great part to play in India in the sense of being, as nothing else could be, the teacher of the truth that there must be in any wholesome community life a vital connection between belief and conduct, and I cannot but suppose that India, in the days that lie before her, will stand in great need of being constantly reminded of that fundamental truth.

The third thing is this: India, for better or for worse, is being set by political forces on the pathway to something like Western democracy. I suppose that democracy, ultimately examined, rests finally and fundamentally upon a conception of the value of personality, and I cannot believe that a conception of the value of personality, which is fundamental to my view of democracy, would ever have attained its position in the world had it not been for the influence of Christian thought.

Therefore it seems to me that in those various directions, and there are many others, Christianity has an immense contribution that only it can make to the developing thought of India, and Dr. Lindsay and his colleagues carry my full intellectual assent in their conclusion that the Christian colleges must remain, and that means must be found to bring them into more intimate touch with Indian life, without which they will be, as it were, disconnected from the main current of life. I have nothing to add to, much less anything to criticize in, what Dr. Lindsay and his colleagues have suggested as means by which that may be accomplished. It seems to me to be full of promise and full of interest, and the parallel which he has drawn with our own universities is highly suggestive.

The Reverend Canon Davies said he would like to emphasize one side of the remarks which had been made by Dr. Lindsay. He had had the privilege of being with Dr. Lindsay on the Commission to which he had referred, and he supposed every member of it had his own particular interest or point of view. His was the point of view of one who had been Principal of a Christian college for thirteen years and was returning to India to examine the work which had been done by those engaged at the colleges, all the time viewing it with the stimulating mind of the Master of Balliol alongside his own, and it had been an extraordinary experience to view familiar things from a new angle. There was one point which he wished particularly to emphasize. When he was at Agra he had had to appoint many men, both Indian and English, to posts in the college, and he had seen some who had worked happily and keenly throughout their time, but he had also seen some pass from the college because they felt that it did not give them the opportunity of religious or evangelistic work that they wanted, and they passed elsewhere. There were others who felt that their special vocation was education, and that the college did not give them the scope for the kind of work they felt themselves called to, and so they too passed from it.

As he went round from college to college he had had the problem always in his mind: How could they so arrange the work of the Christian colleges that there should seem to be to the best type of men and women, both Indian and English, fields and opportunities for service in which they could use to the full their best gifts? In one college there was a young Oxford man who had sent them a statement setting out all the difficulties in reference to the university system, the regulations and the attitude of the students, which he said were filling him with despair, and he felt it was impossible to carry on and do any work that was worth while. After they had left that college they received a letter from the same man containing all kinds of plans and schemes for trying to give effect to the new ideals and the new way of looking at his work which had come to him after the Conference with the Commission. They had tried to see if they could express the vocation of the teacher in a Christian college in such a way that it would make him feel that he could give his full power to the work, for there were many who must either teach, study, or do research work, or they could not fulfil their vocation.

They had arrived at a statement which gave satisfaction to their own minds and which seemed to have given to many in the colleges a description of their work which satisfied them and gave them the kind of picture of it which they wanted—namely, that a Christian college was an institution in which the Church used in the service of its great purpose the characteristic contribution of the teacher and the scholars that contribution was the imparting of learning, the extension of knowledge, and the training of character. They must not put men in a college to spend the greater part of their time in a laboratory in order that once or twice a week they might have the opportunity of preaching to the students. If they were to leave the Christian teachers with the idea that their teaching was merely the making of an opportunity for their preaching they would be giving them a conception of their purpose and function which was not worthy of the name of education. (Applause.)

The Reverend William Paton said he was a whole-hearted admirer of the Report of Dr. Lindsay and his colleagues and he did not wish to offer any criticism of it. When he was trying to invent arguments some months ago to persuade Dr. Lindsay to chair the Commission, he had not thought of the most important argument—namely, Dr. Lindsay's intimate touch with extra-mural and working-class education in this country. That contact had proved to be one of the most important things about the Commission. All through the Report there was a conception of the place of the university in the modern world, which he thought owed more to Dr. Lindsay than to any other member of the Commission. He would like to endorse the argument used in the paper to show what the Christian colleges could do in the matter of " research and extension," as it had been compendiously described in the Report. In his opinion the case was not in the least overstated. No doubt this was the cause for the present aloofness of those instructions from the community. Doubtless, as Dr. Lindsay had said, it was overstated in the case of certain places, but broadly he thought it was perfectly true.

Reference had been made in the paper to the teacher-training institution at Moga in the Punjab. It had been a sort of educational Mecca in India; undoubtedly it had become as good a piece of village education as there was to be found in the whole of India. Attempts had been made with a good deal of success to get the "Moga" principle copied in other parts of India. He remembered a conference which they had called at Moga from all parts of India, consisting of Indian Christians, missionaries, and one or two officials, for the purpose of considering how a better kind of village education could be popularized, and, if his recollection was right, they did not ask one single member of the staff of an arts college to be present. Perhaps this was a mistake, but it reflected the fact that there was a gulf between the colleges and what the Americans called "uplift work" in the villages. One did not, naturally, turn to the economics department, or any other department, of the Christian colleges for help in that kind of thing. One prominent official from India had urged on him that the function of a college was to be a centre of learning, and that the "research and extension" idea might make for a merely utilitarian conception of the college. He could not forget that Moga was actually the fruit of university studies, but it was the University of Columbia! It was impossible to exaggerate the importance and potentialities of work of this character.

In his opinion the Commission had performed a great service in standing up for the colleges. It had been the fashion rather to decry the Christian colleges. They must consider the Indian student, who was one of the most pathetic persons in the world, and it would be incredible to him that the Christian Church at this time in India should desert the Indian student. He was very largely the creature, in his forms of life and thought, of influences which came from England. It seemed to him quite incredible that it could be right for the Christian Church and the missionary societies not to seek in their manifold and varied ministry in India to work for the student also. For this reason he recognized with the Commission which Dr. Lindsay had presided over that there was a case for the Christian colleges as an integral part of missionary work.

It might perhaps be wondered how far the purely Protestant range of the Commission was intentional, or whether it had any relation to the colleges conducted by orders of the Roman Catholic Church. The Commission had been sent out by the British and American missionary societies, and, as they all knew, Roman Catholic bodies, for reasons with which they were all familiar, were not represented on it; but he had recently seen a long, very able, and careful review of the work of the Commission in the leading Roman Catholic paper in India, and he had gathered from the remarks of the distinguished Roman Catholic educator, who had written the review, that the main conclusions of the Report met with the warm approval of Roman Catholic thinkers. Dr. Lindsay had not mentioned that the Commission contained American as well as British and Indian members. They hoped that the educational forces of America would be linked up with theirs in this great task. (Applause.)

Mr. J. H. Lindsay, I.C.S. (Retd.), said he did not propose to criticize anything which his brother had said, but, on the contrary, he confirmed what he had said with reference to the need for change in the Christian colleges. His experience, which was confined to Bengal and had extended over a period of twenty years, had made him wonder what the Scottish Church College was doing as a missionary institution, because it seemed no different from any of the other reasonably good colleges in Bengal. The same thing appeared to be true of Bombay. He had asked a man who had been a student at the Wilson College in Bombay, and also at the Presidency College: "Was there any difference in the atmosphere or anything about these two colleges?" He had thought for a long time, and then he said: "They have got a very good teacher of economics in the Wilson College," and that was all.

He wished to refer to two points which had been mentioned, one of which he thought brought out a real danger. There was a very great danger that the all-important question of primary education would be lost sight of. He was quite certain that the wonderful Sadler Report had diverted a large sum of money in Bengal which should have gone on primary education. It was very attractive and easy to spend money on colleges, as everybody wanted this course to be pursued, but he hoped there was no danger of the Churches at least curtailing any expenditure on primary education because of the large change that must be made in the Christian colleges in India. Primary education was, to his mind, essentially a social service which should be carried on in company with the higher education. It was essential for the Churches to continue their primary education, for, as far as his experience went, in Bengal, where he had taken a great interest in the subject, the missionaries were the only people who knew anything about primary education. The ordinary inspector in Bengal thought it beneath his dignity to go into a primary school, and primary education was left to the very worst teachers and the very worst inspectors. The missionaries were able to give good primary education, and he trusted that nothing which had been said in the Report of the Commission would divert any energy or funds from that part of their work.

Another important question was the education of women, the importance of which was emphasized very strongly in the Report, but it occupied only five pages out of two hundred. The ordinary reader would not thereby understand the crucial position of women's education, especially at the present time when women were coming out of purdah as never before, and when they were seeking freedom. In his opinion the collegiate side of women's education was more important than the men's side. They had never touched the women of India, and it was time they started, because the women would be the mothers of future generations. (Applause.)

The Reverend Dr. STANTON said it was more than fifty years ago since he first went to India, and during thirty-two years spent there he had come into close contact with the villages from living among the people and endeavouring to found schools there, and also, as a member of the Senate, with the Punjab University. One of the things that struck him was the absolute aloofness of the universities from the real substantive life of the country, and he was thankful that in their Report the Commission laid stress upon what he believed to be the primary duty of the colleges towards the Christian Church, and through them towards the people of India. Nowadays there were slogans for everything, and, if he might suggest one for this work, it would be "The college and the village." It was a matter for very great thankfulness that the Master of Balliol had devoted the bulk of his masterly lecture to the intimate, vital, and necessary connection between the college and the village as the first thing which needed attention in reorganization. It was essential for the life of the country in its present state to make the Christian colleges helpers in village uplift.

This would probably involve a process of sifting, in which some might fall out. There might well have to be some diminution in the numbers of the colleges, but, if this was done with a single eye to the actualities of the case and of the country, they would, he believed, be able to get over the acute crisis of economic distress which they had inherited from the greatest of world wars. It was true that if there should be fewer colleges they might not be able to educate such a large number of the youth of India as at present. But while much time and money had been spent in giving the students a knowledge of literature, how much had they spent in seeing that they were provided with healthy literature for the future? How many Indian authors of this generation could be regarded as the product of college education, more particularly in the Christian Church? To make the colleges a seed-bed and a nursery of literary aspiration and production would extend their influence to uncounted numbers besides those who had studied in their walls. (Applause.)

Hon. Emily Kinnaird said she wished to reiterate every word that had been said as to the importance of women's education. She counted among her friends some of the first women graduates of Calcutta University. While one could not but feel that the results of the education of women had been wonderful, having regard to the small extent to which it had been carried on, and while she was aware of the number of young women students now in London and in India in the Kinnaird College and Training School, Madras and Lucknow Women's Christian Colleges, she asked whether, on the question of the colleges, they were not neglecting the women. It seemed to her that co-education should certainly go on rapidly in India, and she thought it was a matter to be considered whether women's colleges would in future be necessary, and whether it would not be better for the women and the men to work together in the colleges, having their own separate hostels. She thought the education should not be too educational in the literary sense, but that it should be such as would fit the women as well as the men for their life's work. Women's education must also be rapidly increased, as it was of extreme importance that attention should be paid to the training of women teachers. She did not know whether this matter had come before the Commission. It was not inconceivable that women might teach men, as was the custom in U.S.A.; on this line India was extraordinarily advanced; the women of India had obtained the vote and many other things certainly quicker than many other countries, even than Scotland, which boasts of its high standard of education. The question of village education was a matter requiring immediate attention, but the power of starting village schools depended on the supply of teachers, which must come through the increase of women's colleges and training classes. It was a great comfort to feel that the Commission were going to consider the women, and consider whether the women's colleges were to be increased or closed. (Applause.)

Miss Ashworth said she wished to say a word with regard to the question of women's education. There had been certain suggestions throughout of giving up university education by the missionaries, but she hoped such a suggestion would never be adopted. She had been an inspectress in India for many years and had been brought into contact with all classes of education. She wondered how many people in the room realized the great strength of the movement for the education of women in India; the suffragette movement among the women of England was nothing to it. Anyone who was in doubt as to the importance of the missionaries in the universities should follow what was going on in the Christian college of Madras.

Dr. Lindsay: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wish that I had been able to stay here much longer, because I am sure that there must be people in this audience who are very much more critical of the Report than those who have spoken, and who I should have hoped would have explained all the errors that we had committed. "Let brother help brother," says Plato, and certainly some assistance has been given by my brother.

As to the point about the neglect of primary education, or the danger of it, one of the difficulties in the past has been that the missionary societies have been pressed from various sides to develop different branches of their work by specialists who are simply concerned with their different branches. The missionary societies are confronted with people who have spent all their lives in the colleges, and they say the thing of real importance is the college, and other people say the one thing that matters is the mass movement. How are you going to assess the relative importance of those two things? You can begin by making the point that Indian education has begun at the wrong end, but it is not clear what you are to do now, and one of the things which I hope will be done is to bring the colleges and the community more closely together. You will then have a demand from people who, at any rate, understand one another's positions, and if you get people concerned with primary education and people concerned with colleges helping one another, then you will get an idea as to the relative importance of these various things that has some sense in it; but I think up to the present time it has been almost impossible, because you have had to deal with experts in their own department.

With regard to the general question about women's education, I think that probably the Commission yielded a little to the journalistic temptation that good news is not news. Women's education in India is so extraordinarily good that there is very little to be said about it except that it is good, whereas men's education is so bad that there is a lot to say about it. Therefore we spent a lot of our time on men's education, because it presented so many problems; but when you go and see a women's college you find those problems do not exist. I think probably we ought to have expended more time on this subject. I want to endorse all that has been said about its importance. It has been one of the great difficulties of Indian education that higher education has been conducted entirely by men, and there has been created a division in the Indian mind between the college on the one hand and the home on the other. Nothing is so important as the education of women at the present time, especially at the universities. We got the impression that in the South at the present time the demand for women's education is more or less being met, but not adequately, but there is no doubt whatever that in the North, in Bengal, there is a tremendous demand for education of the women which has not begun to be met, and it will be of enormous importance how far the Christian colleges can contribute to that; but it is only fair to the men to say that the superiority of women's education in India is not entirely due to the natural superiority of women over men. It is due partly to the women having been lucky, partly in seeing the mistakes which the men have made, and also that the women's colleges were established with a completely Christian staff, and with a very large proportion of Christian students. The desire for women's education started earlier in the small Christian communities, and, therefore, they were enabled to produce these extraordinarily good colleges. They are just about as good as they can be, but I think one has to recognize that that state of affairs is not going to last. It has been possible for the women's colleges to be as good as they are because they have been small and have had a very large number of Christian students.

Another point raised by Miss Kinnaird was the question of co-education. We have had great discussion in various places about co-education. The answer is complicated because of the goodness of the existing women's colleges and the comparative badness of the men's colleges. On this subject we found very different views. In Madras the people were very definitely in favour of separate women's colleges; in Bengal there was a clear-cut difference of opinion, and in Bombay it was the other way; they believed in co-education. It is a very difficult question, but what I am quite certain about is, if you are going to have what is called co-education, that is to say, if you are going to send women to the same colleges as men, you will have to do it properly; in particular, you will have to introduce a division in the staff and have a women's department, and you will have to allow women to control the education of women. Co-education usually means that you have an educational system set up and organized for men, and you allow the women to pick up the crumbs which fall from the men's table, and they are usually bad crumbs. Let there be women teachers for the education of women in India, and do not let it be taken for granted that the education evolved for men will necessarily be best for women. That seems to me to be the great argument in support of the women's colleges, that they could work out what ought to be the education for women. The demand for women's education is rapidly becoming so enormous that it has to be done by the existing men's colleges as well as by the separate women's colleges.

I do not think it is possible to exaggerate the importance of women's education. It is true that the women's colleges have been fortunate, but they are going to be faced with the same sort of difficulties as those with which the men's colleges are now faced. I think women should be educated by women. We felt that the co-education in Bombay was all right in the sense that it was not any worse than the rest of it, but we did not get the same extraordinarily good impression that we got from the separate women's colleges. (Applause.)

Sir James Mackenna proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer, which was carried by acclamation.

Bishop Whitehead, late Bishop of Madras, writes:

I am very sorry that a slight chill prevented me from attending the meeting of the East India Association at the Caxton Hall on February 16.

Had I been present and given the opportunity of speaking, I would have made the following criticisms on the Report of the Commission and the paper by Dr. Lindsay. We are agreed as to the present unsatisfactory state of the colleges. I also am in general agreement with the opinion of the Commission that the remedy for the evils of the present situation lies, first, in reducing the number of the colleges and making it possible to create in them a truly Christian atmosphere, and, second, in bringing the system of higher education into effective relation with the Christian Church.

But while the Commission have pointed the way to the true remedy, they have, in their recommendations, not gone far enough in the right direction. The result is that their recommendations would neither remedy the evils of the colleges themselves nor effectively meet the needs of the Christian Church.

First as regards the colleges. Two of the most serious evils are what the Commission aptly call "the enslavement" of the students and tutors, and the duality of purpose, which results largely from this enslavement. Neither of these evils would be touched by the proposed plan of what is termed extension and research or any of the improvements in organization and methods of religious teaching and influence that the Commission recommend. The mentality of the students would remain unchanged, and the duality of purpose, educational and missionary, would only, by the addition of another function outside the colleges altogether, become a trinity.

The non-Christian atmosphere which results from the very large percentage of non-Christian students and tutors would not be greatly changed by the closing of only six of the existing colleges for men. What is needed in order to make a Christian atmosphere possible is to limit the non-Christian students to 50 per cent. of the total enrolment at the most, and to provide for an almost complete Christian staff in each of the colleges. From their remarks on the Christian colleges for women it is evident that this is the view of the Commission themselves.

As, therefore, according to the statistics given in the Report of the Commission, there are only about 1,600 Christian students in all the Christian colleges taken together, the total enrolment of the colleges maintained ought not to be more than 3,200, instead of, as at present, 12,700. This largely reduced number would allow of the maintenance of eight colleges with about 400 students in each, instead of the twenty-four which the Commission propose to maintain.

With regard to the proposed plan of "extension and research," the idea is, as Dr. Lindsay said, to provide the Christian community with the knowledge it needs for its practical problems and to disseminate that knowledge through the pastors and teachers of the community. And this is to be done by so increasing the college staff that its various members, presumably only its Christian members, might each have their turn of studying the needs of the community and trying to solve its problems.

This undoubtedly would give the college tutors "a sphere where they would not be hampered by regulations and the exigencies of examinations and where they could exercise all their powers of initiative and scholarship." But would the college tutors, as a body, subject to the limitations imposed on them by their college work, be the right class of people to act as the guides, philosophers, and friends of the Christian Church and to advise the pastors and teachers how they ought to carry on their work? The Indian Christian Church, we must remember, is essentially a village Church. About 93 per cent. of its members live in villages, and the rapid growth of the last sixty years has been entirely in the villages. The problems of the Church, therefore, are essentially village problems, concerned with the life, work, needs, and mentality of village folk.

The colleges, on the other hand, are located in the towns and, together with the universities of which they form a part, have their outlook on the life, needs, and occupations of the towns. And in India the gulf between town and village is far wider and deeper than it is in England or America. The urban-mindedness of the colleges, therefore, would make it very difficult for a body of men, who are first and foremost college tutors, to cultivate the rural-mindedness needed for the advisers and leaders of the village Church.

A system of higher education where the Christian colleges are, what the Report of the Commission says they ought to be, "institutions in which scholars and teachers will make their characteristic contribution to the Christian movement in India," is undoubtedly the right ideal; but before the ideal can be realized the Christian Church must have the courage to launch out into the deep among the masses in the villages, to cut itself free from its bondage to the existing universities, to give a new direction to higher education, and become the pioneer of a movement for the reconstruction of village life that would be of inestimable value, not only to the Christian movement, but also to the whole village community.

This idea has been set forth in detail in a book on *Christian Education in India*, of which Sir George Anderson and I are joint authors, published since the date of the lecture. So I will not attempt to describe it, but will only express my own strong opinion that the future of India, as of the Christian Church in India, lies not with the towns but with the villages, and that it is the wisdom of the Church to recognize this fact and to concentrate its educational efforts on the long-neglected educational needs of the village folk.

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL WORKER

By the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley

(Chairman of the Royal Commission on Labour in India)

A meeting of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, March 8, 1932, at which a lecture was given by the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley on "The Indian Industrial Worker."

The Right Hon. the Earl Winterton, M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Marjorie Lady Nunburnholme, The Countess Winterton, Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Miss Chatterton, Lady Hindley, Sir Amberson Marten, Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alexander Murray, C.I.E., Sir William McKercher, Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., Mr. H. K. Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mrs. Briscoe, Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. F. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Sale, Mr. A. E. Rushworth, Mr. D. Ross-Johnson, Mr. J. Sladen, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. A. G. Hamilton, Mrs. Donald, Mr. J. K. Das Gupta, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. S. Altaf Husain, Rev. E. S. Carr, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. M. A. J. Noble, Mr. G. Pilcher, Dr. Harold Mann, Mr. H. S. Ashton, Mrs. A. M. Leslie, Mr. D. H. Standley, Mrs. Ameer-Ali, Mr. R. Dubey, Mr. G. B. W. Head, Miss Stacey, Mr. M. Tyrwhitt Drake, Mr. C. Bateman, Mr. L. Drysdale, Mr. A. Dibdin, Mr. Purchase, Mr. Graham, Mr. and Mrs. Wrench, Mr. B. B. Chowdhury, Mrs. Barns, Mr. J. H. Sanders, Mr. S. M. Telkar, Mrs. T. Carson, Mr. C. J. Dodds, Mr. J. M. Ewart, C.I.E., Miss Hopley, Miss Mannering, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am glad to see that we have such a large gathering at the Association today to welcome our distinguished guest and visitor, Mr. Whitley. We are all looking forward very much to hear him on the subject of his most important mission to India as Chairman of the Labour Commission. If he will allow me to say so in his presence, long after the ephemeral fame of great statesmen today has been forgotten the name of Mr. Whitley will be honoured as the architect who tried to plan the edifice of internal peace in this land by the creation of the Whitley Councils; so, ladies and gentlemen, in the same way will the name of that great statesman who lies dead in Paris today be honoured by future generations as the architect who tried with all his might and strength to fashion a permanent reconciliation for a distracted post-war world. Although it has nothing to do with the subject of this lecture, I am sure all in this audience, Indian and British alike, would like me to say how much we sympathize with the French people in the loss of this great statesman, a man of whom it might truly be said he deserved and earned the name "Aristide Briand, Friend of Peace."

I do not wish to stand between you and the lecturer, but it may be useful, if I mention two matters in connection with the subject of our lecture. During the long years that I was in office as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, I took a great interest in this question of Indian industrial conditions and social welfare, and I think it only fair to the India Office and to the Secretary of State, not only the present one but to all Secretaries of State, all who have held or are likely to hold the office, to mention the dilemma in which the Secretary of State finds himself in connection with this matter. If the Secretary of State tries to influence labour legislation and improve industrial conditions in India (and I would point out that he can only influence, he cannot command, for the Montagu-Chelmsford Act took the power out of his hand in this regard), he is apt to arouse suspicion in India that he is trying to handicap Indian industry in its competition with British industry. On the other hand, never a debate takes place in the House of Commons but that someone, whoever the Secretary of State may be, whatever Government is in power, does not inferentially, and often directly, blame the Secretary of State for the bad conditions under which Indian labourers work.

Here, again, there are two things which ought to be mentioned, though Mr. Whitley will be able to speak more fully on this subject in the course of his address. The first is this: When I read his Report I found confirmation of the opinion which I had formed when I was at the India Office and as the result of two visits to India, that there has been a progressive improvement of conditions of Indian industrial labour. The second thing is that India has carried out the obligations into which she has entered both at the League of Nations and at the International Labour Office. Here I must mention a delicate question which cannot, however, be emphasized too much, and it is this: Unquestionably at certain periods in the industrial history of India during the last ten years she has suffered by reason of the fact that she has carried out the commitments into which she has entered and that other countries in the East with whom she is in industrial rivalry have not carried them out, and it would be well, if I may speak directly, that all of you who are members of the League of Nations should interest yourselves on this point. We often hear accusations at the present time with regard to the alleged breaches of covenant in respect of military action which certain countries belonging to the League may have taken; believe me, breaches of covenant that members of the League, both small and great, have made of the commitments into which they have entered with regard to such matters as industrial legislation, the opium trade, the traffic in women and children, white slave traffic, are very much larger. The British Empire is suffering today, and also the countries where the British have influence, such as Egypt, by the fact that they carry out the obligations into which they enter and these other countries do not carry them out. Some of them ought to be pilloried in this regard. I might mention two countries in the East which have gained a great deal of trade at the expense of India and of this country and the countries of the British Empire by flagrantly disregarding the commitments into which they have entered both at Geneva and at the International Labour Office. We all realize the loyal manner in which the Government of India and the industrialists of India have supported the commitments into which they have entered.

THE LECTURE

Mr. Whitley: My Lord Winterton, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It seems really an impertinence for me to come here today to speak to so many who have a lifelong knowledge of India. Before I was asked by Lord Irwin to go out to India as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Industrial Conditions in India, any knowledge I had of India was but that of the man in the street from more or less casual reading. So anything that I may say has value only from the fact that I was called to be Chairman of the Commission and that I had nine colleagues, British and Indian, who had a lifelong knowledge of the industrial conditions in that country. All that I lacked I could pick up if I were clever enough from my colleagues round my own table. The Report, which I hope some of you have read, is not the work of the Chairman or any individual member of the Commission, but the work of the Commission as a whole. I do not think there ever was an undertaking which more represented team-work in the sense in which this Report does. One of my friends and colleagues, Sir Alexander Murray, is here; such a worker I do not think it has ever been my lot to meet; not only every word and every adjective and every bit of punctuation came under his examination, but no statistics could ever be passed unless he had verified them to the third place of decimals.

The other thing I would like to say is this. We were conscious at the beginning of our work of the possibility of suspicion on the part of Indians that we were sent out from here in the interests, to put it baldly, of Lancashire. That suspicion, I think, was speedily dispelled. In the first place half of our Commission consisted of Indians; in the second place the initiative for the Commission came from India, not from London; Lord Irwin himself was the man who pressed forward the desirability of having an enquiry into the conditions of industrial labour, and he was almost wholly responsible for the personnel of the Commission.

I may say just this one further thing, that, from the very first day upon which we sat round the council table, we were all agreed we were going to look at the problem of labour in India solely from India's point of view. The question before our minds the whole time of our enquiry and in forming our conclusions was just this: What is right and just and good for India, for the industries of India, for the prosperity of India and the happiness of the people engaged in industry in India, and what is practicable in the way of advance in the next few years? It was an intensely practical enquiry, and I do not think any of us diverged for a moment from the purpose which we set before ourselves at the beginning.

THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION

I should not have been in this impertinent position but for your energetic Honorary Secretary, Mr. Brown. I struggled against him as long as I could, but eventually he got his way and insisted on my coming here. He told me it was usual to have a discussion and that I was to be content with forty-five minutes and the other forty-five minutes would be given to the discussion. That pleases me very much; it gives me an excuse for limiting my remarks to certain fundamental points that are contained in our Report.

You will readily understand that forty-five minutes, or, indeed, one evening, would be quite inadequate to give a sketch of the work that is covered in a report on industrial labour in India. Consider for a moment what was the scope of our enquiry. It might be put in this way: Saving only the industry of agriculture and the handicrafts of the villages, all the rest of the industries of India, including Burma, came under our purview, not merely the great cotton and jute industries, the coal mines, and the railways, the engineering undertakings, the great public works like the wonderful barrage at Sukkur, which is now so happily completed, the work on the docks, the recruitment of sailors for the ships, but on top of all those there was thrown in the whole of the labour on the plantations, the tea, the rubber, and any other plantations that there might be. So large a sphere, of course, could only be dealt with in a fat Blue Book, and all I can do is to commend to those who are interested in the subject a careful reading of the Report. (It is rather a pleasing thing to the Commissioners, I know, that the issue of the Report published in this country went out of print and has had to be reprinted. My copy here is of the second edition. I hope there are still some left of the second issue.) Therefore, with your permission, I propose to confine myself to three or four of the leading points in the Report, and in particular those upon which I want to make an appeal to those of you who still have interests and influence in India for your co-operation.

TOWN AND VILLAGE

In any survey of the conditions of industrial labour in India, the first point to be recognized and considered is the fact that for the most part the industrial worker is not, as he is in this country, a man or a woman settled in a city or a town and devoting the whole of his life to industrial employment. Very largely indeed these workers are migrants from the villages of India. For the most part they come to the cities in search of work because they must. By the economic conditions in their villages, perhaps in some cases the failure of the crops, but in others, I am sorry to say, the continual poverty of the land, its inability to support them and their families, they are pushed out into the cities, and not pulled by any ambition or desire to become an industrialist. That leads to a constant migration to and fro between the villages and the cities.

This, then, is the first problem that forces itself on the attention of any enquirer: Is the future course of India to try to create an industrial population or, on the other hand, is this connection with the village a thing to be maintained and cherished? Clearly, at first sight, from an employer's point of view, there are many disadvantages in having this kind of labour, the man who really has not much heart in his job in the city but whose thoughts and mind are always back to the village from which he came. There is the first problem of industrial labour in India in a nutshell.

Now will you with me examine some of the difficulties, indeed, I may say evils, to which that system gives rise, and then see if the remedies proposed in our Report are of any value? It is true to say, I think, that on the average, taking any great industrial establishment you like in India, the whole of the labour force is turned over inside two years. In many places the average was given to us at fifteen or eighteen months. That does not mean to say that every person goes away and changes, some change at much shorter intervals, but the average figure for a term of employment works out at something less than two years.

Secondly, the man in charge of labour (in Bombay they call him the jobber, in Bengal the *sirdar*, in Southern India the *mastri* or some other name corresponding to what in England we call the overlooker) is the man who engages and discharges the labour. Every time he takes on a man or re-engages a man who has been there before something comes out of that poor man's pocket and goes into the jobber's pocket, so that there is a financial interest to the overlooker in maintaining this turnover; and there his interest is quite opposite to that of his employer. In addition to that, you can understand how that puts the workman coming to the city for the first time at a disadvantage and very much under the thumb of his immediate superior. This system of exactions for the obtaining of employment and, indeed, for re-employment, when a man has been to his village and has come back again, tends to his not going to the same place and leads to further irregularity in the labour supply. We thought it right to apply our minds in the first instance to conditions of that kind. We arranged our investigation in India so that we should see the Indians in their villages before we saw them in their cities. We went round by the north of India, by Karachi and Lahore, round that way, and approached Bombay from the rear, as it were, because we felt that it was essential, at any rate for the three of us who were newcomers to India, that we should understand something of the life of the people in their villages before we compared the conditions in the towns with their previous life in the places from which they had come.

How can a system of that kind be improved? In the first place we came to the conclusion you find set out in the second chapter of our Report, that this condition is not altogether a bad one; it has many compensating advantages to the worker; his connection with the village, his link with the village, gives him a place to retire to when he is in ill-health, it gives him a home if there should be a strike or lockout in his industry, it gives him to that extent more power in negotiating with his employer, at any rate in settling the conditions upon which he is willing to work in a factory, and, in addition, it maintains the family system of India, which is one of her greatest assets, the way the people of the family stick together and help and support one another. It has, indeed, in the custom of India some of the advantages that we have attempted laboriously to build up in this country through our system of so-called social legislation; yet it has many evils, both from the point of view of the employer and that of the employed.

LABOUR OFFICERS

Our suggestion to overcome this difficulty is a simple one. These great industries are all, generally speaking, of much larger size than you find in this country. A factory employs 2,000, 3,000, or 4,000 workers, whereas, in a similar factory in this country, you would expect to find 800 or 900. It is quite impossible for the employer himself, or even the general manager, to have an individual knowledge of his workers or even to hear of the little grievances which mean so much to illiterate people, who feel themselves out of contact with those for whom they are working. We therefore suggest that it would be greatly to the advantage of every industrial concern to employ a special man for the work of understanding and caring for the little things that affect so much the happiness of workers, that there should be a labour officer with direct access to the employer, the head of the firm, whether he be the manager, the general manager, or even the agent, so that the head of the establishment shall have a close and intimate knowledge of what his own workpeople are thinking and feeling, and that this man alone shall have the engagement and the discharge of the workpeople; he shall be a man of such status and integrity that he will be above the level of bribery, and therefore that crying evil can be dealt with and removed.

You will see when I come to the second head of my subject tonight another of the ways in which a man of this kind would make himself invaluable to his employers. For my part, having had some little knowledge of industry and having for sixteen years myself in my early days worked in a mill, I know how much depends on that intimate contact with the individual. A man may be an illiterate, he may have nothing but his thumb-print to give for his identification, but he has just the same human feelings as you or I have, and little things touch him, either making him happy or making him incapable of giving the best of his work. It is well worth while, I am convinced, for every employer to see that this proposal is considered.

In a few cases in India we found that far-thinking men had already adopted a system of this kind, and in every case where we came across it we had the answer from the employer: "It pays us well to do it; we do not regret a penny of the expenditure." One striking case I have in mind, where the labour officer told us that the engagements and discharges amongst the 6,000 or 7,000 men for whom he was responsible had gone down by three-quarters since his work got into operation (showing that two out of three of the previous discharges had in all probability been unjust discharges, because it was to the interest of the foreman to get the quicker turnover of labour, and the higher income from exaction), and obviously it had worked to the great satisfaction of the workers. In that particular case this labour officer also looked after the housing of the workers; he looked after the education of the children; indeed, he was the arbiter in all questions of their religious ceremonies and of seeing provision was made for the susceptibilities of the smallest section of his workers.

Again, we found, in another factory where an intelligent and capable young Indian had been put in charge of that department, he was, in addition, looking after the technical education of young workers who came into his factory, so that they might have an opportunity of rising to positions of responsibility. In every place we saw there is full-time work for such a man as I have been describing. This is one of those changes that certainly need not be put on one side in India with "Times are bad, and we cannot afford it," for I profoundly believe, and I think all my colleagues agree with me, that an expenditure of this kind will return itself a hundredfold to the employer who puts it into operation, because it will increase the efficiency of the workers and the quality of the output, by getting a more regular staff of workers and at the same time increasing their happiness.

One other point in that connection. Wherever we went there was an outcry about absenteeism in the factory. When that was examined it reduced itself to two quite different things, one, the casualness or carelessness that you will find in any labour force that does not have consideration given to its peculiarities and the other the natural desire of the worker to pay visits to his village from time to time. We propose that there should be a system of recognized leave, that, where a man when he is engaged says, "I shall want to go back to my village one month in the year," that should not be counted against him but rather to his credit; it should be written out on his engagement sheet, and it should be treated as recognized leave and not as absenteeism. If that were done I think the figure of absenteeism would be reduced to a proportion not very much greater than that which obtains in this country.

INDEBTEDNESS

Now let me come to the second of the larger questions with which we have dealt in our Report. I am skipping down from Chapter II. to Chapter XIII. I do not think anyone who has ever tried to study conditions in India can deny that the indebtedness of the people is one of the chief evils with which every reformer must be concerned. In fact, it is so much so that one meets almost universally with the cry: "It always has been so, it always will be so; why worry? The Indian is born in debt, he lives in debt, and dies in debt, and nothing you could ever try to do could change that fact, so you had better accept it and not trouble any more about it." I am happy to say my colleagues were not content to leave it there. They have made an attempt in Chapter XIII. I ask you if you do not read any other part of the Report, those of you who care about the social conditions of India, to read this chapter, because we were told by important people in the Government of India that we had looked at this problem from a new angle.

The conclusion to which we came was that credit in India was too easy and not too hard; that it is too easy for a man to borrow money and get himself into debt. We were dealing not with agriculturists, where there is a certain security of capital or crops or something of that kind; we were dealing with the industrial worker, who, as a rule, has nothing to offer as security. Now, I ask you for a moment to put yourself in the position of that man. I am going to ask you for a moment to become an industrial labourer, and then I am going to ask you to become a moneylender, because the only way to understand the problem is to put yourself in the other fellow's shoes.

Here I am taking an actual case amongst many hundreds. We were coming down the Irrawaddy, and we asked leave of the captain to talk to the men employed on his boat. One in particular I remember; he was a fireman, and he told us the simple story of his life. He had come from India to Burma because the rates of wages, he had heard, were higher, and he was getting Rs.29 or Rs.30 a month, where he would only have got probably at the most Rs.18 or Rs.20 in his own country. After a little while he thought he would get married (they all do in India), but getting married is a serious job. His friend in the society of his village, or the parents of the bride, I am not quite sure who it was, said that he must raise a certain amount of money before he could get married; that was the custom of the village, and it must be done. So this fellow, earning Rs.30 a month, and it cost him at least Rs.10 a month to live, leaving a balance of about Rs.20, was forced, so he told us, to borrow Rs.500. He told us that he had been very fortunate, because in his case he had got it at the low rate of interest of 60 per cent.

RATES OF INTEREST

I should say that the common rate of interest in India for unsecured loans is much higher than that; 1 anna per rupee per month—namely 75 per cent. —is what you call the minimum, but it is often 50 or 100 per cent. more than that. Although he had been sending to his wife the balance of his earnings for two months out of three, and then the rest to the moneylender, even in the short time he had been married he had not paid off anything. He had been struggling to pay the interest, but his 500 rupees of debt had grown into 700, and there was no prospect of that young fellow ever being a free man through all his working days; he could not pay off the capital, and it was doubtful whether he could even keep up with the interest, because every time the interest failed it was added on to the capital, and so the sum grew. So you have a state of affairs where a very large proportion of the industrial workers of India are in the position all through their working days, unless they run away or change their names, of having to contribute many months of their earnings to a moneylender in an attempt to satisfy a debt which has produced no assets, nothing but feasting that was all over in a few days or a few weeks. That is what I call a system of nothing less than bondage. In those conditions how can you get any kind of keen, ambitious workers, anxious to improve themselves?

Allow me just to quote from the Report which comes from the Railway Board. It is the only quotation I shall give you. "The tyranny of debt degrades the employee and impairs his efficiency." We endorse that absolutely, and we suggest means by which a man can be given a chance to become a free industrial worker. Now, I ask you to put yourselves in the shoes of that man. Supposing you had to contribute either two or three, or four or five, or in some cases six months of your earnings to the satisfaction of a debt which represents nothing permanently beneficial to you or to your family, how could you hold up your head? Now, change for a moment and put yourself in the shoes of the moneylender.

There is not a word in this Report in condemnation of the moneylender. He can, and does in many cases, contribute to the economic life of the industrial worker, and particularly of the villager; in fact, his proper place is the small banker of the worker, and I do not believe that our proposals, taken altogether and put into operation tomorrow, would diminish the all-over return of the moneylender on his capital, which I estimate at somewhere about 18 to 20 per cent., because he loses so much in bad debts and disappearance of creditors that he has to exact a high rate of interest from the steady, honest working man who does not run away and who tries to meet his liabilities. Our young friend is going to get married, and he has recourse to the moneylender. The moneylender says: "How much do you want?" The young man says: "How much will you give me?" because it is only a thumb-print on a piece of paper which is full of blanks to be filled up afterwards which produces to him a practically unheard-of sum of money—200, 300, 400, or 500 rupees; fabulous wealth to him for the moment—and unthinkingly he will dab his thumb to the paper, and there he is tied. What are the motives that work with the moneylender as a business man? He says to himself: "What are my chances, not of recovering my capital, but of getting a steady payment of interest for a considerable number of years?" Because if a man is getting, say—we will take an average figure—100 per cent. per annum on his loan, he has no need to worry about his capital; that is being repaid each year that the man keeps alive and goes on working; all the rest could be put to reserve or to take over other people's bad debts; so he is in clover. Therefore he says: "Now, what is my security for getting the annual interest, or something approaching the annual interest, out of this fellow? If he is a decent fellow, or well known in his village, if he is engaged in some more or less permanent employment, then the larger the sum I am ready to loan."

REMEDIES

That leads me to the point of our first remedy. We propose that law in India permitting courts to issue attachments against a man's wages or salary should be swept away altogether. It is immoral and wicked; the employers hate it; the men hate it; it tempts the moneylender to lend twice or three times as much as he otherwise would, because he only has to pay a fee of a rupee or so and go to a court and get an order that the man's employers must deduct so much, up to half of his earnings, for as many months or years as are needed to satisfy his debt, which means, of course, the Greek calends; and there he has him tied, as long as he does not run away or change his name. But suppose you pass an Act something like this: On and after July 1 next, notwithstanding anything in the Civil Procedure Code, no court shall issue an attachment against any person's wages or salary.

A one-clause Bill of that kind, I think, would make an enormous difference, because, in the first place, the moneylender would not tempt the man to borrow these absurdly large amounts, the man would have a chance, and it would profoundly affect the custom in the villages, because it would be unwise for the moneylender to lend the extravagant sums he does now. Secondly, we propose the abolition of arrest and imprisonment for debt, except in the case of a man who could pay perfectly well if he chose and who is trying simply to evade his proper obligations. We found that that is held as an additional power by the moneylender for the satisfaction of these contracts that really ought never to have been entered into.

The third important recommendation is this. There ought to be in every industrial district a simple court (by "court" I mean an individual of the status of a magistrate, but, of course, with the requisite character and standing) empowered to give a man release from impossible obligations. It is only giving to the poor man what the rich man has today in this and every other country. It seems wrong that the rich man should be better off than the poor man in that respect. Here we propose that the poor man should have equal chances, that he should be able to disclose the whole of his liabilities, and then the magistrate should say that he was not to be held for more than he could be reasonably expected to pay in two years.

The fourth point in this connection is the quicker payment of wages. It is a real hardship that wages are almost entirely paid by the month, and that very often the greater part of the second month elapses before the man sees the wages he has earned. We have recommended to employers that they should put into operation the weekly payment of wages. We think that that will do more than any other single thing would, at any rate, in relieving a man from the obligation of entering into debt. We do not propose legislation as drastic as that, but that is a distinct recommendation to all employers, and we believe that it will pay them well to do a thing of that kind.

In this matter of indebtedness the labour, or personnel, officer would be of great advantage to the employee. You may change the law, but you are dealing with an illiterate people, and unless they have some friend to help them they will not be able to get all their rights. It was in those places where we found a labour officer was taking the workers one by one and saying, "Look here, I can help you if you will let me; tell me what your debts are; I will get rid of them; I will give you a free start," that we found the best conditions. The labour officer of the B.B.C.I. Railway told us how he was doing that work, talking one by one with his workers, and bringing them into a co-operative credit society at 9, or the most 11, per cent., as against the 75 or 125 per cent. they had previously been paying.

Tea Plantations

Now I will pass from factory labour to the tea plantations: you will find no less than four chapters of our report are devoted to them. An intensely interesting labour problem it is, and one of those problems which for the most part resolves itself into changes which will equally advantage the employer and the worker. There our main recommendation is quite a simple one, and I am glad to say that when it was explained it was accepted unanimously both by the individual tea planters and by their representatives speaking for their organization. It was just this. When the men are taken up to the tea plantations they are recruited over long distances. It may be one thousand miles, and sometimes it takes them a fortnight's journey to get from their village to the place where they are going to work, and their friends have the idea that they are lost for ever. It is not true; but there is no doubt that recruiting is greatly prejudiced by the prevalence of the idea. We suggest that in every case after a man has been three years on a plantation in Assam he should have an absolutely free choice: "Would you like to stay, or would you like to go home? If you elect to go home, all your expenses will be paid; you will be conducted and taken care of, and delivered back to the village from which you came." A small thing in itself, but in our view a thing which will make a fundamental difference to the recruiting of labour for Assam.

We want to see the stage where there will be two men wanting to go to Assam for every one there is room for, instead of the opposite being the case, as it has been for many years past, having to scour the country to get labour for the plantations in Assam. To make that right of repatriation secure, we propose that the Government of India should appoint a Protector of Immigrants in Assam, who should have the duty of decision if any employer appeared to be withholding the right. We think that this proposal would, along with the other suggestions we have made, reduce the cost of recruiting for Assam by something like one half. It is far too expensive at present to recruit labour for Assam. If the employers were saved half the money that is now spent on recruiting they would have more to spend on improving the conditions of their workers. I should say this: we found the conditions of the tea garden workers were very much better than those which they had left behind them in the villages.

Unregulated Factories

One of the things that distressed us most in India was the state of affairs in the unregulated factories. There are a great number of factories up and down India which at present come under no law, no inspection, where tiny children are employed by the hundred as young as five and six years of age. No law seems to care for them. By the present definition under the Factory Act of what is a factory, they escape all attention. We think it is time that that state of things should be put an end to. We recognize the difficulty and expense of inspection; we think that you cannot at once apply the whole of the Factory Act to a great number of more or less scattered industries of that kind; so we propose a simplified and comparatively cheap system of control whereby at least the first essentials of labour legislation can be applied to the people working in those factories, the regulation of hours, and of the sanitary conditions under which they work. I do hope that there will be no delay in India in putting that recommendation into operation.

This Commission was one of the happiest pieces of work which ever fell upon me to carry out. That is due to my colleagues, one and all of them, who throughout were helpful, and it was a piece of team work which I hope will bring benefits to everybody engaged in industry in India. I consider that the industrial future of India is a great one. She, like other countries, has been, and is still, passing through a time of difficulty. I believe India will be one of the first countries to see her way through these troubles. There is room for very great progress even in the immediate future in the industries of India. I do hope that people will not make the excuse of bad times an apology for putting off doing anything. Our object is that when India takes her next bound forward she should go forward with the confidence that she has removed such blots as there may be in her industrial system.

The CHAIRMAN: We have a list of distinguished speakers who wish to take part in the discussion. I have a telephone message from Lord Irwin to say that he would like Mr. Whitley and the audience to be informed how sorry he is to have missed the lecture. He had hoped to come, but was prevented at the last moment.

Dr. HAROLD MANN said that after nearly thirty years' experience in India, most of it spent in very close contact with the labouring population, he was exceedingly pleased to hear the lecture. There was no point which pleased him more than the way in which Mr. Whitley had said that he thought that the organization of labour in India based on the village and going back from time to time to the village should continue. That matter had been fought out again and again in India, and he was very glad that the authority of the Labour Commission had come down on the side which favoured, at any rate, the maintenance of a system in which the village should be the basis of industrial as well as agricultural occupation. He said that because he knew something of the conditions of labour in the big cities. He approached the matter from the point of view of the employee himself, as he lived in the village, and there was no doubt that the terror of the lives of the people in the village was lest their boys should have to go to the towns and become factory workers. He remembered sitting under a tree in the centre of a village and talking to the people and looking at the small boys who were running round in the village. He said to them: "What is going to happen to those boys when they grow up? You tell me the condition of the village is going down; what is going to happen to those boys?" They said they did not know. He said, "Would you like them to go to Bombay, or to an industrial centre?" and never in all his experience had he heard a more deep-throated "No, on no account, under present conditions, would we want them to go there; it would be the last resort if they had to leave our village to go to work in Bombay." He asked them why, and the first reason given was that 10 per cent. of the boys who went to Bombay were ruined; and he knew it was true. The conditions of life for the workers in Bombay (and he was speaking of Bombay as a typical industrial centre) were so bad that if it were not for the fact that they went periodically back to their villages, the death rate and the illness rate in the manufacturing centres would be even greater than they were at the present time. He said that after due thought, and advisedly.

The conditions in the industrial centres of Western India, at any rate, had been really very bad indeed. To a villager, living possibly in a hut, going to Bombay, the small hut in the village looked like Paradise. He never felt the real meaning of the term "warehousing labour" as he did when he saw the big new chawls in Bombay. He had sent boys down to Bombay for work, and he had gone to them a few months after and had found them living fourteen in a single room, young fellows, most of them below the age of twenty-five, most of them unmarried, or, if married, away from their wives, who would be left in the village, but living there under conditions which it was extraordinarily difficult for them to realize. The only thing in the past twenty years which had prevented Bombay almost from dying out had been the fact that while they lived to the extent of ten or even fourteen in a small room, they slept generally out in the open air. That was not the only point. The horror of Bombay, in the village (and he still spoke of Bombay as a typical industrial centre) was partly, at any rate, due to the effect of drink. Ten per cent. of the boys and young men who went to Bombay went to pieces through drink, and in the village of which he was thinking there was no liquor shop within five miles. They went to Bombay, and there it was at their door and they took it; and 10 per cent., according to the villagers' own estimate, went to pieces and never went back to their village.

There was a more serious thing. He noticed himself in the villages the increasing presence of syphilis, which was contributed to by the conditions under which they lived in Bombay. He was not at all astonished that the people in the villages said: "God help us lest our young men go to the industrial centres." That was one point with regard to the village. The second point was the fact that the villagers said, "Even if our boys are not ruined, even if they are not injured, they never bring anything back;" and he found that that was true, at any rate, in Deccan areas which he knew intimately.

Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay (Trade Commissioner for India) said he supposed it was part of the rules of the game that forty-five minutes should be given up to the lecturer and forty-five minutes to the discussion, but he personally would have liked very much to have had the whole one and a half hours given up to the lecture; and he could have gone on listening for very much longer, especially as the lecturer had touched so many points which were really vital to the progress and future of India. He happened to come across, if he could take a line rather different from that of the last speaker, certain developments throughout the Empire which showed what enormous strides had been made lately in agriculture, how tremendously the output per man was being improved, how with the development of mechanical agriculture the work of one man was sufficient to do what fifty men had done a few years ago, how with the help of biology crops were producing exactly what was required in increasing quantities. It was not very difficult to argue from that the enormous difficulties which were going to beset the agricultural labourer of the old school in the future. They knew that in America and Australia agricultural products were so cheaply produced that they tended, even under present conditions, to flood the world, and in those circumstances he thought that even if it was not the call of industry, or the call of the towns, which attracted the industrial worker of India, even if it was the squeeze of the village which drove him from the village into the towns, those were circumstances which they must meet and face and legislate for. That was exactly the conclusion to which the Commission had helped them to come. There was one point he wished to draw attention to because it struck him as the most important point almost of the whole lot, and that was personal relationship in industry. The pity was that they saw disappear so widely and so rapidly, not only in India but everywhere in the world, personal contacts between employer and employee. He suggested that in this country the mechanization of industry was driving employers and employed into closer personal contacts outside; the development of the Boy Scout movement, the Girl Guide movement, Toc H, and so on, meant the cultivation of personal contacts which were perhaps lost in industry. He welcomed all the speaker's suggestions for the future guidance and stabilization of industry in India and for the future prosperity of industrial India.

Sir Alexander Murray congratulated the lecturer on the very able manner in which he had touched on some of the leading points that were dealt with by the Commission. By the way he had dealt with them they would understand how he had been able to get a more or less unanimous report from the Commission. The lecturer had spoken of his want of knowledge of India when he went out, but he could assure them that after two years there was very little in the industrial conditions of India that Mr. Whitley did not know about. They were very fortunate in having him as their chairman. There were three members of the Commission who had not been to India before. One was Mr. Whitley, who had already shown them how much he knew now about India. Then there was Miss Power. What Miss Power did not know about the women and children and young people of India, after she had been there, nobody else knew. Then they had a Labour man, Mr. Cliff. The speaker personally had never, or seldom, met Labour representatives of the type that they had in England until he met Mr. Cliff, but he could assure them that the practical way in which Mr. Cliff handled Indian problems, with no previous knowledge of them, impressed him more than anything else as probably a reason why Labour had attained the power that it had in this country today.

He was personally of opinion that it was good for the workers to go back to the villages; as a matter of fact, it was one of the ways in which the people in the villages got to know what a higher standard of living was. When the workers came into industrial areas after being accustomed to life in the villages, what did they know of town life? The employer of labour had not only to be a pioneer in industry or tea planting, he had to be a pioneer of public health and welfare; he had to provide housing, sanitation, water supply, and all the other things that were done by public bodies at home. Out in the jungle, or out in the places where they put up buildings, that had to be done by the employer. Personally he knew of nothing that reflected credit to the tea industry more than the way in which garden managers had given to the workers opportunities for a higher standard of living than they had been accustomed to. The workers were dependent upon the employers alone for that, because in those places there were no municipalities, there was practically no public opinion to speak of, and the labour movement was very backward. One of the reasons for that, curiously enough, was also the movement to and from the village. After all, unless there was a strike on, or some other special reason, the worker who was engaged in industry probably for a year or so and then going back to his village was not very much interested in the trade union movement, and in India that movement, with the exception of one or two leaders, had been very badly led. When the Commission was in India in 1930 there was a big split at Nagpur; it was Communism really that was at the bottom of it. Then last year in Calcutta, the All-India Congress that should have been leading instead of dividing Labour, was divided into two parts, and while one section was meeting in the Town Hall at Calcutta under one leader laying down a certain policy, another section of the same All-India Congress was under another leader meeting elsewhere and putting forward other proposals. Really, with the backward state of education in India and the continual movement between the villages and towns, it was impossible to get trade unions of the type they were accustomed to in this country, and that was one of the problems that the Government and employers had to deal with. It was a great pleasure to him to hear Mr. Whitley and, like Mr. Lindsay, he could have sat for the whole one and a half hours listening to Mr. Whitley talking about things he knew even more about than he (the speaker) did, although he had been in India for thirty years.

Mr. H. S. Ashton (Indian Tea Association) said the Chairman had told them that he wanted to speak, but that was not quite correct. He had said that it depended upon what the lecturer said whether he intended to speak or not. As a matter of fact, he found himself entirely in sympathy with everything that the lecturer had said. It was rather a curious thing that Mr. Whitley and himself knew one another personally, their families knew one another; Mr. Whitley came from Yorkshire, and he came from Lancashire, and their start in life was similar. He was for some years in a cotton mill in Lancashire before he went out to India. He thought it best just to preface what he had to say on what he called the personal equation in connection with labour by giving them an anecdote. A short time after he got to India he found himself in a cotton mill, and there was a terrible disturbance going on. There was a fitter from Oldham putting up spinning mules, as they call them in Lancashire. He was a man who had been all over the world, and he was in a terrible state of rage, and the very excellent Bengalis who were helping him, very nice fellows, did not know what to make of him. The fitter could not speak a word of the language. He had been to Mexico, he had been to Russia, he had been to China, and finally went out to India with some of Platts' machinery. The speaker said to him, "What is the matter?" and he could hardly articulate. Finally the speaker got to the bottom of it and pacified him, and then the fitter said: "Well, you know, Mr. Ashton, I have been all over the world, and I have had to do with white 'uns, black 'uns, and yellow 'uns, but these here brown 'uns are the worst devils of the lot." (Laughter.)

That was the speaker's early introduction to labour in India, and he immediately tumbled to the fact that human sympathy was necessary, and that one must try to understand the people that one controlled. Therefore it was with very great pleasure that he had heard Mr. Whitley dwell upon that necessity for sympathetic treatment. He always tried to instil that into the minds of those who were junior to him. He thought it was true, as Mr. Whitley had said, that in the Indian tea industry this sympathy had been adopted, or given effect to, by the tea planters. He had always found that the personal factor in the human equation was the most important. It was an odd thing that he should come in and meet Dr. Harold Mann, whom he had not seen for thirty years. He thought that the application of science to industry was very much easier, though he did not think Dr. Mann would agree with him, than the solving of the personal equation. He thought Mr. Whitley was right in his report in endeavouring to get legislation which would help the employer and the employee to come together and thoroughly understand one another. In the part of the Report which had been referred to there were two items which were really outside the question as between employer and employed: one was the marriage question and getting into debt because of marriage; the other was the reference to other nations not carrying out their obligations under the League of Nations, and so on. The employer could not control the money-lending which went on, and it was a very excellent thing if legislation could be brought forward to put an end to that kind of thing.

Colonel Nawab Sir **Umar Hayat Khan** said he was very pleased that, within such a very short time, the lecturer with his great ability had got to know something about India, but he had also heard the other speakers who had stated their own particular views. A man went out and saw that there were tiles on one side of the roof of the house; then another man went out the other side and said there were slates on the roof; and both were right. The first time he saw Mr. Whitley on the ship going out to India he said the Government had made a blunder in not giving him power to go and see everything—*i.e.*, the whole subject; if he saw only half the subject he could not solve it, and to keep agricultural labour from the purview of the Commission was a big mistake. There were no factories in India before the British came and 80 per cent. of the population was agriculturist. It was from the villages that these industrial labourers came and where they left their kith and kin. There had been many Committees so appointed, but they did not get any benefit out of them. With regard to the legislation which had been proposed, he could say the Council would pass it, because everyone was in the hands of the moneylenders, who were in the Congress and who were in the Councils, and they simply would not allow it. If there was any legislation, what would it do? If a man was in debt and from his village went to another place in a factory, the moneylender would follow him wherever he went, and the whole question could not be settled unless it was dealt with by one authority or a commission. Every time a commission was sent they gave it half the power and scope of enquiry and not the other half. He hoped that the Labour Commission would be proved to have done something for the benefit of India.

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. John De La Valette would like to say a few words, and would give comparisons between the conditions in the Dutch East Indies and those in India.

Mr. JOHN DE LA VALETTE said he feared the Chairman had promised something which he was not able to give them: that was, to make comparisons between the conditions of labour in the Dutch East Indies and the conditions of labour in India. He was struck by the similarity between certain conditions in the Dutch East Indies and some of the problems, at any rate, in India. There was not in the Dutch East Indies anything like the actual development of industry which they had in India, but there were very large plantations which were a kind of industrial agriculture in which the problems began to appear. One question which he thought had very satisfactorily been solved, particularly in Sumatra and Java, was the relation between employers and employed generally, both on the question of how they were to be recruited, who took them on, who paid them off, and what were the terms upon which they should be employed and treated when they were paid off after the term of their contract. There were, as he was sure Mr. Whitley knew, a great many controversial points about the employment of labour in the Dutch East Indies. He would like to suggest that it would not be a bad thing if they could send out one or two experts conversant with conditions in India to study the situation in the Dutch East Indies, where they had a similarity with the conditions in India. He thought they would find, both from what had been achieved and from some of the mistakes committed, that they could profit in solving the difficulties in India.

He would like to express his thanks to the lecturer, not only for his most interesting address, but also for the magnificent report he had given them. Those who had read it in full or even in part would very greatly appreciate it. He would like to move a vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman for having been good enough to attend and give them the benefit of his views. There were certain remarks made by the Chairman with regard to which many of them would be only too ready to go to a further meeting. He was not altogether familiar with the results on the practical side of what happened at international conferences. A great many gentlemen turned up; a few were British and all the rest were everything else under the sun. The British, in common with the representatives of some of the other countries, went there with the firm conviction that if something was agreed to they ought to go home and get their Government to enforce it, and it was enforced; not only was legislation passed, but an adequate number of inspectors were immediately put on to the task of seeing that the legislation was actually carried out in practice. But there were certain countries, and he was conversant with some of them, where even if legislation were passed, nobody ever dreamed of putting in force any inspection to see that it was carried out. The result of that, as the Chairman had said that afternoon, was extremely serious, because it went to the root of what was, after all, the means by which all peoples earned their livelihood. He hoped that the subject on which the Chairman had made remarks that afternoon would be the topic of a future lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I call on Mr. Whitley to reply, may I thank Mr. De La Valette and the audience for having passed a vote of thanks to me as well as to the lecturer. I am also very much obliged to the last speaker for what he has just said. May I say that Holland is one of the few countries which, like the British Empire, has carried out its obligations, as I know from personal knowledge, and the interests of Holland and ourselves, the British Empire and Great Britain, are very much the same. It would be quite out of place for me from the chair to pursue further the point he made, but it would be well if we did speak plainly on these subjects. If people like the Dutch and ourselves speak plainly, nobody is hurt. I agree with what he said with regard to certain members of the League of Nations; the majority of those countries calmly agree to a thing and pass the legislation without the slightest intention of carrying it out.

Another thing I would like to say is that I am sorry I had to ask Dr. Mann on account of limited time to conclude his remarks. We all recognize the fervour and enthusiasm which he has brought during his life to the well-being of the people of India. He is one of the type of enthusiasts who, against the most terrific difficulty, always struggles along.

Mr. WHITLEY: I will content myself with thanking you most warmly for the way that you have listened to me. I have been most interested in the discussion. To Dr. Harold Mann I would say this: One of the suggestions we made while we were in Bombay was that these labour officers within the works should be linked up with such persons as himself working in the villages from which the people came, so that there should be a close contact; in fact, people should not come from the village into the city unless they had the personal contact to come to, a friend to guide them. A very great number of the difficulties and heart-burnings would be got over by just that recognition of human needs on both sides, both from the village from which they come and the city which receives them. I may mention this interesting fact: that by the mail which came to me on Saturday night I received a copy of two Bills introduced into the Legislature of India which are the beginning of carrying out the recommendations in our Report. It will take a good deal more than two Bills to carry out our recommendations, but I hope others are going to follow. I thank you.

MR. GANDHI'S ARREST: WAS IT INEVITABLE?

By Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Many of those who sympathize with India's desire to achieve nationhood were deeply troubled when it became known that Mr. Gandhi, on his return to India from England, had failed to secure an interview with the Viceroy. They felt that, had a meeting taken place, a happy outcome such as attended the Irwin-Gandhi conversations in March, 1931, might well have been expected; some middle path of compromise might have been found, the barrier against civil disobedience would have been preserved, Mr. Gandhi would have remained at liberty, and, with all the might of Congress behind him, would have assisted Government in the work of building a Constitution for India.

Their attitude may be stated as follows: Congress refused to participate in the first Round-Table Conference because the British Government had not agreed to grant to India full Dominion status. Mr. Gandhi accordingly started his campaign of civil disobedience in the early months of 1930 and carried it on until, after the Prime Minister's declaration of January 19, 1931, an opening was afforded for conversations between himself and the Viceroy. These resulted in the discontinuance of civil disobedience, the withdrawal of repressive measures, and the agreement of Congress to co-operate in the work of the Round-Table Conference on the scheme of federation outlined by the Prime Minister. Congress appointed Mr. Gandhi to be their sole accredited representative at the Conference. He sailed for England, where he was treated as an honoured guest and valued counsellor. He spared no effort to make the Conference a success, and the fact that certain important issues had to remain undecided was due to causes entirely beyond his control.

When he left England he was full of friendly feelings towards Englishmen in general, he attached great sanctity to the Delhi pact, and he was prepared to continue in co-operation with the Government in order to give the Round-Table Conference plan a further trial. This is made clear by the fact that during his journey he sought and obtained from Sir Samuel Hoare an assurance regarding a point which had been troubling him in connection with the proposed safeguards for the new Constitution. Further, after leaving Italy, he telegraphed to the India Office denying the authenticity of an unfriendly statement attributed to him by an Italian newspaper, and affirming his intention to take no precipitate action, but to make ample previous entreaty to the authorities should direct action become unfortunately necessary. On his arrival in India, on December 28, he was horrified to find that, in breach of the Delhi pact, Government had resorted again to repressive measures.

An Emergency Ordinance had been published in the United Provinces, conferring special powers on Government and its officers and providing against the illegal refusal of the payment of land revenue and other dues; three Ordinances had been published in the North-West Frontier Province, conferring similar powers and making additional provision against associations dangerous to the public peace; while in Bengal special Ordinances had been published which seemed to make the whole people responsible for the crimes of a few, since among other very drastic provisions they empowered the authorities to arrest suspected revolutionaries without warrant, sanctioned the death penalty for attempt to murder, and provided for trial in camera without appeal. Under those Ordinances, innocent men had been shot down in the Frontier Province, and Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his co-workers had been arrested and imprisoned without trial. Many Congress workers had similarly been arrested in Bengal and in the United Provinces, and among them Mr. Sherwani, the President of the United Provinces Congress Committee, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Working General Secretary of the Congress.

He telegraphed at once to the Viceroy enquiring whether "friendly relations between us are closed or whether you expect me still to see you and receive guidance from you as to course I am to pursue in advising Congress."

The humblest Indian petitioner has a right of access to authority so that he may pour out his tale of woe. In accordance with this elementary principle of administration, the Viceroy ought to have summoned Mr. Gandhi and given him a patient hearing. But Mr. Gandhi was more than an ordinary citizen; a large body of his countrymen looked to him, as their great spiritual leader, to make representations to the head of the Government regarding matters which vitally affected their lives and well-being; he had been in personal touch with several Viceroys; Lord Willingdon would have profited, as Lord Irwin did, from closer relations with him and from fuller comprehension of his message. But, apart from that, it was inevitable that the Viceroy should seek help from him, as the spokesman of Congress, before planning further developments of the Round-Table Conference work. No Constitution for India could possibly be devised or operated without the concurrence of Congress, which Lord Willingdon had himself described as "the only active political organization in the country." There was therefore every reason to suppose that the Viceroy, on commonsense grounds, would take the first opportunity of conferring with Mr. Gandhi in the hope of avoiding measures which must antagonize him and the other leaders of Congress.

Lord Willingdon, however, in a speech at Calcutta on December 30, announced the policy of his Government, with the approval of the Secretary of State, in terms which precluded all hope of conversations between himself and Mr. Gandhi. On the following day he repelled Mr. Gandhi's overtures by a telegram intimating that no interview could be granted unless Mr. Gandhi disavowed in advance all responsibility for or approval of certain recent activities of Congress, and unless it were also clearly understood that the repressive measures adopted by the Government of India would not be a subject of discussion. Mr. Gandhi replied on January 1, begging the Viceroy to see him as a friend without imposing any conditions as to the scope or subject of discussion, and promising, on his part, to study with an open mind all the facts that might be put before him. But the Viceroy refused to modify his terms, and on January 4 Mr. Gandhi was once more arrested and flung into gaol.

Quite naturally, Mr. Gandhi could not see his way to tender unqualified co-operation while "legalized martial law" was in force; nor could Congress be expected to exert itself effectively in the cause of law and order if its representative were denied an opportunity of receiving guidance from the Viceroy, and of urging before him the view that a calm and peaceful atmosphere favourable to co-operation could only be maintained in the country by the abandonment of repressive measures. His telegrams showed that he was ready to strain every nerve to find points of agreement. He had repeatedly declared that, while he was a profound believer in non-violent resistance as a substitute for violent warfare, he was only too painfully conscious of the volume of suffering which such resistance on a grand scale must involve, and he was therefore as anxious as any man could be not to resort to it. He had exercised a moderating influence ever since he signed the Delhi pact, and he alone could restrain the hotheads of the Congress. If the Government had sincerely desired an honourable settlement, would the Viceroy not have reciprocated Mr. Gandhi's passionate desire for peace and met him halfway? The issue of the Ordinances was, of course, one of the most important points upon which Mr. Gandhi desired to receive guidance from Lord Willingdon. How could Lord Willingdon justify, even to himself, the reservation of this subject, especially in view of the fact that he had discussed it a few days previously with the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce? Why did the Secretary of State sanction this new departure, seeing that he had himself, only a few weeks before, consulted Mr. Gandhi freely and without any reservations in regard to Indian affairs?

Even assuming that Mr. Gandhi's colleagues had compromised him during his absence by their somewhat precipitate actions, might not the Viceroy have been able at an interview to enlighten him as to the real facts and thus retain his invaluable help? As the *Times of India* said, on January 9, Mr. Gandhi "would not make, probably was not allowed by his colleagues to make, a simple and direct request for an interview. He made an indirect approach; the Viceroy preferred not to take the opportunity thus offered to him." Does not the Viceroy's refusal lend itself to the interpretation that he was afraid of losing prestige if he saw Mr. Gandhi, that the Government machine had been captured by bureaucrats and die-hards, and that Government had determined to crush Congress and to force sham reforms on the country in order that England's domination over India might be indefinitely prolonged?

The vital question is whether or no the British Government has abandoned the policy inaugurated by Lord Irwin when he stated that he had released Mr. Gandhi and other leaders from prison in order "to assist the creation of such peaceful conditions as would enable the Government to implement the undertaking given by the Premier." Government by Ordinances points not to negotiation, but to coercion, and must mean rejection of the principle of self-determination. As the poet Tagore has said,* the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, without having been given a chance of coming to a mutual understanding with the Government, shows that the people of India can be superciliously ignored. How long will they stand being ignored? Will not the processes planned for the destruction of the Congress bring about also the destruction of Indian goodwill and of what little remains of British trade? Is not the new policy of Government foredoomed to failure, since Britain cannot rule India by the sword, and since, as stated by the *Manchester Guardian*, "the co-operation of politically conscious India is only possible on a basis of real intent to give them what they want when they want it"? Admitting that it is the duty of a Government to preserve law and order, is it not equally its duty to serve the people and treat them as the senior partner in the administration, and is it not the right of the people to indicate by the constitutional method of civil disobedience their discontent with existing conditions? The spirit of Congress cannot be crushed, and conciliation will have to be tried again sooner or later. Lord Willingdon will discover, as Lord Irwin discovered a year ago, that it is beyond his power either to govern the country or to frame a new Constitution without the help of public opinion. Congress is the only party which can speak for public opinion in India, and is therefore able to "deliver the goods."

The root cause of the present trouble is to be found in the fact that the second Conference ignored the special position of Congress and the pre-eminence of Mr. Gandhi as its representative. There is no way out of the morass in which both Government and the Congress are stuck fast, except by the immediate transfer of responsibility to Indian hands.

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* *Spectator*, January 30, 1932.

Lastly, as a matter of tactics, would it not have been far wiser for the Viceroy to grant an interview to Mr. Gandhi? Public opinion notes acts not words. No practical disadvantage could have resulted from exploring the last possible avenue to peace, and the attempt would have won universal applause. The Viceroy would not have sacrificed his liberty of action, and it might have been possible for him to arrive at a personal understanding with the sensitive and temperamental leader. Mr. Gandhi had given an undertaking that if he found on enquiry that Congress was in the wrong, he would lead it back to the path of co-operation. He was open to conviction, and if Lord Willingdon had convinced him, he would have asserted once more his authority over his somewhat unruly lieutenants.

Does not all this lead to the conclusion that the Viceroy's refusal to see Mr. Gandhi was a regrettable blunder?

Now hear the other side.

The argument stated above rests on five assumptions. The first is that no genuine emergency had arisen which necessitated the adoption of repressive measures in the United Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province, or Bengal; such measures might safely have been postponed or suspended pending amicable discussion.

The true position as regards this point may be realized by anyone who cares to study the statements relating to the period which were issued by the Provincial authorities and the Government of India. In the United Provinces, the agrarian situation became critical, in consequence of the sudden and exceptional fall in prices. The Local Government, with the support of the Legislature, did its best to aid cultivators by granting large remissions of revenue and by other means. Nevertheless, the Provincial Congress Committee, on December 5, authorized the commencement of a no-rent campaign in five districts. If this action had remained unchallenged a state of class warfare would have been created between landlord and tenant, and law and order would have gone by the board. An Emergency Ordinance was, therefore, promulgated on December 14, 1931.

In the Frontier Province a frankly revolutionary movement was conducted, in open support of Congress, by Abdul Ghaffar Khan. His speeches during November last were "marked by an increasingly inflammatory, seditious, and racial tone." Particularly dangerous were attempts which he made to extend the movement across the administrative border into the Punjab and also into Afridi, Swat, and Mohmand territory, thus menacing the peace of the Border as well as of British India. Government held its hand until the last possible moment, and left no method of conciliation untried, but the resolutions passed by the Provincial Congress Committee on December 20, and the preparations for armed rebellion sanctioned by it showed that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was determined to challenge the authority of Government. He had proclaimed that his object was to drive out the British and achieve complete independence. The margin of safety had been passed and the rapid deterioration in the position called for swift and drastic measures. These were enforced on December 24, when Emergency Ordinances were promulgated.

As regards Bengal, it is only necessary to refer to the fact that the Local Government was engaged in a fight with the terrorist movement, which had manifested itself in the cold-blooded murder of Government officials, and in other outrages. Special Ordinances were promulgated in this province in October and November, 1931.

In each case the Ordinances, and the measures taken under them, were vitally necessary for the preservation of law and order. When once they were introduced, to use the words of Lord Willingdon, "they could not be suspended or withdrawn unless the activities that had made them necessary were definitely abandoned."

This was the reason why the Viceroy was compelled to exclude the measures from the field of any possible discussions with Mr. Gandhi. Suspension of them was out of the question, and discussion of the subject would therefore be futile. But, further, even a rumour that the measures were to be discussed with the representative of Congress would have increased the difficulties of all three Local Governments at a critical time by creating a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty. Apart from this, the Viceroy would have laid himself open to a charge of disingenuousness if he had granted an interview to Mr. Gandhi without explaining to him in advance the limitations to which discussion must inevitably be subject.

The second assumption is that Congress as a body had scrupulously observed the Delhi pact, and that Government was solely responsible for its breach.

On this point the Government of India have framed a heavy indictment against Congress, based on documents and occurrences which are matters of common knowledge.

In the United Provinces, within a few days of the Delhi settlement, Congress revealed their determination to exploit it by every possible means in order to extend their influence. Preparations for the renewal of civil disobedience were openly made, new centres of activity were created in rural areas, and Congress men were appointed as intermediaries between the peasants and Government with the object of establishing institutions parallel to those of Government. Mr. Gandhi was informed by Government of the dangerous position created by the Congress workers who, in breach of the settlement, were carrying on a no-revenue and no-rent campaign. He visited the province and on May 23 addressed a manifesto to the cultivators which, however, only aggravated the mischief, since it assumed that Congress was an authority equal to Government competent to decide what rents should or should not be paid, and to adjudicate between landlord and tenant. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared* that his objective included the total expropriation of the landlords. During the absence of Mr. Gandhi in England he issued a circular discounting expectations from the Round-Table Conference, and asserting the right to direct defensive action if relief were not given by Government in any vital matter.

On November 10, Mr. Patel† wrote to the President of the Provincial Congress Committee that, since the instalment of collection began on November 15 (which, in fact, was not true) and there was no time left to wait for Mr. Gandhi's return, he saw no alternative before the Provincial Committee but to advise peasants to refuse voluntarily to pay any rent or revenue till adequate relief was secured. The Provincial Congress Committee accordingly passed a resolution in this sense, and it was in consequence of this that the no-rent campaign was begun in five districts. While these manœuvres were taking place, Government officials and landlords were subjected to a continuous stream of vilification both on the platform and in the Press. A circular letter from the President of the Provincial Congress Committee contained the following passage:‡ "In this respect the agrarian situation has come to our rescue and we should take the fullest advantage of the situation. I am sure if we stir it a bit the entire tenantry of the province, to whatever community it may belong, would come within our fold." They did stir it a bit, and results were soon apparent in murderous attacks on landlords and outrages on officials carrying out legal processes.

There can be no doubt that the breach of the Delhi settlement by Congress and its adherents was directly responsible for the promulgation of the special Ordinances in the United Provinces.

In the Frontier Province, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, immediately on his release from prison, adopted the Congress attitude towards the Delhi truce. He visited Mr. Gandhi at Bardoli in June, and on his return made seditious and inflammatory speeches, explaining that he had joined the Congress because they were the only body in India which had the same object as himself—namely, to turn the British out of India. His tactics, including attempts to establish parallel administrative institutions, followed closely those adopted by Congress leaders in the United Provinces. Congress, on various occasions, sent workers and helpers to the Province to help him, and in August, as the result of discussions with the working Committee of Congress, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was formally recognized as the leader of the Congress movement in the province, the local committees were remodelled as Congress units, and the Congress flag was adopted. Abdul Ghaffar Khan framed his policy in direct association with Congress, and during the last few months of 1931 the body which he controlled was recognized by Congress as a branch of their organization. Congress must, therefore, accept responsibility for his breach of the Delhi truce.

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* East India (Emergency Measures) Cmd. 4014, 1932 (H.M. Stationery Office), p. 10.

† *Ibid.*, p. 15.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

As regards Bengal, Congress, while professing to condemn assassination, declined, in the words of Mr. Gandhi, to "associate itself with Government terrorism as is betrayed by the Bengal Ordinance and acts done thereunder, but must resist, within the limits of its prescribed creed of non-violence, such measures of legalized Government terrorism." The murder of Mr. Stevens by two girls may recall to mind a Congress pronouncement:* "All should try and turn their women into leaders so that when the men are arrested in the next war the women may become the leaders. The English will not arrest women. In this way increase the power of the Congress."

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress on December 6 passed a resolution advocating the boycott of all British goods and business concerns in Bengal, and there was a definite strengthening of war mentality there and in other parts of India.†

Congress, by breaching the Delhi settlement, had, to use the words of the Viceroy, wantonly torn up the path of conciliation. This was the reason why the Viceroy was compelled to make it clear that he could have no dealings with persons or organizations upon whom rested the responsibility for activities against which the Ordinances were directed. Lord Irwin, in a speech made at Leeds on January 27 declared his belief that the Ordinances were forced on Government by a party that intended nothing but opposition in any circumstances. This statement disposes of any suggestion that Lord Willingdon had capriciously abandoned his predecessor's policy of conciliation. Mr. Gandhi was the leader and accredited representative of Congress, which had deliberately severed relations with Government. Unless Congress were willing to rebuild what they had destroyed, which of course was unthinkable, Mr. Gandhi could only obtain access to the Viceroy by disowning Congress and by calling upon all Indians who believed in him and who had the good of the country at heart, to join with him in hewing out a new pathway to peace. Had any interview been granted to him unconditionally, he must have demanded at the outset the suspension of the Ordinances and the release of his friends as the only possible means of purifying the atmosphere for friendly talk. In an address to the Welfare of India League, on December 28, Mr. Gandhi said that, if the Ordinances were repealed, he would advise the Congress to see its way to co-operate in the work of the Round-Table Conference Committees, but the Ordinances now blocked the way. The Working Committee, in its Resolution of January 1, said that further co-operation with the Government on the part of Congress was impossible unless the Government policy was radically changed. In reality it was Congress, and not the Viceroy, who wished to impose conditions on the interview, since they would not countenance any negotiations unless the Ordinances were first suspended. They demanded the continuance of Government's obligations under the Delhi truce which they had themselves broken, and the capitulation of the Viceroy upon terms which would place Congress in a position to dictate what measures should or should not be taken for the preservation of law and order, while at the same time leaving them free to continue their own subversive activities. It was the Viceroy's duty to make it perfectly plain to Mr. Gandhi that the sands had run out and the die was cast so far as Congress was concerned. Had the Viceroy merely invited Mr. Gandhi to Delhi without explaining the position, he would have had to reveal it at the first interview, with the result that Mr. Gandhi would have been arrested in Delhi instead of Bombay. This would not have been a tactical advantage for Government, but very much the reverse. Mr. Gandhi, in a speech reported in *Young India* on January 7, said with reference to a suggestion that the Working Committee's Resolution might have been passed but not published, "It was I who said 'No.' If I suppressed it, I would be unfair to the Viceroy and the nation." Anything less than absolute frankness on the part of the Viceroy would have been equally unfair to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, besides being detrimental to the country's interests.

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* *Ibid.*, p. 19.

† Cp. *The Times*, December 7.

The third assumption is that Congress was sincerely desirous of co-operating in the Conference work of devising a new Constitution for India on the basis laid down by the Prime Minister, namely, that responsibility should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with certain safeguards and transitional guarantees, the Central Government being a Federation of All-India in a bi-cameral legislature.

The policy of Congress has been to extort by agitation successive concessions from the British Government, to consolidate their position after each advance and then to launch a fresh attack. First they demanded Provincial autonomy, which was conceded in principle; then they clamoured for Dominion status and gained a pronouncement from Lord Irwin; now nothing but complete independence will satisfy them. Their goal is far beyond the Prime Minister's statement, and they will not be limited by its terms. Leaders have openly announced that real peace is only possible when "purna swaraj" is obtainable.

The Working Committee, in its Resolution of January 1, stated that it "has considered the declaration of the Prime Minister —and regards it as wholly unsatisfactory and inadequate in terms of the Congress demand and places on record its opinion that nothing short of complete independence carrying full control over the defence and external affairs and finance with such safeguards as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of the nation can be regarded by the Congress as satisfactory."

This revelation of Congress aims explains why Mr. Gandhi's work as a delegate to the Round Table Conference was so disappointing and unhelpful. The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, in a recent article,* powerfully indicted Mr. Gandhi as the Congress delegate for his unyielding opposition to the claims of the depressed classes and certain other minorities and to the reservations and safeguards which many members of the Conference regarded as essential. It has been stated that Mr. Gandhi went to London as a delegate but acted as a herald, as the bearer of mandates from the Congress party. He could only voice the views of Congress, and their attitude is one of permanent opposition to any proposals that would not put power into their hands. They would never abate their claim to represent the overwhelming majority of the people in India, and are bound to oppose with all their strength (1) the separate electorates and other privileges asked for by Muslims; (2) the privileges and guarantees asked for by other minority communities, and especially by the untouchables; (3) the safeguards for the Central Government in the form in which the British Government considers them necessary; and (4) the conditions upon which alone the States would consent to enter an all-India Federation.

The reason for their attitude is that they are aiming, not at democratic government, but at the expulsion of the British and the establishment of an independent Hindu Government in India, perpetuating and strengthening the caste system; for this reason no mediation by the Viceroy would have induced the Congress to concur in any form of Constitution based on the Prime Minister's Declaration.

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* Cp. *Indian Review* (Madras), January, 1932.

The fourth assumption is that Congress represents politically conscious India, and is "the only political party that can deliver the goods."

This claim was exploded, at the second session of the Round-Table Conference, by the failure of the Congress party's representative to win over his fellow delegates from India to his point of view. When Mr. Gandhi realized that his efforts for unity must fail, he complained that the Conference was "packed with ultra-communalists, who exaggerate their petty differences." But the rift grew wider, and on November 14 the representatives of the Muslims, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Depressed Classes, and Indian Christians, who claimed to represent 46 per cent. of the population of British India, entered into an Agreement committing them jointly and severally to definite demands, both for general safeguards and for the specific claims of each community.

Congress challenged the right of the delegates of some of the communities to speak in their name, and alleged that the Minorities were actuated by a desire, not for self-government, but to share power with the bureaucracy. Mr. Gandhi bluntly claimed that Congress represented 85 per cent. or 95 per cent.* of the population, not merely of British India, but of the whole of India. In its Resolution of January 1, the Working Committee of the Congress tried to throw the blame on the British Government by noting that it "was not prepared at the Round-Table Conference to regard the Congress as representing and entitled to speak and act on behalf of the nation as a whole without distinction of caste, creed, or colour." The Congress leaders, perceiving that they had lost valuable ground by participating in the Conference, determined to abandon all pretence of co-operation, and to resume civil disobedience, in order to vindicate once more in the eyes of the world their claim to represent the nation as a whole. That ambition has not been realized so far. Government cannot claim to have put an end to boycotting, and it must be remembered that rule by Ordinances is a double-edged weapon which cannot be employed indefinitely; nevertheless a large measure of public confidence has been secured. The Legislative Assembly, by rejecting in February last a Resolution which was in fact, though not in words, a vote of censure on the Government, has indicated its approval of Government's policy of maintaining law and order while pressing on with the work of constitutional reform. The Assembly by this act dealt a shrewd blow at Congress pretensions.

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* *The Times*, November 14, 1931.

Lastly, on March 20, it was announced in Delhi that His Majesty's Government, in the absence of an early agreement between the communities, would be compelled to apply a provisional scheme for settlement of their differences. This decision, although it must add to the difficulties of Government and detract from the value of the Reforms, has nevertheless cleared the air, since, to use the words of *The Times* of March 21, "the failure of the delegates finally disposes of the legend that the Indian problem consists of nothing more complex than the demand of a united people for a Constitution on the essentials of which they are agreed."

The actual position could only be explained by tracing at length the history of the development of political parties in India, but it is at all events now plain that, in order to "deliver the goods," the Congress party would have to impose its will forcibly on the other parties. The Minorities may rest assured that the British Government has made up its mind to prevent this. It remains to be seen how Government, after prescribing the settlement, will provide under the new Constitution for the enforcement of its terms, and what the attitude of the Hindus will be towards the plan. The Congress Press has already announced that "in no case will India accept a decision imposed by MacDonald," and at a Conference of Hindu members of the Assembly resolutions were drafted on April 1* advocating bitter resistance to the "wild communal demands of the Moslems." Communal feeling would have flared high if Congress had been allowed to hold the special session at Delhi which they planned for the end of April. Government refused permission for this on April 6.

It is true enough that the co-operation of politically conscious India is essential for the success of the new Constitution, but the first duty of Government is to maintain law and order, and there are indications that the Viceroy's efforts in this direction are bearing fruit. The public are tired of agitation and strife; the trading classes are exasperated by the continuous interference with their business, and many persons who take keen interest in political matters see definite gain in bringing to completion the Constitutional scheme as defined by the Prime Minister. This is evidenced by the acceptance, with only two exceptions, of the invitations to serve on Constitutional Committees. Although the Moderates still hesitate to take the lead, there is ground for hope that Hindu opinion is slowly veering round.

The fifth assumption is that Mr. Gandhi would, as he affirmed in his telegram of January 1, have brought a genuinely open mind to the interview with the Viceroy; and that, if convinced by him, he would have made open confession and guided the Congress accordingly.

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* *The Times*, April 2, 1932.

This claim raises the complex and interesting question of Mr. Gandhi's character and motives. Considerations of space forbid exhaustive treatment of this subject, but the essential points for present purposes may be put quite shortly.

Mr. Gandhi has admitted that on several occasions the whole fabric of his efforts for peaceful moral reform has been shattered by mob violence. After the Chauri Chaura tragedy in 1921, he wrote:*

"God has been abundantly kind to me. He had warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful and Non-Violent atmosphere which alone can justify mass disobedience described as civil, gentle, truthful, humble, knowing, wilful yet loving, never criminal and hateful. God warned me in 1919, when the Rowlatt Act agitation was started. . . . The next time it was through the events of Bombay (1921) that God gave me a terrific warning. He made me eye-witness of the deeds of the Bombay mob on November 17. The humiliation was greater than in 1919. But it did me good. . . . But the bitterest humiliation was still to come. Madras *did* give the warning, yet I heeded it not. But God spoke clearly through Chauri Chaura. . . . The tragedy of Chauri Chaura is really the index-finger. It shows the way India may easily go if drastic precautions be not taken. We dare not enter the Kingdom of Liberty with mere lip homage to Truth and Non-Violence."

On this last occasion Mr. Gandhi, with great courage and devotion to his principles, suspended the whole campaign of civil disobedience, to the dismay of most of his followers. He also imposed upon himself a five days' fast, for "personal cleansing." Another fast, of 21 days, followed the Hindu-Muslim riots of 1924, but it failed to achieve Mr. Gandhi's object of obliterating inter-communal strife.

The last civil disobedience campaign, which began in 1930, was marred by outrages and murders, by terrorism of innocent people, and by fearful conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. An article in an Indian newspaper† sums up the position: "The mask of the hypocrisy of Civil Disobedience being ever intended to be non-violent in word, deed, and thought, has been torn to shreds by the merciless logic of facts, and by many events, to which not only a word of discouragement has not come from those high priests professing non-violence, but to which a gesture of approval and encouragement has been made. It has brought misery to every home and therefore to the whole people in every walk of life."

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* Cp. *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, by C. F. Andrews, pp. 284-286.

† *The Star*, October 6, 1930, quoted in *Mahatma Gandhi's Movement from Both Sides* (published by I. J. Pitt, Cambridge).

Mr. Gandhi must have grieved over many terrible incidents for which his last campaign of civil disobedience was directly responsible, but they produced upon his sensitive soul no such reactions as followed from the events of 1919, 1921, and 1924. On the contrary, after the execution of Bhagat Singh and his comrades for the cold-blooded assassination of a British police officer at Lahore, Mr. Gandhi expressed himself in terms which did not betray the same anguish of mind or humiliation. He said:*

"We must not put ourselves in the wrong by being angry. While associating myself with the tributes paid to the young patriots, I warn the youth of India against copying their example. Let us by all means copy their capacity for sacrifice and reckless courage, but not use these qualities as they did. The deliverance of this country must not be through murder."

How does he justify this change in his whole outlook? His own statements afford the explanation. He said, in *Young India*, in 1924: "I knew that Non-Co-operation was a dangerous experiment. Non-Co-operation in itself is unnatural, vicious, and sinful. But Non-Violent Non-Co-operation, I am convinced, is a sacred duty at times. I have proved it in many cases. But there was every possibility of mistake in its application to large masses. But desperate diseases call for desperate remedies. Non-Violent Non-Co-operation was the only alternative to anarchy and worse."†

In his letter of March 2, 1930, to the Viceroy, he said that he held British rule in India to be a curse, and that it was his intention to set in motion the active force of non-violence, as well against the organized violent force of British rule as against the unorganized force of the growing party of violence, although he knew that by doing so he would be running what might fairly be termed a mad risk. Finally, in his telegram of January 1, 1932, to the Viceroy, he said: "Non-violence is my absolute creed. I believe that civil disobedience is not only the natural right of people, especially when they have no effective voice in their own government, but that it also is an effective substitute for violence or armed rebellion. I can never, therefore, deny my creed."

Mr. Gandhi has moved away from the position which he took up after Chauri Chaura when he said: "This Movement is not a cloak or a preparation for violence. I would, at any rate, suffer every humiliation, every torture, absolute ostracism, and death itself, to prevent the Movement from becoming violent or a precursor of violence."* Although recent events have bitterly enforced the lessons of Chauri Chaura, he no longer shrinks from the inevitably violent outcome of civil disobedience. In October last he said it might be necessary to pay a million lives for India's liberty (*Times*, October 14). It is now his creed that he must set civil disobedience in motion, partly because British rule is a curse, and partly because non-violence is necessary to check the violence of those who are the opponents of Government outside Congress.

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* Cp. *The Times*, March 25, 1931.

† Cp. *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, by C. F. Andrews, p. 306.

It is hardly necessary to expose the fallacy in his reasoning that civil disobedience would be an effective check on armed rebellion. Two wrongs do not make a right.

Mr. Gandhi has claimed that his doctrine of civil disobedience was inspired by the New Testament. In its present form, at all events, it can have no warrant from Christianity. The answer which our Lord gave to the Pharisees when they asked him whether it was lawful to give tributes unto Cæsar or not; His submission without protest at His trial to the jurisdiction of Pilate, an alien ruler; the many injunctions† in the New Testament that the followers of Christ should be subject to principalities and powers and obedient to authority—all show that our Lord would never have sanctioned mass civil disobedience as a weapon for checking misgovernment.

Lord Acton, in his *Essay on the History of Freedom*,‡ wrote: "When Christ said 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's,' these words spoken on the last visit to the Temple, three days before His death, gave to the civil power, under the protection of conscience, a sacredness it had never enjoyed, and bounds it had never acknowledged." Our Lord reinforced the governments of the world by His supreme authority (the Hindu sacred books contain injunctions to the same effect), but He set bounds to tyranny by the example of His life. That example has penetrated the hearts of rulers and has profoundly influenced the principles and methods of government. It is "a standard set up unto the nations." But no man, however saintly his private life, can claim to be following His example, if he condemns as accursed the Government under which he lives, or incites his fellow-subjects to a form of rebellion which must lead to violence. As Lord Irwin said, in a speech on January 19, 1930, "A political movement must be judged and dealt with, not according to the professions of those who initiate it or carry it into effect, but in the light of its practical results." Wrongdoing can find no justification in the argument that it was "the only alternative to anarchy or worse."

If Mr. Gandhi were one of the world's great teachers, he would summon all to copy in their own lives his example of piety, purity, and "Ahimsa" in the widest sense, but he would resist with all his strength the exploitation of his principles for political ends. His patience under suffering and disappointment, his prayers and conscientious self-discipline, have brought comfort and help to many a soul, but he has been led astray through substituting empirical test for the inspiration of conscience. He said in 1924:* "No act of mine is done without prayer. Man is a fallible being. He can never be sure of his steps. What he may regard as answer to prayer may be an echo of his pride. For infallible guidance man has to have a perfectly innocent heart, incapable of evil. I can lay no such claim. Mine is a struggling, striving, erring, imperfect soul. But I can rise only by experimenting upon myself and others. . . . Whether, therefore, I will or not, I must involve in my own experiment the whole of my kind. Nor can I do without experiment. Life is but an endless series of experiments."

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* *Ibid.*, p. 288.

† 1 Pet. ii. 13; Rom. xiii. 1; Titus iii. 1.

‡ P. 29. (Macmillan, 1907.)

His experiments, which were intended to supplement the answers to his prayers, have failed, because in his zeal to redress injustice he has set before himself a temporal instead of a spiritual goal.

He has, to our way of thinking, left out of account charity, his duty towards his fellow man, and the power of forgiveness, without which there can be no true union of hearts and minds.

On three recent occasions a great opportunity has lain at Mr. Gandhi's feet. After his settlement at Delhi with Lord Irwin, he might have flung away the false weapon of civil disobedience and devoted his great gifts of leadership to the service of India. But he did not. He has constantly claimed that in the Delhi pact civil disobedience was not given up, but was merely discontinued during the truce by virtue of which it had become a permissible thing in case of need.

The second occasion was at the close of the Conference in London when the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri† called upon Mr. Gandhi to co-operate in fashioning the Constitution for India. He said: "The circumstances today demand that you should change your plans, dismiss civil disobedience from your mind, and take up this work in a spirit of complete trust in us and of faith in the British people too." But it was of no avail. Mr. Gandhi, in his final speech, was constrained to speak of "the parting of the ways."

The third occasion was that which is the subject of this article. Lord Willingdon, in his speech on December 30, expressed his hope that Mr. Gandhi "will agree to co-operate with us and give us the advantage of his powerful influence to help forward the solution of the great problem that is before us, namely, to secure for the Indian people responsibility for administering their own affairs." But Mr. Gandhi closed his ears and cried that he could never deny his creed.

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* *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, by C. F. Andrews, p. 306.

† Indian Round-Table Conference (Second Session) Cmd. 3997, p. 412.

His repeated refusals to turn aside from the path that he had marked out show that there was not the smallest ground for hope that he would bring an open mind to discussion with the Viceroy. The Congress leaders felt sure that Mr. Gandhi would not leave them in the lurch. All that they hoped for from the interview was a breathing space in which to perfect their plans.

Enough has been said to show that civil disobedience is not a religious creed but a policy. It was a moment of supreme test for Mr. Gandhi's statesmanship and spiritual sincerity. Could he rise above party; could he lay aside his politician's creed in India's crisis; could he, by sacrifice and self-purification, win one more moral victory, the greatest of all, over himself, and stand forth as the interpreter of all that is noblest in Hindu thought and character? He could not do this, and so he passed from the stage, but yet another chance may some day come to him before men have forgotten his leadership.

The reader must decide for himself which line of argument carries the greater conviction.

Anyone who has studied the record of Mr. Gandhi's life may well be puzzled how to reconcile his attitude during the past few years with the whole of his previous life and teaching. How can it have happened that he who has shown such intense sincerity, and is so deeply imbued with the spirit of humanity, has become identified with a policy of ruthlessness? If, as he said on his return to India, "he firmly believed that freedom would not be worth anything as long as they did not freely embrace their untouchable brethren and put them quite at ease regarding their rights,"* why did he, at the Conference, refrain from supporting the demand of the Depressed Classes for separate electorates, with the result that his reception at Bombay was marred by hostile demonstrations on the part of people whom he described as "bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh"?† Can he really endorse the Congress theory that the untouchables should be left to depend for fair treatment upon the Hindu hierarchy? Can he in his heart of hearts dispute the truth of the Viceroy's statement that the methods which Government is employing are essential for the "vindication and maintenance of the conditions on which alone political progress can be securely and successfully secured"? If the Central Government surrendered to the forces of disorder, how would it advantage those who aspire some day themselves to rule India?

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* Cp. *Statesman*, December 31, 1931. † *The Times*, December 29, 1931.

Perhaps the answer is to be found in the utterances of one of Mr. Gandhi's colleagues. Mr. Vithalbhai Patel, in a statement to the Press, made just after Mr. Gandhi's return, said that he often felt that Mr. Gandhi's attitude was hardly consistent with the spirit of the Congress mandate. Recently, while at Vienna, according to a *Daily Express* correspondent,* he explicitly stated: "Gandhi is not a revolutionary, like the rest of us, but a reformist. While Gandhi seemed to want to work for Dominion status, the rest of us wanted complete independence; while Gandhi disliked the weapon of the anti-British trade boycott, fearing it would lead to bad feeling and bloodshed, I steadily pressed for the anti-British boycott. . . . Congress overruled him, and at last he was forced to give way. . . . Our quarrel with Gandhi really goes back to the week preceding the Round-Table Conference, when Gandhi was either misled or tricked by the Viceroy into believing that, in the event of a Constitution being granted, the Conference would guarantee the future security of India 'in the interests of India.' Actually, there was never any prospect of such a guarantee being made, but Gandhi felt he had to keep his word. As the result of all these things, the influence of Gandhi among intellectual members of Congress has waned, although his remarkable hold over the masses remains as great as ever."

Mr. Gandhi has repudiated any suggestion that he was overborne by his extremist colleagues, and in his loyalty to them has said: "I am the arch-extremist." Nevertheless, it seems extremely probable that Mr. Patel's explanation is the true one. When Mr. Gandhi arrived in India, he would probably have been glad to find some avenue which would have enabled him to continue in co-operation with Government, in order that the conclusions of the Conference might be implemented. He was, however, immediately confronted with a most difficult situation created in his absence by the blunders of his subordinates; he was surrounded by men who regarded the Ordinances and the measures taken under them as cruel injustice on the part of Government; he had no opportunity of ascertaining the truth for himself, and, finally, he saw that there must be a split in the ranks of Congress if he did not accept his colleagues' interpretation of the demand for independence.

It is possible that he welcomed imprisonment as a means of escape from a spiritual bondage which was rapidly becoming intolerable to him. His best friends will hope that, during his seclusion, he will determine to sever his connection with his former associates and fearlessly follow the dictates of his conscience, as he did after the Chauri Chaura episode.

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* Cp. *Daily Express*, March 31, 1932.

INDIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION—II*

By Dr. Lanka Sundaram

(Scholar of the Hague Academy of International Law; Collaborator of the League of Nations; Member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science)

Such a state of affairs produced vigorous action from the India Office. Even before the Washington Conference Mr. Montagu, as Secretary of State for India, sent a strong dispatch dated October 7, 1919, to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to the effect that "in view of the uncertainty as to the precise meaning of the phrase 'industrial importance,' and in the absence of any indication as to the basis on which the selection of countries was made by the Organizing Committee," the whole matter should be referred to the Council of the League, which, according to the Peace Treaty, is the arbiter in case of such disputes.† Owing to the fact that the Council was not in existence before the sessions of the Washington Conference, "a situation of some difficulty arose."

On the creation of the Council Mr. Montagu sent a further letter to the Secretary-General, dated January 13, 1920, reviewing the proceedings of the Conference, which were "irregular and open to challenge." He objected that the existing Governing Body "would not in any sense be international and could not be expected to command the confidence of non-European States." Adverting to the vote of censure, he was "confident that the irregular proceedings at Washington will not be allowed to prejudice consideration of the claim of India." Concluding, Mr. Montagu observed: "If, in spite of the history of the case narrated above, of the strong claim of the extra-European nations, and of the disapproval of the constitution of the Governing Body expressed by a majority of the Conference itself, the Council of the League feel themselves on grounds of expediency unable completely to satisfy these proceedings or to include India among the eight States of chief industrial importance, I venture to suggest that the tenure of office of the Governing Body should be limited to one year, a new Governing Body being regularly set up at the next Conference, and that during this period India should be appointed as a substitute for the United States of America [whose place was tentatively filled by Denmark] until that country joins the International Labour Organization."*

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* The first part of this article appeared in the issue of October, 1931.

† I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. I., pp. 456-457.

At its second session in January, 1920, the Governing Body accepted in principle the inclusion of the question of the reform of its constitution in the agenda for the 1921 session of the International Labour Conference. It was, therefore, suggested that the claim of India should be withdrawn provisionally, since the nature of the proposals suggested might be such as to provide a solution of the problem without bringing the Indian claim before the League of Nations in accordance with paragraph 4 of Article 393 of the Covenant. No guarantee could, however, be given to the Government of India that a revision of the constitution of the Governing Body would give a seat to India. Such a compromise was unacceptable to India. As such, the Government of India through the India Office further stressed its claim in a letter of April 14, 1920, accompanied by a weighty memorandum setting out in detail the industrial importance of India. In this letter Mr. Montagu urged: "To the convincing arguments set out in the memorandum, I would only add my conviction that it would be in the best interests of the International Labour Organization to remedy, in some degree, the disproportionate representation of the non-European States by according a seat on the Governing Body to a country like India, which is not only of great importance but which is faced with labour problems of a very special character affecting large bodies of workers."†

The question was then remitted to the Governing Body at its fourth session held at Genoa on June 8, 1920.‡ Meanwhile, the India Office, in order to pursue the matter to its logical conclusion, obtained an assurance to the effect that the Secretary-General of the League would bring the matter to the notice of the Council in case no satisfactory settlement was reached at Genoa.§ Actually, the Governing Body was of opinion that to give a seat to India at this stage "was not feasible, and that there was no other scheme which was likely to meet with the approval of the Government of India."* A complete deadlock was thus reached, and, in the words of the official recorder of the International Labour Office, "the Governing Body was not competent to come to any decision in regard to the Indian claim, but they were naturally closely concerned in the matter."†

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* I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. I., pp. 459-461.

† The letter and the memorandum will be found in Annex 8 to the minutes of the II. Committee of the I. League Assembly, 1920, Vol. I., pp. 205-214 (League of Nations' Archives). Hereafter L.O.N. signifies the League of Nations.

‡ Letter from the Director of the I.L.O. to the Secretary-General of the L.O.N., dated May 10, 1920. I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. I., p. 461.

§ Letter from the India Office to the Secretary-General, dated May 27. *Ibid.*

Meanwhile, various suggestions were made with a view to satisfying the Indian claim, but on examination found to be impracticable. In consequence, this claim came up for decision at a meeting of the Council of the League held at San Sebastian. The San Sebastian resolution of the Council reveals the anxiety of the League authorities to tide over a difficulty of first-rate importance in its history. Hence it merits examination at some length.‡

The second session of the League Council was held in the Palacio de la Deputacion at San Sebastian in July, 1921. At its second meeting, in private session, on July 31, a general discussion on India's claim took place.§ Signor Tittoni (Italy) argued the following technical points: That it was impossible to change the composition of the Governing Body without invalidating the nominations of the whole; that the League Council was non-existent at the time of the appointment of the Governing Body, otherwise it could have intervened at that time; that acceptance of India's claim would mean rejection of the claim of Switzerland, which was the last on the list, without giving her remedy for election among the remaining four seats to be filled by the International Labour Conference from time to time; that India could not find a place as a substitute member, like Denmark in the place of the U.S.A.; and that the only solution was the addition of a new State to the list of Governments represented on the Governing Body in their own right, which the Council was incompetent to do.

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* Letter from the Director of the I.L.O. to the Secretary-General of the L.O.N., dated June 17, 1920. I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. I., pp. 461-462.

† I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. II., No. 2, p. 5. In this volume of the *Bulletin* the pagination is not continuous. Hence I had to mention the reference in full.

‡ A rapid survey of this episode is to be found in the I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. II., No. 2, pp. 5-6. But I have examined the records of the League Council itself, and references are hereafter taken from its *procès-verbal*.

§ *Procès-verbal* of the League Council, Vol. VII., pp. 18-23 (L.O.N. Archives).

(*To be continued.*)

SOME INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

By C. Wilfred Jenks

(Member of the Legal Section, International Labour Office, Geneva)

[The author's remarks upon this important question may usefully be read in conjunction with Mr. de Montmorency's article on p. 189.]

Such is the complexity of the Indian Constitutional problem that it is not unnatural that public opinion has given but scant attention to the importance of integrating the Constitution of Federal India with the new structure of international society. The neglect from which this aspect of the problem has suffered is in part the outcome of its novelty. The majority of existing Constitutions bear the stamp of the international anarchy. They reflect a purely national outlook and show no signs of an attempt to organize the State with a view to international co-operation. Only in recent years have any efforts been made to dig into Constitutional law and practice a substructure for the newer developments in the international field, and these efforts have remained so tentative that the Round-Table Conference may be readily excused if it ignored them and made no attempt to imitate them. The work of the Conference suffers none the less from a most unfortunate lacuna, and it is not unreasonable to hope that an opportunity will be found of repairing the omission in the course of the discussion now being held in India. For India is a Member of the League of Nations. She is one of the eight States of chief industrial importance permanently represented on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. She is an original signatory of the Kellogg Pact. She has accepted the Optional Clause. Her membership of these institutions and separate acceptance of these obligations have played and are playing no little part in her evolution towards Dominion status. It is most important that her new Constitution should underpin her international obligations.

This desideratum merges into that of securing for the Federal authorities all the powers they will require to give full effect to the further treaty engagements which India will naturally wish to assume in order to assert her newly won international status, and to take the part which is her due in shaping the destinies of the world community. Yet entangled together as these two aspects of the problem are, it will be convenient to discuss them separately. The latter has not suffered from public neglect to the same extent as the former. For while the first is novel the second is as old as Federalism itself.

I.—UNDERPINNING THE COVENANT

The importance of underpinning the Covenant by introducing appropriate provisions into the Constitutional law of each of the Members of the League is still but vaguely appreciated by the world at large. The problem is so unfamiliar that only by reference to steps actually taken in various countries can one give a clear impression of its nature. The new Spanish Constitution incorporates the principle of the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. The latest Venezuelan Constitution requires all treaties presented to the Senate for its approval of their ratification to include a compromissory clause—*i.e.*, an article providing for the reference to arbitration of all disputes concerning their interpretation. The Austrian Constitution contemplates the grant by a special law to the Constitutional Court of the right to declare invalid legislation contrary to international law. The insertion in national constitutions of provisions of this kind can play a most useful part in the development of world-government. It is not yet too late to formulate analogous proposals for insertion in the Constitution of India.

One preliminary objection may be countered at the outset. External affairs are to remain during the transitional period in charge of a Minister responsible to the Viceroy. High policy will not be under the direct control of the Indian legislature. Does this not make it difficult to define in the Constitution any standards of international policy? On the contrary, it adds to the desirability of such a course. The executive being irresponsible, the case for defining in the Constitution itself the principles which are to inspire its policy becomes much stronger. Apart from which the suggestions which I have in mind would be fully compatible with any form of organization likely to be adopted for the conduct of India's foreign relations.

My desiderata may be conveniently stated in schematic form. They are:

(*a*) An article renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, and declaring recourse to it a violation of the Constitution.

(*b*) An article requiring the insertion in every treaty negotiated on behalf of India of a compromissory clause.

(*c*) An article requiring the Federal Court to treat as invalid legislation contrary to international law.

(*d*) An article recognizing membership in the League of

Nations as an essential feature of the life of the Indian people, and prohibiting the Government from giving notice of withdrawal from the League while the Constitution remains in force.

(*e*) An article or a series of articles expressly conferring upon the executive emergency powers intended to enable it to fulfil India's obligations under the Covenant and especially under Article 16—the article which contemplates combined action against an aggressor.

These suggestions are not inspired by any perverse desire to foster the growth of legal curiosities. Each of them has an object which is intensely practical and matter-of-fact. Nor are they the expression of any unseemly wish to brand India as an inferior partner in the international family by thrusting unwonted restrictions upon her freedom. Similar provisions ought to have a place in the Constitution of every civilized State, and their desirability must be pressed upon public attention wherever Constitutional revision is in progress.

The incredulous may welcome illustrations of their practical value. It would, of course, be possible to adopt all of them in an emasculated form in which they would have no value whatsoever, but if adopted wholeheartedly and suitably drafted such provisions might be expected to have the following effects:

(*a*) The classical doctrine of the legality of war has left its mark firmly implanted upon both international and municipal law. The affirmation in new Constitutions of the illegality of war may be expected to give an impetus to important changes in several branches of private law. In at least two directions the necessity for reform is obvious. Contracts for the supply of goods to an aggressor must cease to have any legal validity, and appropriate penalties must be devised for all guilty of incitement to disturb the peace of nations. An affirmation in the Indian Constitution of the illegality of war—apart from its considerable psychological value—would be a useful step in the direction of such reforms, so far as India is concerned, even though supplementary legislation continued to be necessary to make the required changes in the law fully effective.

(*b*) A recent book by a Japanese author, *Le Droit Conventionnel International du Japon*, by K. Matsudaira, draws attention to the interesting fact that no single bilateral treaty negotiated by Japan includes a compromissory clause. To be in the world but not of it is apparently far from difficult even in modern international life. The insertion in her Constitution of an article similar to that which has found favour in Venezuela would be a guarantee that India will follow a more progressive policy.

(*c*) Nothing would do more to increase the authority of international law than the general acceptance of Professor Kelsen's principle of its supremacy over conflicting municipal rules, before municipal as well as international tribunals. The principle is at present no more than a professorial theory; this generation must transform it into positive law. It must be incorporated successively into one Constitution after another until the stage is reached at which we can speak of an international custom in virtue of which the supremacy of international over municipal rules before municipal as well as international courts has acquired the force of law. The Round-Table Conference contemplates the establishment of a Federal Court competent to pass judgment upon the constitutionality of legislation. That court should also be required to treat as invalid legislation inconsistent with recognized principles of international law.

(*d*) The most serious weakness in the present structure of the League of Nations is the right of Members to withdraw from the League on giving two years' notice. The existence of this right of withdrawal weakens the hand of the League in every serious crisis. The surrender of the right by the amendment of the Covenant is still no more than a possibility of the distant future, but, meanwhile, considerable progress might be made if Members of the League would pledge themselves in their own Constitutions not to exercise it. They would not in this way contract any international obligation, but they would make it difficult for their Governments even to threaten withdrawal, except after the prolonged public discussion which normally precedes Constitutional amendment.

(*e*) No aspect of the problem of implementing the Covenant by national legislation is of greater urgency than this is. Deny it as the reluctant may, Article 16—the principle of the common front against aggression—is the cornerstone of the Covenant. *Si vis pacem, para bellum* is a deservedly discredited maxim, but in its place we must substitute a rational scheme of common defence. If the Government of each Member of the League was equipped with emergency powers, expressly conferred upon it for the purpose of enforcing the Covenant, the application of sanctions would present considerably fewer difficulties than it at present does. Such express powers ought to be vested in the executive by every Constitution hereafter adopted by any Member of the League.

No State has yet adopted so far-reaching a programme of Constitutional innovation as that sketched here. The new Chinese Constitution, to cite but one example, makes no attempt to grapple with this problem—that of the Constitutional implications of present-day internationalism. India has an opportunity to give a lead to the world.*

II.—Federalism and International Legislation

We now approach a more familiar problem—that of the international relations of the Federal State. The difficulties which arise when Federal States lack the power to bind their constituent States upon subjects of importance in current international negotiations are too well known to require specific illustration. It is most important that the Indian Constitution should vest in the Federal Government the very widest powers to contract and enforce throughout its territory international engagements of every description. Should it fail to do so the organization of international co-operation in Asia will border on impossibility. Here we broach a most difficult problem—that of reconciling the necessities of the international situation with the rights and traditions of the Indian States. The States introduce into an otherwise familiar problem an element of complexity for which there is no exact precedent.

One cannot examine the proceedings of the Round-Table Conference without feeling that the international aspect of the Federal problem has not received the attention it deserves. The classification of subjects as Federal, Central, and Provincial was discussed by the First Session of the Conference; external affairs fell within the programme of the second. There appears to have been no full discussion of the relation between the two. Legislation required to give effect to international engagements thus escapes mention in the report devoted to the assignment of subjects to the different legislative authorities, and the assignment of subjects is equally outside the scope of the report devoted to external affairs. Unless additional proposals are formulated and accepted before the drafting of a Constitution is undertaken the Federal Legislature will not enjoy any general power to legislate to give effect to international engagements, existing or proposed. The capacity of the Federation to contract treaties the application of which involves legislation will in that event be subject to the same limitations as its legislative power, and the detailed allocation of subjects proposed therefore merits the closest attention of all who take an interest in the international relations of India.

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* Since the above lines were written the final text of the new Spanish Constitution has become available. It includes a number of provisions analogous to those suggested above.

The most detailed proposals so far published are those contained in the Report of the Joint Committee of the Federal Structure and Provincial Constitutional Sub-Committees of the First Session of the Round-Table Conference. Many subjects of international importance are here classified as Federal. Aircraft is to be Federal. Shipping and navigation are to be Federal for policy and legislation. Lighthouses, beacons, and buoys are to be Federal. Port quarantine is to be Federal, so far as international requirements are concerned. The postal services and currency and coinage are to be Federal, subject to adjustment with the States in matters of detail. Commerce (including banking and insurance), the cultivation and manufacture of opium and its sale for export, inventions and designs, copyright, the control of arms and ammunition, are all to be Federal for policy and legislation. This list covers an important part of the field of present-day international co-operation, but it is far from covering the whole. The most conspicuous omission is labour legislation, which will be discussed in the next section in connection with India's relations with the International Labour Organization. Meanwhile, it may be well to insist that if it proves impossible to give the Federal Legislature any general authority to legislate to give effect to treaty commitments India will be under a perpetual handicap in international negotiations. If, despite the important part which their representatives would take in the consideration of such legislation, the Princes should be unwilling to accept such a solution, we must be content with a makeshift. The allocation of subjects discussed in London was never intended as a final pronouncement upon the subject. It would be well to have it thoroughly re-examined from a distinctively international point of view. Such questions as whether the Federal Government should not have certain legislative powers in respect of public health for the purpose of future co-operation with the League Health Organization and whether similar powers may not be necessary if India is to participate effectively in the international discussion of agricultural problems deserve particularly careful consideration.

III.—The Problem of India's Relations with the International Labour Organization

Here we approach a problem where further exploration of the ground is less necessary. The issues are already fairly clearly defined. There have been several discussions in the Round-Table Conference and the Whitley Commission has given us the benefit of its views. The problem may be stated in the following terms. Under her present Constitution India has found it possible to be one of the most active members of the International Labour Organization. She has ratified twelve conventions, a larger number than any other Asiatic State has accepted. The powers of legislation which the Central authorities have hitherto enjoyed concurrently with the Provinces have made it possible to secure the application of these conventions throughout British India. They have not, however, been applied in the States. In several cases the International Labour Conference has exempted India from any obligation in respect of the States by the insertion in conventions of special limitative clauses. In other cases conventions have been ratified on the understanding that obligations were only being assumed on behalf of British India. The prospect of Federation has brought with it new problems. The view has been expressed that as Federation will involve a relaxation of the control of the Central over the Provincial Governments it will be impossible for the former to retain concurrent legislative authority if responsibility for administration remains with the latter. Centralized administration has been argued to be impossible and the conclusion reached that legislation should also be exclusively provincial. This view did not prevail at the Round-Table Conference which preferred to retain the existing system of concurrent authority, but since the possibility has been suggested and cannot yet be considered to have been finally rejected the disastrous consequences which such a step would have must still be given every possible publicity. The second element in the problem is the anomalous position of the States. There is no doubt that it is all India and not British India alone which is a Member of the League and Labour Organization, but it has not yet proved possible to secure the application in the States of either League or I.L.O. conventions. The fear has been expressed that if the States enter an All-India Federation on terms which do not permit the Federation to enforce within their territory the provisions of labour conventions it will cease to be possible to ratify conventions even on behalf of British India. An attempt will be made below to exorcize this fear, while at the same time underlining the essential points in the case for making labour legislation a Federal subject, and sketching alternative proposals designed to make possible the eventual inclusion of the States in ratifications if the solution of Federal legislation proves impossible of achievement.

The Consequences of Provincialization.—If all authority to legislate upon labour questions were devolved upon the Provinces India would no longer be in a position to ratify International Labour Conventions and might even be obliged to denounce some of those by which she is at present bound. The Central Government having lost its control of legislation could no longer undertake to secure the application of their provisions. The consequences would be twofold. The stimulus which the desire to ratify conventions has had upon Indian legislation in recent years would be lost, and India's industrial competitors, knowing India to be unable to ratify, would also be unlikely to bind themselves to an international standard. This would be particularly true of China and Japan. The Governments of those countries would find it very difficult to resist the pressure of industrial interests opposed to ratification if those interests could always plead the incapacity of India to contract international obligations as a reason for not imposing upon them restrictions and social charges not shared by their competitors. The magnitude of the issue hardly requires emphasis. It is the very possibility of promoting by international action social progress in Asia which is at stake. Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say that the whole future of the I.L.O. hinges on the decision now being taken by the Constitution-makers of India. The international regulation of industrial conditions in Asia will be completely impossible if India is constitutionally incapacitated from taking part in it. And with Asia out of the picture, the whole movement for the promotion of greater uniformity of conditions will become a shadowy unreality—the ghost not of past achievement but of things which might have been. For the same problem of the anti-social competitor will at once re-occur on the world scale.

In the light of this perspective the alleged advantages of provincialization prove either negligible or unreal. The Whitley Commission did not look with any favour upon the suggestion that central legislation and provincial administration are necessarily quite incompatible once Central control over the Provincial Governments is relaxed. It expresses a preference for centralized administration, but adds that if such centralization is considered undesirable, " we believe that the difficulties of combining central legislation with provincial administration must be faced, as this combination is, in our view, infinitely preferable to the complete withdrawal of legislative power from the centre. So far as we are in a position to judge, the difficulties involved in this combination are not likely to be confined to the sphere of labour, and we do not doubt that methods can be devised for surmounting them." That such methods can be found is amply proved by the experience of Germany, Switzerland, Mexico, the Argentine, and the U.S.S.R., which have all found such a division of responsibility a workable Constitutional device.

Another item in the stock-in-trade of provincializers is the desirability of encouraging initiative and experiment on a local scale. To this suggestion the Whitley Commission again supplies the answer.

> "It is relevant, however, to observe in this connection that the issue, as it presents itself to us, is not whether all labour legislation should or should not be central, but whether it is not desirable that the centre as well as the Provinces should retain the power of legislation. We believe that there is a wide field for provincial legislation. In particular, there are valuable possibilities of experiments in new directions on a provincial scale. On the merits of the whole case we have no hesitation in recommending that legislative powers in respect of labour should continue with the Central Legislature, and that the provincial legislatures should also have power to legislate. Labour legislation undertaken in the Provinces should not be allowed to impair or infringe the legislation of the centre or its administration."

It has been possible under the present system for Bombay and the Central Provinces to establish systems of maternity benefit after the rejection of similar proposals at Delhi. Equal scope for provincial initiative can be secured under the new Constitution without sacrificing the advantages of concurrent central authority, while in the absence of a stimulus from the centre the likelihood of any Province taking a bold initiative is small. To quote once again the Whitley Report:

> "If legislation were left to the Provinces there would be many occasions in which a Province would have a very difficult choice. It would either have to refuse to adopt a salutary reform or run the risk of placing its own industrialists at a disadvantage as against their rivals in another Province, and possibly of encouraging industry to migrate outside the Province. . . . Even if public opinion in every Province desired some reform, industrialists would insist on a guarantee that their rivals would accept the reform before binding themselves to it. Each Province would thus tend to wait on action elsewhere and all would be at a disadvantage."

Labour Legislation as a Federal Subject.—Much the most satisfactory solution of the problem would be the attribution to the Federal Legislature of authority to legislate upon labour questions for all India. The desirability of this was pressed upon the attention of the first session of the Round-Table Conference by the representatives of Indian Trade Unionism. Since then there has been further discussion of the matter but no final decision has been taken. Mr. Joshi raised the question in the Federal Structure Committee this year and outlined a very attractive plan. He suggested granting the Federal Legislature powers of legislation concurrent with those of Provinces and States. Administration, on the other hand, he would leave to States and Provinces with the reservation that the Federal Government should have the power to spend money on matters dealt with by the Federal Legislature. There would be an express provision that the ratification of international conventions was within the authority of the Federal Government and Legislature. This scheme has much to recommend it. It fully secures the power of the Federal Legislature to unify standards and give effect to international engagements, but it does not make centralized administration a *sine qua non* and thus leave the States that part of their autonomy which they value most. Sir Akbar Hydari, who followed Mr. Joshi in the discussion, gave him a welcome assurance that so far as Hyderabad was concerned there would be no unwillingness to come to some agreement which would safeguard the rights of labour on purely humanitarian grounds. The nature and scope of the agreement which Sir Akbar had in mind remain to be seen.

Mr. Joshi's suggestions were not discussed in detail by the Committee, but when he enquired at its closing meeting whether the chairman intended to make any proposal upon the subject Lord Sankey acknowledged its great importance and declared that while there had not been an opportunity to carry the matter further during the session then closing it would certainly require further consideration. It is "most devoutly to be desired" that this further consideration should lead to the acceptance of Mr. Joshi's proposals. The Federal Government would then be in a position to ratify International Labour Conventions without reservation and to secure their application throughout its territory. It would also be able to forestall any tendency for industry to migrate towards States with backward legislation and inferior conditions.

An Alternative Programme of Co-operation.—It would be a mistake to assume that if the Federal solution is unattainable the effective co-operation of India in the work of the I.L.O. will cease to be possible. Provided the principle of central legislation is retained the position will be far from desperate and we need not despair of finding means which will make possible the ratification of conventions on behalf of British India alone in a form free from all legal objections. It is noteworthy that several of the conventions ratified by India contain articles limiting to British India the obligations assumed by India by ratification. If labour legislation remains a central subject India will always be able to request the International Labour Conference to insert similar articles in future conventions in order to enable her to ratify. In this way she will still be able to play a considerable part in the promotion of international standards even though not entitled to speak on behalf of the States.

If this much can be achieved now there is no reason to despair of ultimately bringing the States within the range of influence of the I.L.O. One of the most attractive proposals contained in the Whitley Report is the establishment of an Industrial Council for India, in which, it is suggested, those States in which there is appreciable industrial development might be prepared to co-operate. The Whitley Commission itself recognizes that "a Council constituted as we have suggested would naturally be brought into close contact with the International Labour Organization," and adds: "It would obviously be well qualified to advise on the Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference. There should be little difficulty in establishing a convention whereby the central legislature referred the decisions of this Conference to the Council, which in turn would forward its conclusions to the Legislature." If some of the States were to co-operate in a body with such functions they might in time be prepared to apply in their own territories the conventions brought to their notice in this way. The Whitley Commission recorded its conviction that "we feel sure that any States which are willing to co-operate will be equally ready to agree that the conclusions of the Council on legislation should automatically receive early consideration at the hands of the competent authority within the State." An analogous procedure might be adopted whenever the Industrial Council proposed the ratification of a convention on behalf of British India. By such a procedure at least the more important States could be given an opportunity of examining the provisions of each convention and announcing individually whether or not they could consent to being included in the scope of intended ratifications. If the International Labour Conference were prepared to include in conventions a special clause defining the limits within which they are to apply to India, it would be unlikely to refuse its approval to a drafting of that clause which would make it possible to include within the scope of a given ratification any States prepared to agree to such a course. Such a clause could always be drafted in a form which would permit the subsequent extension to the States of conventions originally ratified on behalf of British India alone.

IV

It remains to suggest immediate steps which may be commended to the attention of those responsible for the solution of India's Constitutional problems. It is admitted on all hands that the actual drafting of a Constitution cannot be undertaken for some months to come. There is still time for a thorough investigation of all the international implications of India's Constitutional problem. It might be wise to appoint two committees of investigation, one to examine how far the new Constitution can be made to underpin the Covenant, another to reconsider the proposed classification of subjects, possibly in conjunction with representatives of international organizations. Meanwhile advantage can be taken of the detailed negotiations with the States which are presumably now taking place to secure that further discussion of the status of labour legislation which Lord Sankey has promised. If full advantage can be taken of these various opportunities India will reap the fruits in an international status and reputation which may well be envied by us all.

A CHAPTER ON THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN WOMEN IN EARLY TIMES*

By Mary E. R. Martin

"By educating a boy you get an educated individual, but by educating a girl you get an educated family."—Paul Bert.

One of the earliest treatises on the education of the women of India was written in English by an Indian, and is the subject for discussion in this article. It was the late Rev. K. M. Banerjea, D.L., C.I.E., who, during the middle of the nineteenth century, had the privilege of bringing before the notice of European readers the educational status of women in his country. The little volume happily attracted the attention of European residents in India, who afterwards participated with influential Indians in the scheme of establishing institutions for the spread of education. Dr. Banerjea was eminently qualified for this task, for he was not only an ardent advocate of the education of Indian women, but also a renowned Sanskrit scholar and a very distinguished Indian of his day. He died in 1885. It must be remembered that the views held by him were applicable to the time in which he lived, and it is interesting to compare the former position of Indian women with that held by them at the present day, when they are making rapid strides towards educational and social development. To understand the value of Mr. Banerjea's *Essay on Indian Female Education* it is essential to give a short account of the earlier history of women's education in Bengal. This goes back as early as 1817. The School Society, in co-operation with Raja Radhakanta Deb, admitted both boys and girls into its vernacular schools, but this effort was not very successful. In 1819 some European ladies felt the necessity of imparting education to Hindu girls, and they formed the Female Juvenile Society, which helped to found several girls' schools in Calcutta. The British and Foreign School Society sent Miss Cook in 1821 to help in the project of the above-mentioned Society. She started work under great difficulties, but under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society she was able to continue her work with great zest. As a result still more girls' schools were opened in Calcutta. Soon after, the Bengal Ladies' Society, consisting of resident European ladies in Calcutta, was formed under the patronage of Lady Amherst.

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* This article is intended to be a critical study of Dr. K. M. Banerjea's *Prize Essay on Indian Female Education*.

It established many schools in different parts of Bengal which were placed under the direct management of Christian missionaries. In 1849 Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, President of the Council of Education, in co-operation with several distinguished Bengali educationists, founded a girls' school run on non-sectarian lines; this was destined to be the future Bethune College in Cornwallis Square, Calcutta. The school met with much opposition at first from the orthodox sections of the Hindu community; but Mr. Bethune had the satisfaction of earning the gratitude of educated and influential Hindus, who gave him strong support in the cause of female education in Bengal. Dr. Duff's Hindu Girls' School was established in 1857, for the instruction of high-caste girls. It is now a prosperous Middle English School, with a large number of students, including a married ladies' class.

In 1840 three prizes of Rs. 200 each were entrusted to Captain Jameson for the best essay written on *Indian Female Education* in each of the three Provinces. Mr. Banerjea was one of the competitors, and the scope of the essay was thus described by him: "The essay is expected to comprehend an ample statement of the present condition of the females of Bengal, a succinct view of the position which they ought to occupy, and a full explanation of the most practicable and suitable means of conveying to them those educational benefits which may tend to raise them to that position." The competition was open only to Indians, and the adjudicators were the Rev. Dr. Charles, the Rev. J. Macdonald, Mr. D. Macfarlan, and Mr. J. A. F. Hawkins. Mr. Banerjea had long conceived the idea of writing something on the subject of female education, and the announcement of the competition offered an opportunity which he could not avoid. The adjudicators considered Mr. Banerjea's essay the best of those submitted from Bengal, and he obtained the prize. As the chief object of writing the essay was to call public attention to the subject, he was encouraged by friends to publish it, and a number of well-known Europeans and Indians interested in the subject subscribed for the book in advance. He dedicated it to Lady Nicolls,* in the form of an epistolary letter, expressing his "sincere tribute of respect and esteem" for her sympathetic interest in the welfare of Indians. The first edition of the book was published in 1841 from the Bishop's College Press, Calcutta. Encouraged by the reception of the book, the author brought out a second and revised edition of it in 1848, published by R. C.

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* She was the wife of the then Commander-in-Chief of India, General Sir Jasper Nicolls, K.C.B. (1778-1849). Lady Nicolls died in Rome while returning to England from India. She was deeply interested in the cause of female education. Her benevolence and personality gained for her a large number of friends amongst both Europeans and Indians.

Lepage and Co., Calcutta. In this edition Mr. Banerjea omitted the dedication to Lady Nicolls, but added a preface in which he repeated the circumstances under which it was first composed and published.

Before bringing out the second edition, he carefully revised the text and made many alterations improving both the language and style. He inserted additional paragraphs emphasizing the arguments for higher education and deleted others. The language employed in the concluding pages of the second edition is much more restrained than in the first, and impresses the reader as being less fervid.*

The *Essay* was divided into three chapters. The first one dealt with the condition of Indian women as it then existed. It was devoted to a review of the institutions of Hinduism affecting the interests of women, and gave an account of their actual condition; the laws to which they were severally subjected, as maidens, matrons, or widows, were briefly surveyed; and the actual station they occupied was comprehensively described, including the comforts they enjoyed, the privations they endured, the hopes and fears by which they were inspired and depressed, as well as the general features which distinguished their characters. The book contained elaborate accounts of the ceremonies to be observed at child-birth, and they were compared with those of the Levitical dispensation. He pointed out that the education of girls was entirely omitted, and after they had grown up only those belonging to the three higher castes were allowed to hear the Vedas read. No woman was allowed to study grammar and scientific works written in Sanskrit, though they were given the impossible permission to study that language if it could be done without the aid of "authorized grammars." Although so many obstacles were imposed by law against female education, it must be recorded in favour of the *Shastras* that they expressed commendation for the few Indian women who somehow managed to study and gain a knowledge of literature. One of these was Lilavati, the daughter of Udayanadarya, who wrote treatises on the *Nyaya* and *Jyotis*, though some doubt has been expressed whether the treatise on *Nyaya* was actually by Lilavati. Another famous woman was Maitreyi, who was instructed by her husband in the Vedas and in esoteric philosophy. A tribute of grateful acknowledgment was paid by the writer to Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, for passing the Act abolishing Sati in 1833. With reference to the general condition of Indian women, there were two points which must not be overlooked. One was, that an Indian lady who did not become a widow till she reached middle age and who possessed property or who had sons willing to support her, was in a better position than a younger widow. The older widows spent a large portion of their time in religious observances, looking forward to the time when death would release them from sorrow. The other point was that women belonging to the lower castes enjoyed a greater degree of freedom than those of the higher ones, and they were allowed to walk about in public.

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* An appreciative review of this book appeared in the *Englishman*, Calcutta, November 14, 1848.

The second chapter dealt with the education which the women of Bengal should receive and the social position they ought to occupy. He gave his reason for educating Indian girls and what should be their rightful position in society. To a writer possessing such a religious and philosophical mind, the principal question regarding the amelioration of the condition of Indian women would be an enquiry into the purpose of God concerning them. He rightly asks whether, as the gift of education had been granted to European women, would it be likely to be God's will to deny similar advantages to Indian women? He declared that the Bible laid down the positive fact that woman should be the companion of man. If so, then woman must have been endowed by the Creator with qualities enabling her to discharge those functions which "must presuppose mental and spiritual illumination." Mr. Banerjea asserted quite plainly that every Indian woman must "be respected, loved, honoured, and generously treated, as the weaker vessel indeed, but for that very reason with the greater regard and affection that her fragile heart and tender feelings might not be bruised by harsh provocation or insulting words." He was probably describing his own married life when picturing the happiness and companionship of those who were real companions to their husbands. He painted a beautiful picture of conjugal and religious life as it ought to be, and, in doing so, he was really describing the time when in his beloved country worship would be conducted according to the "revealed will" of God, with the "husband and wife striving in unison to secure their eternal salvation." In supporting the contention that women should be educated on liberal lines, Mr. Banerjea described what celebrated women in Europe had been able to accomplish. He cited the example of Queen Elizabeth and her encouragement of literature and philosophy and also the erudition of Lady Jane Grey. Among instances of advanced learning belonging to a later period, he mentioned the names of Hannah More, Mary Somerville, Mrs. Hemans, Maria Edgeworth, and others. Tribute was paid to the progress education had made in India since the first appearance of his book, for he wrote that "every schoolboy in Calcutta had learnt enough to understand" the position achieved by European ladies with regard to education.

He also laid down the maxim that only educated mothers could really influence their children and bring them up in the best way. The remainder of the chapter contains earnest appeals for the improvement of the widows' lot, the spiritual elevation of women in general, and for their realization that they also possess souls and spirits "no less immortal" than those of their male relations. Mr. Banerjea's patriotism inspired him with the thought that, through the emancipation of women, the Bengali nation would be raised "to the highest pitch of civilization and refinement." He, however, did not suggest what sort of education should be given to girls, and therefore no curriculum was laid down. It is interesting to note that the second edition contains a letter from a Bengali friend, the brother of an educated girl, then, unfortunately, deceased. This (presumably the daughter of Babu Prosunna Kumar Tagore) was referred to by Mr. Banerjea as a great example to her countrywomen. The writer of the letter pleaded earnestly for suitable education to be given to Indian girls, and begged Mr. Banerjea to explain his "plan of education," and also requested that books "in English and Bengali upon the Hamiltonian system should be published," enabling English teachers to instruct their Indian pupils more thoroughly.

In the last chapter Mr. Banerjea discussed in detail how the amelioration of Bengali women might be effected in the then existing circumstances. In the opening sentences he explained the disadvantages under which he laboured, comparing the various arguments he had previously set forth. The best means for raising his countrywomen had to be suggested. Bengali gentlemen were acute enough to understand that higher education was the prelude to the appearance of women in public, and not only so, but the imparting of education also involved mixing with girls of inferior castes and any such intercourse had always been jealously guarded against. Some schools had been started in Calcutta by the Ladies' Society with the scantiest success, and the only one which had at all succeeded was the Central School in Cornwallis Square attended by scholars of the lowest castes, to which an enlightened gentleman, Rajah Buddinath Roy, had contributed Rs. 20,000. In view of the difficulties attending efforts to promote education by means of schools, Mr. Banerjea advocated the plan of private instruction which has since been adopted with inestimable advantage to all concerned. He also drew attention to the fact that the Greek Churches when confronted with the same difficulty employed women to impart private education, and suggested that the Council of Education should take the matter up and induce Indian gentlemen to "give up rooms in their inner courts" to enable foreign ladies to open schools for selected pupils of suitable families. In fact, an instance of a European governess, engaged by a private family for the education of their daughter, was already known, and Mr. Banerjea explained that such an action on the part of Babu Prosunno Kumar Tagore was "no ordinary exhibition of moral fortitude" in those days. It is sad to reflect that this daughter, the first Indian lady to receive European education, should have met with an early death. Had her life been spared, her example, and her father's courage in giving her a good education, would have had a great effect in promoting educational advantages for Indian girls. With his unfaltering judgment he pointed out that Bengali gentlemen would have been better convinced of the benefits of education had they been accorded more opportunities of observing its enlightening effects on European society. The great success attending the efforts of one Englishman, who had started "conversational parties" and invited Indians and English to his house, was very marked, and we may say in passing that the need for such informal gatherings is just as important now as it was then.

When he first wrote this *Essay* not a single son of Indian Christian parents had become a member of Bishop's College, and those "catechists" who had passed through it came from the "Hindu and Medical Colleges," and had subsequently embraced Christianity. Mr. Banerjea was eminently practical and looked facts in the face. It was not sufficient to have a spiritual perception of the needs of women—unless there were means to meet those needs and to give them sufficient leisure for household duties to realize them. The question, therefore, of female education was closely linked with that of the social amelioration of the Indian people. He did not entirely exonerate the British from responsibility in the matter. Mr. Banerjea at the same time was careful to point out in what respect the British rule had been advantageous to India. The argument continued that much more remained to be done in promoting the improvement of economic conditions and the development of Indian talent. The *Essay* finally ended with an earnest exhortation to his countrymen to use every means to improve the condition of India by reforming their own homes and by co-operating in the "philanthropic efforts of Europeans" directed towards the same objects.

There are further evidences of Mr. Banerjea's zeal in the cause of female education. In a sermon delivered by him on behalf of the Ladies' Society for Indian Female Education at the Old Church, Calcutta, on Sunday, February 11, 1849, he stressed the importance of educating Indian women and thereby enabling them to fulfil their duties as wives and mothers. As long as only half India received education and women were left out, there was no chance of evangelization. He also pointed out the duty of the Christian community towards the women of India, and that wholehearted support should be given to the Ladies' Society on account not only of the work in which they were engaged, but also because of their critical financial position.

While Mr. Banerjea was endeavouring to arouse public opinion in India concerning female education, Mary Carpenter* was espousing the same cause in England, and her visits to India for that purpose were inspired by the reforming zeal and personality of the Rajah Rammohun Roy during his stay in Britain. Miss Carpenter took a keen interest in the welfare of Indian women and paid four visits to India during the cold seasons of 1866, 1868, 1870, and in 1875. She spent her time in travelling about the country, visiting the Presidency towns, inspecting Government and missionary schools and other institutions of learning. Wherever she went, she never failed to investigate the conditions of female educational progress, and on several occasions Miss Carpenter addressed meetings of Indian gentlemen and ladies on the subject of education. Meetings were also arranged with the leaders of various religious denominations and opinions, with whom schemes were discussed for promoting education and social reform.† During her visit to Calcutta in December, 1866, the Educational Section of the Bethune Society held a meeting in the theatre of the Medical College, when Miss Carpenter spoke on "The Reformatory School System with Reference to Female Crime," under the chairmanship of Sir J. B. Phear. Amongst those who took a prominent part in the proceedings were Mr. Banerjea, the Rev. John Long, Kissory Chand Mitra, and Keshub Chunder Sen. Mr. Banerjea moved a resolution to the effect that the section of the Bethune Society devoted to female education be asked to consider and report on the scheme of female education described by Miss Carpenter. In the course of a short speech supporting the resolution, he remarked "that female education was no novelty in this country, as both tradition and history testified to the existence of female learning in ancient India. Lilavati was a reputed mathematician, and the wife of Kalidasa, a woman well read in literature and the *Shastras*. The latter had taken a vow that she would not marry anyone but the man who would have completely proved the superiority of his own attainments to those of her own in an open literary debate. One by one she vanquished all the learned men of her time, who, to have their revenge upon her, produced before her Kalidasa, a reputed blockhead, as a literary giant, at whose feet they would be proud to learn. She was duped by some contrivance on the part of these men, and she accepted Kalidasa as her husband, but it was not long before she found her mistake. The gods took compassion upon Kalidasa and made him the poet of all poets." After adverting to similar instances of female learning, the eloquent speaker exhorted his countrymen, who claimed such an antiquity, to rouse themselves to action and ameliorate the present uneducated condition of their women. He hoped that they would soon give Miss Carpenter an opportunity of hearing that her mission to India had borne good fruit.*

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* Mary Carpenter was born on April 3, 1807. She was the eldest daughter of Dr. Lant Carpenter, a nonconformist minister. In 1831, her father made the acquaintance of Raja Rammohun Roy at Bristol. She founded the National Indian Association, in conjunction with Keshub Chunder Sen, soon after her return from India in 1871. She died at Bristol on June 15, 1877. See *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter*, by J. Estlin Carpenter. Macmillan and Co., 1881.

† *Six Months in India*, 2 vols., by Mary Carpenter. Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1868.

The education of Indian women was so near to Mr. Banerjea's heart that even on his death-bed one of his last commissions to his daughters and others gathered round him was, "Work for the women of India." He lived long enough to see the turning of the tide in favour of higher education amongst Indian women and girls, and it is interesting to know how deeply he was concerned about them and how loyal and true he was to the best interests of his country and to the cause of Christianity. Since the publication of his book Indian women are indeed waking up with new visions and ideals, thus setting a noble example to other women in the East who are also striving for their freedom. Towards that consummation, the establishment of universities, colleges, and schools throughout India has given an invaluable impetus, to which may be added the development of social, religious, and political reforms in which Indian women are taking an ever-increasing and important share.†

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* See pp. 14-15 of *Addresses to Hindus Delivered in India*, by Mary Carpenter. Longmans and Co., 1867.

† This article will form one of the chapters of his projected biography now in preparation, under the editorship of Mr. Harihar Das, who has already contributed a long account of Dr. Banerjea's life and career to *Bengal, Past and Present* (April, July, October, 1929).

CORRESPONDENCE

CEYLON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

SIR,

The Government of Ceylon has recently appointed a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the existence of hitherto unknown documents relating to the history of the island, which are extant in the hands of private individuals and of institutions. Many important documents have been removed from the island, and have found their way into private collections; there are others among the private papers of those who have had official or semi-official connection with the affairs of Ceylon, or who have at various times had occasion to visit its shores. To illustrate this point, the most important original authority for the period of the Portuguese occupation came to light in Rio de Janeiro, and of recent years much light has been thrown on the taking over of Ceylon by the British, by papers in private hands in Scotland.

The majority of such papers will be concerned with the history of the island during the last four centuries, but it is possible that there may be also some " sannases " (engraved copper plates) and " olas " (inscribed palm leaves) dating perhaps from pre-European times, preserved as curiosities in private or even public collections. We are anxious to ascertain the whereabouts of such documents, and therefore ask you to allow this letter to appear in your valuable columns. If any of your readers are in a position to afford us any information, we shall be most grateful if they will put it at our disposal by writing to the Secretary of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission, Government Archives, Colombo, or to me.

Thanking you for your courtesy in inserting this letter.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
S. A. PAKEMAN.
Chairman, Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
COLOMBO.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
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RETIRED CONSULAR OFFICERS

SIR,

Recently the undersigned retired Consuls-General had the opportunity of meeting, and we concurred in our conversation as to the deplorable fact that we had so little contact with any of our former colleagues who had retired upon completing their services abroad; and the suggestion is that consular officers who have retired should communicate with one of the undersigned, c/o the Manchester Ship Canal Company, 120, Fenchurch Street, E.C. 3, giving his present address, so that consideration may be given as to whether it might not be feasible to form a Consular Society for retired officers which would allow of occasional meetings, luncheons, or dinners, and enable the *esprit de corps* of the service in which we have been to be kept alive, and possibly also to render some service that may be of value in connection with matters that may arise from time to time.

Yours truly,

A. CARNEGIE ROSS, late Consul-General, San Francisco.
H. A. RICHARDS, late Consul-General, Chicago.
HARRY G. ARMSTRONG, late Consul-General, New York.

120, FENCHURCH STREET,
LONDON, E.C. 3.
March 10, 1932.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE FINANCIAL CRISIS IN INDIA

By B. R. Shenoy, M.A.

(The author, a graduate of the Benares Hindu University, is now writing a thesis on "Some Aspects of a Central Bank for India" at the London School of Economics.)

I

In the interests of a proper perspective, the world dimensions of the present financial crisis have to be borne in mind in a discussion of the crisis in India. Beginning with the financial embarrassments in Austria in the summer of 1931, which was the signal for the world financial crisis—just as the slump in Wall Street at the close of the speculative boom was the signal for the world economic crisis which began in the autumn of 1929—there followed events which resulted in England, practically the whole of the Commonwealth, except the Union of South Africa, after her, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Japan, going off gold, inevitably, perhaps, in some cases and in defence of trade in others. If to this list we add China, which was never on it, more than half the world today is away from the gold standard. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation Bill,* which is designed, with its 2,000 million dollars capital, "to free frozen assets, relieve the depositors in closed banks, release industrial and manufacturing credit, and extend financial relief to farmers," shows that even the wealthiest country in the world is not entirely free from the effects of the cold blast that is now sweeping over the wearied face of the "Old World." France, which seemed to be comparatively free from both the world slump and the financial crisis, is now showing signs of ailment in both respects. Remaining on the gold standard, therefore, is neither a sign nor a guarantee of the financial sound-health of a country.

When England went off the gold standard on September 21, 1931, it was obvious, in view of her high importance in world finance, that others would follow. With the quick decision to maintain the link of the rupee to sterling, India was only the first to fall in line. The linking of the rupee to sterling meant that neither the rupee nor sterling could rise or fall in terms of gold without taking the other with it. For, supposing one of the two alone tended to go up in terms of gold, then the offer of the other to the currency authority, which is the Government in India, in return for the first on the 1s. 6d. basis (for the profit the transaction would involve), would bring about an inflation in terms of the first and a deflation in terms of the second, until the gold value of both the rupee and sterling are on the same level. The working of both these processes, however, would depend upon the willingness of the currency authority to buy sterling in the one case, and sell it in the other, without restraint.

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* Received the assent of President Hoover on January 22, 1932.

II

It is convenient to discuss the effects of the crisis in India roughly under three heads: the effects on our gold position, on our sterling securities, and on our industry and trade. Of these only the first is being given some attention; for, whereas the loss in the value of sterling securities is a silent operation, and the stimulus to industry and trade is indirect and to that extent obscured, the export of gold is visible and has become conspicuous.

The depreciation of sterling by about 20 per cent. only four days after its severance from gold, and its still further fall by about 32 per cent. in the second week of December, as revealed by the sterling-dollar exchange rate (or the cross-rate as it is called in India), appreciated gold in terms of rupees to a corresponding extent, as was evident in the prices ruling for both gold bullion and sovereign.* But, considering the degree of depreciation of the rupee, the rise in the price of gold allowed a visible margin of about 5 per cent. when the purchases were made, with prospects of additional profits when the exchanges still went down, in a transaction which in normal times permits a margin of only ½ or ¼ per cent. In a period of trade depression this was tempting to business men on the one hand, and the rise in the rupee price of gold induced the owner to part with it on the other. The result was that, since the last week of September, 1931, gold to the value of about £40 millions sterling has left India, partly for America, but chiefly via London to France and other Continental countries. This is equal to the normal value of the normal output of the mines of South Africa, although in some weeks it was higher. It is difficult to estimate what part of these exports form "distress gold" representing the hoarded savings of the people, who, being hard hit by the general depression, are liquidating them to meet their current liabilities.

With a view to conserve the country's stock of gold, it was suggested that the Government of India should either levy an embargo on the export of gold, as certain countries that have gone off gold had done, or purchase it from the market at a price consistent with the sterling-dollar exchange rate *minus* the cost of transport. The latter course, it was pointed out, had the additional advantage of strengthening the gold reserves of the Government, making possible an earlier return to the gold standard.

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* The price of the sovereign, which was about Rs.13-11-0 in Bombay before sterling went off gold, rose by about 4as. each time the sterling-dollar rate fell by 0·1 until, on occasions, it reached about Rs.19-2-0.

Whatever the practical difficulties (and also the legal difficulty in the case of the latter) of enforcing them, both these alternative proposals seem to be based on the assumption that the mere conservation of the country's stock of gold is in itself a desirable proposition. Though it is merely a weakness which India shares in common with all other civilized communities, the traditional bias in favour of the ownership of gold makes it difficult to regard it as a mere commodity, which it would be to one's benefit to part with at a profit. If only it could be so regarded, much of the mental unrest which the export of the metal on a large scale gives rise to in all countries concerned would appear largely out of place. The embargo on the export of gold would have meant that the distressed person who parts with his gold today would get less in rupees; and its purchase by the Government, whatever its apparent attractions in the promise of an earlier return to gold—if indeed the return were desirable in its orthodox form—would perhaps only have meant its disposal at a later date by the latter. Besides, the export of the metal by accentuating the balance of trade has enabled the Government of India to purchase sterling at favourable rates on a larger scale than would otherwise have been possible. By these sterling remittances the Secretary of State* has been enabled, without recourse to further borrowing, to repay the outstanding £11,213,428 of the India 5½ per cent. loan due on the 15th January, 1932, and to give notice of the repayment of 6 per cent. sterling bonds due on the 15th June, 1932. The inflation of Rs. 50 crores which these operations have resulted in makes up for the contraction of currency affected during the period of falling commodity prices, and helps to relieve the stringency in the money-market during the present busy season.

III

The situation as regards trade and industry is not quite as simple. The depreciation of the internal currency of a country, relatively to the external currencies, results in a bounty on the exports of that country, while at the same time acting as a deterrent to her imports. This is not to say that currency depreciation leads to national prosperity. If indeed prosperity were to depend on such an easy device, then we would have been faced with a never-ending currency depreciation race all over the world. The stimulus to trade and industry is the only relieving feature in an otherwise unstable condition (affecting the distribution of income), created by a depreciated currency. But this stimulus depends and lasts only so long as money-wages and salaries remain stable and the competing countries do not go off the gold standard also. Trade Unionism being still largely undeveloped, the first of these two factors may be expected to hold good in India, while the second has to be compounded with "the depreciation tariffs" raised by certain countries against British and Indian goods on the one hand, and the suspension of the gold standard by nearly half the world upon the other.

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* The statement issued by the India Office on February 23, 1932, shows that since April 1, 1931, the net remittance to Home Treasury was £41,007,000, representing £23,047,804 taken from the gold standard reserve in England, against gold transferred in India from paper currency reserve to gold standard reserve and £32,007,000 sterling purchased in India less £14,047,804 sterling sales in India.

The fact of linking the rupee to sterling necessitates the consideration of other factors besides mere depreciation. The sterling value of the rupee being the same as before, the forces of trade as between England and India are left undisturbed. If the rupee either appreciated or depreciated in terms of sterling (as it would have done if not linked to it), then Lancashire in the former case and Bombay in the latter would have got an advantage over the other in the Indian market. The phenomenal export of gold combined with the usual balance of trade in favour of India (which the former accentuated), it has been pointed out, would have led to the appreciation of the rupee in terms of sterling, if it were not linked to the latter. If so, to that extent it would have crippled Bombay's capacity to compete with Lancashire. But, whether or not the rupee would have appreciated in terms of sterling, however, is a matter of opinion, for the possibility of withdrawal of foreign capital during the interval of uncertainty has to be taken into account. The advantage of both Bombay and Lancashire over Japan has been wiped out, since the latter went off gold, and the yen came down more or less to the level of sterling.

While England and the rest of the Empire that has gone off gold get an advantage over the gold-countries in the Indian market, India gets an advantage over these latter countries in the British and the Empire markets to the extent that they are our competitors in the sale of basic products which form the bulk of India's exports. Taking 1928-29 figures as not very far from the normal, of our total imports of Rs. 263·40 crores (both on Government and private account), 42·9 per cent. came from the United Kingdom, or 52·1 per cent. from the Empire as a whole, while, of our total exports of Rs. 331·19 crores, only 20·9 per cent. was taken by the United Kingdom or 34·7 per cent. by the Empire. The advantage we get in the British and the Empire markets, therefore, is likely to be less than the advantage we offer to the British and the Empire products in our market, over the gold standard countries. And since more than 50 per cent. of our imports come from the Empire, the deterrent to imports, as a consequence of the depreciation, applies only to less than 50 per cent. of our imports. This has been further reduced since the countries mentioned above have gone off gold. But the bounty on exports remains over the greater part of our exports, namely 65·3 per cent., which forms the proportion of our total exports to countries outside the Empire.

IV

India having to make an annual payment of about £35 millions (about Rs. 46·6 crores) on account of "Home Charges," the appreciation or depreciation of the rupee in terms of sterling to a considerable extent affects her budget position either favourably or adversely. To link the rupee to sterling was to make certain of our budget estimates, while to abandon it to determine its own fate would have involved the risk of seriously upsetting it. In view of the size of gold in our reserves, the third alternative of putting the rupee on an effective gold basis was not practical finance, apart from its doubtful prudence, in case it were practicable. The export of gold and the loss in the value of sterling securities are independent of linking the rupee to sterling. Hence, on a consideration of the positive and the negative forces set in motion by linking the rupee to sterling, though it is not possible to appraise with precision the magnitude of the resultant, its direction does not seem to leave any room for doubt.

संदर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

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NOT TO BE ISSUED

THE INDIAN WHEAT TRADE

By Parimal Ray, M.A., PH.D.

(The author's thesis on Indian Foreign Trade was recently accepted by the University of London for Ph.D. Econ.)

Wheat is, comparatively speaking, one of the most recently developed of India's staple exports. Yet no article of Indian export trade has experienced greater vicissitudes than wheat.

Of course, exports of all agricultural products from all countries are bound to be more or less fluctuating in accordance with the character of the seasons. This, we need not repeat, is especially true of agricultural exports from India, a country which so preponderantly depends upon the vagaries of the monsoons for the success of its harvests. Of all such articles of Indian export, nothing again is subject to more marked seasonality than wheat. This for the following two reasons.

In the first place, wheat is cultivated in areas which far more frequently are liable to meteorological vicissitudes than, for instance, the rice-growing regions. True, irrigation has done much to mitigate the precariousness of cultivation. Nevertheless, the internal conditions of our wheat supply remain pre-eminently uncertain. It is not, however, merely for reasons of precarious supply that wheat exports fluctuate within wide limits. Uncertainties of external demand must be held to be quite as much responsible for this state of affairs. Indian wheat crops come on the European market from May onwards "in the interval between Antipodean harvests of South America and Australia and those of northern latitudes."* For four months from May to August, when supplies from other sources are not available except occasionally from the U.S.A., they obtain ready sale. During the rest of the year, when abundant supplies are forthcoming from elsewhere, they scarcely hold their own. Indian prices are then seasonally high, and wheat from there can, therefore, generally speaking, only supplement deficiencies from, rather than compete with, the produce of the other and more important sources of supply. Thus the world demand for Indian wheat varies largely from year to year depending on bumper or short crops elsewhere.

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* "Imports from the various supplying countries, however, show very distinct seasonal movements. There is a definite rise in the amount shipped from each exporting country in the months immediately succeeding its harvest. August 1 is regarded as the beginning of the world's cereal year. Starting in June, the United States' winter wheat crop is largely gathered in July. In August, the harvest of spring wheat begins, and exports between August and October are exceptionally heavy, amounting on the average to nearly 50 per cent. of the whole year's exports. Canadian exports show a steep rise during October and reach a maximum during November and December. During the next four months Canadian exports are low, as the ports are icebound, but in May and June they again rise. Exports from the southern hemisphere, where the harvests take place chiefly in December and January, arrive during the interval. Exports from Australia and the Argentina are, therefore, high during the first three months of the calendar year, being at their peak in February. Indian exports are at a maximum in June and July, and exports from Morocco and other North African countries in July and August. Shipments from

On account of the twofold reasons described above, namely, the precarious character of supply and the unsteady nature of demand, we frequently observe enormous ups and downs in wheat shipments from India. It was not seldom that harvests failed or were below normal in one or more of the chief wheat producing countries and such contingencies synchronized with a favourable monsoon at home. Quite as often again plenteous outside supplies happened to coincide with poor harvests in India. Thus it frequently happened that exports, which in a previous year leapt up to unusual heights under the stimulus of a favourable consilience of conditions, suddenly slumped to a very low level or even reached the vanishing point in the following year, when circumstances turned adverse. Such seasonal fluctuations of wheat exports, it is no doubt quite interesting to study. But it is not to them that we referred, when we spoke in the opening paragraph of the great vicissitudes of the Indian wheat export trade. Quite apart from temporary oscillations of the above kind, there underlay the course of wheat exports during the period under present review certain broad, secular movements, which it will be now our primary purpose here to analyze.

The beginning of our foreign trade in wheat is to be traced to 1870, the year after the opening of the Suez Canal. To all intents and purposes the trade did not exist before that date. On an average even less than 16,000 cwts. were exported every year from 1863 to 1866. In 1868 and 1869 shipments were heavier, but nevertheless quite insignificant, being slightly more than 299,000 and 275,000 cwts. respectively. The lengthy voyage round the Cape of Good Hope stood as a great obstacle in the way of any development of this, as of other branches of trade in bulky and perishable commodities. For not only was the freight prohibitively high, but there existed in addition risks of heavy losses from damage worked by weevils.

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the U.S.S.R. and the countries around the Danube begin in August, and, together with those from other European countries, reach a maximum in September and October, at a time when the English crop is reaching the market in greatest volume."—*Report on the Marketing of Wheat, Barley, and Oats in England and Wales*, p. 15.

With the cutting of the Canal, the way was thrown wide open for a great development of all bulky trade. The wheat trade, however, showed but slight improvement. The reason why it did not manifest any tendency to grow was obvious enough. The duty of 3 annas per maund, which used then to be levied on wheat exports, was too heavy a burden. Loaded with this duty Indian wheat could hardly pay its way in the European market. With the repeal of the impost from 1873 the wheat trade began to come into speedy prominence. Exports, which annually averaged 426,000 cwts. during the previous years, went forward with a sudden stride to 1·7 million cwts. in 1873-74. In 1874-75 they somewhat fell back on account of the prevalence of famine in Behar, but quickly recovered in the following year and rose steadily thereafter till they reached 6·3 million cwts. in 1877-78. During the two following years India was in the throes of a severe and widespread famine when exports naturally shrank to very small dimensions. No sooner, however, had normal conditions returned than they once again regained and even far exceeded their previous normal size.

Thus the period, comprising the years from the opening of the Canal, or more precisely from the date of the repeal of the export levy, till the end of the eighteen seventies witnessed the first phase of the remarkable growth of the wheat export trade from India. From 1881-82 there commenced a fresh period of even more striking expansion. Exports were hitherto greatly hampered by the heavy costs of inland transport. Calcutta, the chief wheat exporting port as it at first and till then was, stood at a great distance from the producing regions. The nearer western ports were not only not in direct railway communication with the main wheat areas, but they totally lacked adequate facilities of shipment. In fact, during the three months of the monsoon it was virtually impossible to export any wheat from Bombay. By 1881 was established uninterrupted communication between the western ports and the wheat-fields of North-Western India, and at about the same time the Prince's Docks were opened at Bombay. Exports received a great impetus therefrom and immediately attained altogether new dimensions, never even approached in the past. From 7·4 million cwts. in 1880-81 they suddenly sprang in 1881-82 to 19·8 million cwts.—that is, about a million tons.

In subsequent years, however, they fluctuated within very wide limits according to conditions of internal supply and external demand. More often than not they fell below the limit attained in 1881-82, and only occasionally rose above it. Thus over a period of thirteen years from 1881-82 it was only on three occasions that exportation of wheat exceeded the above level. In every other year it stood far below. Even when the previous limit was surpassed, it was exceeded only by a narrow margin. The year 1891-92 formed the only exception when exports, stimulated by serious harvest failures all over Continental Europe, reached the abnormal figure of more than one and a half million tons. Still, whatever fluctuations occurred were nothing unusual, as far as wheat was concerned. During the above-mentioned period of thirteen years wheat shipments represented on the whole an average trade of 17·7 million cwts., which was three times what was considered its normal volume during the preceding five or six years. Even at the lowest limits, as, for instance, in 1887-88 and in 1893-94, the total exported was twice the size recorded at their highest in years previous to 1881-82.

The growth of the importance of Indian wheat on the international market from the commencement of the eighties can be roughly gauged from the increase in its quota of contributions to total British imports.* In the two consecutive five-year periods 1871-75 and 1876-80 India furnished respectively 1·4 and 4·8 per cent. of the total British supply from foreign sources. Although she was during the whole of the period second to none but the U.S.A. in point of production, yet in respect of exports to the United Kingdom she was exceeded not merely by the U.S.A., but by Russia, Germany, and even by Canada (with only a twelfth of India's outturn), contributing respectively 39·8, 23·4, 9·2, and 7·4 per cent. in the first quinquennial period and 53·3, 12·6, 7·8, and 6·0 per cent. in the second. In the periods 1881-85 and 1886-90 the Indian share of the trade exhibited noticeable improvement. It rose to 12·3 and 11·8 per cent. respectively. Leaving aside the case of the U.S.A., which of course was still far on the top, the Indian figures compared favourably with the corresponding figures of Russia (which were 11·7 and 18·5) and far outshone those of any of the rest.

Before we go on to trace the further development of the wheat export trade, it behoves us here to recall a point of some interest. In the opinion of not a few contemporaries the phenomenal progress of the wheat export trade from 1873-74 was attributable chiefly to the constant depreciation of the silver exchange. It indeed on first reflection seems somewhat curious that this rapid growth of wheat exports happened to have exactly coincided with the period of fall of Indian exchange. If, however, we go a little more deeply into it, we observe that such a correlation between exchange and exports cannot be established. There was, for instance, no exact traceable connection from year to year between movements of exchange and rise and fall of exports. In its temporary oscillations the wheat trade showed clear marks of the influence of the seasons rather than of the variations of the exchange rate, while its broad, long period movement, evincing a remarkable degree of development, was clearly the outcome of more permanent causes indicated above. In fact, each successive stage in the history of the growth of the wheat export trade was adequately explained by the more permanent causes, such as the gradual reduction of costs of transport to the seaboard and of handling charges at the ports, unprecedented depression in oceanic freights and extension of railway and irrigation mileages. In this last mentioned respect the growth of irrigation canals in the Punjab must be especially emphasized. Suffice it again to point out, in repudiation of the exchange stimulus theory, that it was exactly when exchange was more rapid and pronounced in its fall from 1887 onwards, there was discernible amidst the usual seasonal fluctuations of wheat exports a distinct downward rather than any upward trend in the course of that trade. Exchange had "no more influence on this than on any other part of the Indian export trade, the influence being quite temporary and evanescent, lasting only through the duration of a particular transaction which was about the time required for a readjustment of prices and freights, the first falling and the latter rising as exchange fell." Truly was it remarked by O'Conor in his review of trade for 1891-92, "There is in fact no foundation for the appeal to the growth of wheat trade, as indicating the effect which a low exchange has produced on the prosperity of the country. It would be more accurate to say, assuming for the moment that low exchange stimulates exports, that the wheat trade is not a proper illustration of the proposition and it would be better for those who support the proposition to select some more favourable illustration."

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* On account of the fact that the U.K. stands first as a wheat importing region with the largest share of exports from all the great exporting countries, the British imports serve as a fairly general index of the world trade in wheat.

(*To be continued.*)

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION OF JAPAN AND CHINA IN MANCHURIA AND MONGOLIA: ITS MOTIVES AND BASIC SIGNIFICANCE

By Yosuke Matsuoka

(Former Vice-President of the South Manchuria Railway Company)

In discussing the economic co-operation of Japan and China in Manchuria, I wish to probe the question to the bottom, and to offer a solution which is not only the best that can be conceived of in existing circumstances, but which conforms to the principles of international good-will and mutuality. For the present purpose the question will be considered under three heads—namely, (1) the Past and Present of Manchuria; (2) Japan and Manchuria; (3) Economic Co-operation of Japan and China.

We know that, until the advent of the Manchu dynasty, Manchuria remained separate from China proper, subject to perpetual disorder and disintegration due to tribal strife, where China could never make a legitimate territorial claim without meeting with challenge. The Manchu dynasty, which had its origin in Manchuria, set that portion of the country apart as a living place for its Manchurian guardsmen, preserving it as a source of revenue exclusively for their benefit under an independent administrative system. In other words, Manchuria was a crown land under the Manchu power, and was never made Chinese territory. Towards the last days of the Manchu dynasty so many immigrants began to come from China proper that Chinese elements grew predominant in the peninsular provinces of Manchuria. In later years signs of agricultural labour began to be seen in the plains of which Changchun is the centre. But Manchuria, even though placed under direct care of the ruling power, remained for the most part as it had ever been, uncultivated and without seeing the birth of any industry out of its marvellous resources. These conditions prevailed until the Russo-Japanese war. The coming of Japan into this country as guardian and guarantor of peace in the Far East brought many significant changes. The integrity of the territory was assured; railways were opened for traffic; capital was brought in. Industrial enterprises began to spring up. The population of the country increased apace.

In order to realize the progress and development made in Manchuria since Japan's advent, nothing is more convincing than to compare the country at the present time with what it was two decades ago.

Mongolia and Manchuria are great agricultural domains. But these countries had remained closed to the inside no less than to the outside. When the Chinese Eastern Railway was completed the side door, as it were, was opened. The opening of the main portals did not come before the South Manchuria Railway Company had taken over operation of the railways. What Manchurian territory sorely needed was means of transportation rather than capital or labour. When Japan began to operate the railways on an economic basis, the situation was completely changed. Lands in the interior which had been left in neglect because there was no way to dispose of their produce now began to be cultivated. The South Manchuria Railway Company was soon to find the short line of railway under its charge, a matter then of no more than 700 miles, anything but adequate for its ambitious plan of opening up the country, and began to give encouragement to Chinese schemes of railway construction. Japan has consistently shown her readiness to aid such enterprises, not only with adequate capital, but also with expert knowledge and building material. In this way four railway lines have now been completed—namely, the lines between Ssupingkai and Taonan, between Taonan and Angangchi, between Kirin and Changchun, and between Chinchou and Fuchou. It is interesting to note, too, that the great railway boom which we have of late been seeing in Manchuria and Mongolia is really due to the railway propaganda and campaign of Japan, and particularly of the South Manchuria Railway Company.

What Manchuria had lacked in the second place was labour. The situation was met by bringing in immigrant workmen from the provinces of Shantung and Chihli. For this purpose the South Manchuria Railway Company offered special facilities, granting each year free transportation to these men. The migration of agricultural hands has of recent years increased to more than a million annually, and they still continue to pour into the country. The population of Manchuria has increased by ten millions approximately during the past twenty years.

It is obvious that this great increase in labour migration to Manchuria has gone some considerable way, if not exactly in a direct manner, toward making social adjustments within China proper. In this connection I must refer particularly to the cases of Shantung and Chihli. When warlike disturbances devastated these provinces, Manchuria never failed to receive such of the inhabitants as chose to migrate, giving them places to live in and serving as a social safety-valve. For the benefit of these men and many others, Japan had virtually built at the outlay of billions of gold a wall of safety across the northern parts of China, making there a place of safe abode and lasting peace.

The third need of Manchuria was capital. The first people to come into the country, after its opening, were mostly drawn from the poorer classes for whom capital had to be found. What has been done and accomplished along this line since Japan set her hands to the task of opening up the country is shown by her investment now running up to some 1,500,000,000 in gold yen.

The fourth problem to be dealt with was the domestic as well as foreign trade of Manchuria. Until the time of the Russo-Japanese war, Manchuria's entire foreign trade had been carried through the one port of Yingkou, and represented then a matter of but 58,000,000 taels per year. Under Japan's leadership, Manchuria's trade not only with Japan but other countries began to increase at so fast a pace that in 1927 the total of her foreign trade amounted to 670,000,000 taels, or 35 per cent. of China's entire foreign trade. This progress was made in the face of not a few obstacles placed in the path of development, such as compulsory circulation of the Mukden money, cornering by the Chinese authorities of certain products of the country, enforcement of unfair scale of duties, etc. It should also be pointed out to the credit of Japan that as much as 80 per cent. of Manchuria's foreign trade at present passes through the three ports of South Manchuria, of which Dairen stands foremost.

Now I propose to look into the question of Manchuria from Japan's point of view. If I am right in the premise that what lies at the root of international peace is protection of every race in its right to live and the recognition of its legitimate aspirations, it follows that the people of Japan, upon whom rests a due share of responsibility for the world's peace, should have the right to ask for the security of their national existence, with assurance as to their opportunity of progress and growth for the future. I mean to say that Japan, as is generally known, finds herself face to face with a situation arising from her over-population, her small territory, and her lack of raw materials. To these questions at issue she must needs find an answer if her existence as an independent nation is to be assured. She has reached the point where she can no longer afford to deal with these matters except in the spirit of candour. Provided such Japanese ideas be not incompatible with the peace of the world, her expression should receive due respect as based on the legitimate rights of a nation which is compelled to find an outlet somewhere. It is for this very reason that Japan's special position in Manchuria and Mongolia has virtually been recognized, directly or indirectly, by the Powers.

From the same point of view I may say that were China to deny other peoples the opportunity of sharing the benefit of her rich resources for no other reason than that they lie within her territory, she would indeed be laying herself open to criticism.

It would be but meet that Manchuria should be thrown open in international ways, to benefit the Chinese as much as others who may care to come there to work to bring out what lies still hidden deep in that vast land. It is not improper that Japan, in view of the question as something in which her own right to exist is involved, should so interest herself as to ask China to give greater attention to the possibilities in Mongolia and Manchuria and turn them to good account for the benefit of mankind. Even more so when we know that the relations between Japan and China are based on what was sanctioned by a treaty made as between two equal nations.

It must be said that the relations of these two countries as regards Manchuria have never been those of the strong and the weak, or of the conqueror and the conquered. Japan has neither design upon Manchurian territory nor the intention to monopolize the riches there. The development of Manchuria and Mongolia is and should be, first and last, for the benefit of these countries themselves. We know at the same time that no consideration in the interest of these countries is necessarily incompatible with the question of relieving the situation of Japan as regards her national life. On the contrary, a wealthier and better developed Manchuria, we know, will mean greater prosperity to Japan and her people. Increase in Japan's demand for Manchurian products will not only have the effect of stimulating the development of Manchuria and Mongolia, but will also impress China with the importance of such development. The correlation thus existing between Japan and China is bound, from the very nature of the thing, to work for the good of one as well as the other, ultimately serving the international life of the whole world. In brief, if Japan's situation as regards Manchuria is as above described, and if the relations between Japan and Manchuria are as above set forth, Japan may truly be expected to show as much zeal as ever in aiding the work of developing Manchuria which her people will come to look on more and more in the light of a land with possibilities of aiding in the solution of the question with which their national life is so acutely concerned.

I hope I am not to be misunderstood as implying that Japan may advance herself materially in Manchuria through her own effort alone; for such is not my meaning. It is obvious that Japan can never hope really to succeed without friendly and effective co-operation on the part of her neighbour. It means simply that Japan cannot profit herself in Manchuria without profiting China in a like manner. When the question of developing the country and people of Manchuria affects Japan as closely and vitally as China, any ideas except of friendly co-operation between these two nations seem out of place.

In surveying the relations between Japan and Manchuria, as they have existed for these past twenty years, I am struck by a certain feature of impressive character. Japan and Manchuria have stood, and stand now for that matter, in the position respectively of consumer and supplier, speaking in the technical sense of the terms. What is remarkable in the case is that the consumer himself has at the same time been investor, assuming leadership in all enterprises, and has also attended to the work of protecting such undertakings. While working to advance production for supply on one hand, Japan has been buying such products on the other at fair prices. In such relations have Japan and Manchuria followed one road of common interest each for their own well-being.

In writing here of the common interest and co-existence of Japan and China, I wish particularly to emphasize that in the relations between these two nations all should be grounded on the basic principles of internationalism, and that in all cases China should first be considered, with due regard next for Russia, Britain, America, or any other nations holding interests in Manchuria. It is to be admitted that Japan has not infrequently suffered from misunderstandings born of prejudiced or calculating minds. Japan, as an outcome of the war, had suddenly to step forth and attend to a task she was but little prepared for. But no critic, unless seriously misinformed, can say that Japan has been influenced by territorial ambition or guilty of exclusivism against other nations. We know from history that there is no instance of any particular country placed out of the world's routes of trade or traffic having attained to prosperity or importance. We know therefore that the open door and equal opportunity are the most important factors in leading Manchuria along the path of international growth. Of all this we are conscious when we emphasize the importance of internationalism in Manchuria. In short, Japan, in all matters of Manchuria, should find common ground of agreement with China as well as other nations, from her economic point of view, joining her work with that of others to the end of adding to the material wealth and happiness of the world.

In writing of the vital points in the Manchurian question in a more concrete way, what we stand in need of, above all else, is an economic policy to be laid along clear-cut and definite lines. As for social programmes, they are so inevitably allied with the economic growth of society that I wish to take them here all for granted, without entering into a discussion of them.

It is in transport that Japan and China should co-operate, before all else, in their work of opening up Manchuria. Needless to say, the volume, intensity, safety, and accuracy of transportation have close bearings upon political, economic, social, and many other phases of society. In the case of the South Manchuria Railway Company, its work goes beyond that point; for it has internally brought on a new era in the development of the resources of the country, and externally it has made itself very important as the last link in the great international route of traffic with the European Continent. But except these railways, there are scarcely any roads worthy of the name in any portion of the vast country of Mongolia or Manchuria. Outside the railway zone there are no places where people other than natives may lodge or may travel without fear of bandits. When these conditions actually exist, little need be said as to the importance of framing adequate railway schemes to make Manchuria a country of safe travel and free traffic.

In the second place, we should do something with the legal and legislative institutions of the country as well as customs and usages of its people, so as to bring them more or less into uniformity with the standards prevailing elsewhere. In the fields of business and law and other phases of life, foreign people find not a few things painfully different from their own. As an instance close at hand, I may refer to the Manchurian standards of weight and measure which are so confusing that much inconvenience is met with in transferring goods from one railway to another, not to speak of trouble in private transactions. It is also necessary that knowledge of economic science should be made more popular. There are many possibilities of raising the efficiency in work by making effective use of machinery and man power, and many points where a study of raw materials may be made to good purpose. In the vast but partially opened country of Mongolia and Manchuria, labour is being wasted on many sides. At every turn almost we fall upon something of which the economic value may well be advanced.

In short, we know that in the fields of transport and law and legislation, and in the matters of customs and usages, there are numberless things which need but a touch of the magic wand of scientific knowledge to give them great use and value. Alive to these existing conditions, we propose first to establish economic programmes for Manchuria before we seek to lead the country deeper into the relations of an international family life. Nor are we blind to the difficult work such programmes really involve. Success will never be attainable unless the work is carried on in full appreciation of the basic lines along which Manchuria should be developed. The matter is plain: Japan may no more force her way than China, and their ways are equally clear. For Japan or China there is no rule except that of equal opportunity for all Powers; and for each of them but one road of friendly partnership in the task of leading and establishing Manchuria in its international position. If Japan shares with China such benefits as come of the same undertaking, we can conceive no reason why China should ever find cause for displeasure, actually or theoretically. It is as difficult to imagine that internationalism, though a strong enough factor as the demand of the times, should ever work against these two nations when they, assuming leadership in the development of Manchuria, show themselves united in a solidarity of interest. To this they will and must come as the only true way. We know that Japan has spent billions in Manchuria, and has turned the best of her talent to work out her ideas there. It is, as generally known, that to this effort of Japan Manchuria owes what she is to-day. And to this I again refer, because I cannot but look upon it in the light of the very truth, confirming us in the thought that Japan and China are here thrown into each other's arms, willy-nilly, to work out their destinies. It is because we propose to follow the true path of international family life and to serve its purpose that we are so emphatic in advocating the economic co-operation of Japan and China and earnest in our hope that consummation of such an ideal will surely come in good season.

A PRESENT-DAY MENACE IN THE ORIENT

By Dr. H. H. A. van Gybland Oosterhoff

(Secretary of the Indological Faculty of the University of Utrecht, Holland)

Whenever I reflect upon this problem I recall what I read in the *Asiatic Review* of January, 1931, in the address delivered by General Sir George de S. Barrow, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., and entitled "The Army in India and Constitutional Reform."

The story to which I refer and which, as it is so appropriate, I give in its entirety, is as follows:

"Shortly before the final withdrawal of the Romans, three Britons—Caradoc, Regnus, and Celticus—all speaking Latin, dressed in Roman clothes, and having lived some time in Rome, came as a deputation to the Roman Viceroy. The object of their visit was to request the Viceroy to forward a petition to the Emperor and Senate praying for the grant of self-government. They acknowledged their debt to Rome for their higher standard of living and education, the peace and protection which they had received, and the other advantages they had obtained from their Roman connection. 'But,' they said, 'our own methods of justice and manners are better suited to the country than yours, our traditions go back further than those of Rome, we have learnt from you how to protect ourselves, and we think that the time has come for us to govern ourselves.'

"The Roman Viceroy pointed out to them that Britain had never been one kingdom, it had been composed of many tribes who, before the Roman advent, had been constantly warring against each other, and would be at each other's throats again if the Romans went. They replied that this was in the old days, but could not occur again in the peaceful days wherein they now dwelt. The Viceroy said: 'This blessed doctrine of peace will be little help to you when you are face to face with men who worship the God of War. What will you do to defend yourselves against the Picts and Scots and Northmen who are eager to invade Britain at the first opportunity? They answered that many of the best legionaries were of British blood and that, thanks to the military training many of them had received from the Romans, and trusting in their own right arms, they had no reason to fear invasion. 'But discipline, the power to command, the higher knowledge of war, the strength to act, the spirit of cooperation—it is in these things you would fail,' said the Viceroy. 'Nevertheless, you shall have your wish. Orders have just been received by me from Rome recalling every Roman to Italy to protect Rome from the Barbarians.'

"At first the deputation was delighted and asked what troops would be left behind for their protection. 'None,' the Viceroy told them. 'Every Roman is to go at once.' Then the deputation was aghast. 'If the legions go at once,' they said, 'and no troops are left, we shall have the Scots at York and the Northmen on the Thames within a month. In a few more years, perhaps, under your protection, we shall be in a position to act together and to defend ourselves, but not yet, not yet.' The Viceroy said: 'For years you have been clamouring for self-government and raising the people. Now you have got what you wanted, and what more would you have? Within a month you will be as free as you were before Cæsar ever set foot on your shores.' 'For God's sake, your Excellency,' said the deputation, 'we had not well considered the matter, wait at least till we have gone to Rome and petitioned the Emperor and Senate to let you remain.' 'Do as you please,' said the Viceroy, 'but the legions leave Britain directly we have collected the ships.'

"The legions left, and before a year had passed Celticus was dead, having been flayed alive by pirates and his skin nailed to the door of a church near Caistor; Regnus was dead, having been tied to a tree and shot with arrows; Caradoc was alive, but he was slave to a Scot, and his wife was the mistress of a Welsh chieftain; and blood and ruin and ashes covered the fair land of Britain."

This story demonstrates, better than most of the theoretical arguments for or against the standpoint that the East is ripe for self-government, the importance of the task which the West is called upon to perform in the East. For what held good for England 1500 years ago, *mutatis mutandis* holds good to-day for the colonies of the West in the East, whether they are subject to British, French, American, or Dutch authority.

It was a governor-general of the Philippines, if I am not mistaken, who said a few years ago that the evacuation of these islands by America would constitute a "brutal betrayal of trust" as regards the "native interests" entrusted to the American government of the islands.

Call it what you will, a *pax britannica*, *gallica*, *americana*, or *netherlandica*, everywhere this "pax" means peace and tranquillity, where formerly there were international strife and chaos.

I used to live in Mexico for some years. It would be difficult to find a more beautiful country. The climate of the upland plains, on which the capital, Mexico City, is situated, and which reach a height of more than 7,000 feet, may be described as unsurpassed, while the magnificent scenery rivals it, by its mountain peaks, such as the well-known volcanoes Popocatepetl and the Ixtacihuatl, covered with eternal snow. The soil is rich in minerals and suitable for all kinds of agriculture. Sugar-cane and wheat grow side by side. It might be a paradise on earth and yet, since the priest-patriot Hidalgo put an end to the Spanish domination at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the country has been swept by revolutions, with the exception of the period of the dictatorship of the powerful Porfirio Diaz, which lasted for 30 years until advanced age undermined his strength and caused his fall.

Modern history offers various examples. We need only look at China where the victims of revolution, banditry and Bolshevism may be counted by millions. *The Leader*, a newspaper published in China, in its issue of October 17, 1930, estimates the number of victims in 16 provinces at 60 million. This is the price that has to be paid in China for misgovernment and disorder. *Pacific Affairs*, the organ of the Institute of Pacific Relations, published an article in its issue of October, 1930, from the pen of a Chinaman Hu Shih, in which he discusses the causes of the misery in which China finds herself. Here speaks a Chinese citizen; and according to him the five great enemies of China are—poverty, disease, ignorance, corruption, and disorder. The Chinese writer advocates a new State with a strong authority, which will bring with it the blessings of civilization.

As a Hollander, I can say with pride that what this Chinese wishes for his native country has already been long realized in the extensive domains of the Dutch East Indies, a territory so enormous that if you laid its map upon a map of Europe, it would reach from the North of Scotland to the middle of Persia. Since General J. B. van Heutsz, who later became Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, extended Dutch authority to the extreme corners of the Archipelago, peace and tranquillity have reigned there. It was, for example, the representative of the beautiful island of Bali in the Volksraad, who declared that the people of Bali felt safe under the protecting wing of the authority of the Netherlands. Where formerly there was nothing but a vast virgin forest, the home of the elephant and the tiger, there are now fertile plantations. A splendid net of roads covers the main island of Java, which one can cross from one corner to the other by automobile.

Is it surprising, that as a result of the tranquillity and order which prevails and of the hygienic measures introduced, the population of that island has increased ten-fold in a century from about 4 million to about 40 million? All kinds of measures have been taken by the Government to promote prosperity: irrigation, a veterinary service, forestry, credit banks for natives. The great

Western enterprises, which in the Dutch East Indies are chiefly agricultural, also contributed to make the increase of population possible. The sugar industry alone distributes every year an average of 125 million guilders among the population.

Dr. I. A. Nederburgh, Professor at the University of Utrecht, correctly defines the right, especially of the Netherlands, to the Dutch East Indies, and the right of the West in general to its colonies, as an author's right to the product of his intellect and work, a right which is as well-founded as the right to a country based on birthright or on conquest.

Professor Nederburgh's argument concerning the author's right to a country is as follows: Take the case of a country which has been conquered by a European Power when it was only partly populated. At that time the original population was not only small in number, but also its standard of civilization was low. The position as regards security, tranquillity and order, maintenance of law, prosperity, public health, and means of communication, left everything to be desired. The European conqueror has made of this territory a prosperous country; he has created order and security, introduced courts of law, constructed harbours, roads, and other means of communication, and has energetically promoted public health. The population has been doubled several times over; the wild regions, which formed the greater part of the country, have been reclaimed and brought under regular administration. Anyone who knew the country before and who should visit it after the conquest, would fail to recognize it. It has become something quite different, a creation of the European Power which occupied it. Even the population is different. Its increase in number is due to the measures taken to ensure security and hygiene; its development to European influence. Following this line of reasoning, therefore, one may call the Power occupying the country the author of this new population.

We have here thus an author's right, more worthy of respect than birthright, which one acquires involuntarily, or a right of conquest, which is based on violence. The author's right is obtained through an act of benevolence.

At the same time, the author has not worked without collaborators. In the same way as a writer cannot give the public the benefit of his genius without the assistance of compositors, printers, paper manufacturers, etc., all of whom have their share in the profit, so does the population of an occupied country collaborate in the work of creation, which still goes steadily forward. This in no way derogates, however, from the author's right, which is based on creative power, whilst all the rest is only secondary and supplementary.

Professor Nederburgh then adds this question: Would it be fair to demand of France, for example, that it should evacuate Algiers and leave to the original population a country that France has made what it is today? It is clear that France, in virtue of its author's right, would be obliged to resist such an unjust demand, without appealing even to its further right of conquest.

This author's right also imposes duties. Right and vocation—these two are inseparable. And just for that reason the author must retain his right until his beneficial task is completed, on the penalty of not acting in accordance with justice and even causing disasters to the indigenous population. Once that task is ended, a complete unity will have formed itself, excluding all serious conflicts. As long as the work is incomplete, however, the compositors, paper manufacturers, etc., cannot tear the work from the hands of the author without spoiling it and irreparably destroying what has already been achieved.

The "author's right" of the Netherlands to the Indies drew from the Director of the International Labour Bureau, Albert Thomas, during his visit to the Dutch Indies, the remark that he had seen a vision of a great work.

The Colonial Powers all share in this compliment. We may refer here to the recently published book from the pen of Dr. A. F. Legendre, the well-known expert on matters relating to China and Japan, entitled *L'Asie contre l'Europe*. It is a book which we should like to see in many hands, because it bears witness to a profound sense of realities, thus making up for much of the harm done as a result of examining Eastern problems in the study through dogmatic spectacles.

Dr. Legendre describes how he arrived in Singapore and how in the town, inhabited by a medley of different races, so that one could call it a perfect Tower of Babel, absolute order and peace prevailed. He perceived the same phenomenon in other international ports in the East—Hongkong and Shanghai. Then he goes on to say:

"Mais qui a réalisé ce miracle de paix et de sécurité? L'Européen au cours du dernier siècle, lui seul. Une rude tâche de toute évidence, une œuvre qui pour atteindre au bel équilibre actuel a mis à l'épreuve des qualités raciales de première grandeur: volonté, capacité créatrice et organisatrice, endurance physique et morale. Or, cette grande œuvre de paix et d'enrichissement dont des centaines de millions d'êtres ont bénéficié et bénéficient plus que jamais, qui des Européens en ont été les artisans. L'Anglais et le Français, sans oublier le Hollandais qui a fait de l'Insulinde un Eldorado."*

This work of the West in the East is in danger. It is Bolshevism which is endeavouring to strike the West a mortal blow through its colonies.

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* But who wrought this miracle of peace and security? The European, and he alone, during the course of the last century. It was a hard task,

Immediately after the war, this world movement, for the continued existence of which a world revolution would be necessary, made a frontal attack on the West. The West, however, including the great mass of labour, possessed so much consciousness of the value of its culture and so much sense of religion, that the frontal attack proved a failure. A great difference exists between the West, with its towns full of historical works of art, with its cathedrals, and the great plains of Russia, with here and there a town and for the rest, inflammable wooden villages. The emotion felt by the Western European, due to the destruction of the Cathedral of Rheims, which he regarded as an irreparable loss, is something unknown to the Russian moujik. Bolshevism, therefore, in its work there, did not meet with that intuitive resistance which it encountered among the great mass in the West, a resistance which, supported by religion and morality, unconsciously remained the foundation of authority and order.

When the frontal attack failed, Russia, with her many Asiatic traditions, turned to the East, mindful of the work of Lenin: "Let us turn towards Asia. We shall attain our ends in the West through the East," and this observation was commented upon by Zinovieff at the Congress of Baku in 1920 as he was there reported: "Russia holds out her hand to Asia, not because she wishes her to espouse her ideal, not to induce her to share her social conceptions, but because the eight hundred millions of Asiatics are necessary to her to overthrow European imperialism and capitalism."

Here also the Bolshevist methods are thorough and scientific, working systematically everywhere with propaganda and cells. That method was learned by their leaders when they were obliged to keep in hiding under the régime of the Czar—to work in the dark in order to escape destruction. In the *Anti-Bolshevist Vade-Mecum*, published by the International Entente against the Third International in September, 1927, the present writer supplied data relative to this question in an article entitled "Communism, the Colonial Question and the Coloured Races."

Many universities and oriental faculties, for example, have been founded. The University for Oriental Workers (Moscow), the University of Samarkand, the University of Central Asia (Khar-

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according to all evidence, and the actual state of harmonious balance was attained only by displaying racial characters of the first order: will power, creative and organizing talent, physical and moral endurance. And by which of the European nations was this great work of peace carried out that enriched and benefited and keeps on benefiting hundreds of millions of people? By the Britisher and the Frenchman, not to forget the Dutchman, who has made an Eldorado of the Dutch East Indies.

koff), the Institute of Saratoff, the Institute of the Ural and Siberia, the Tartar Institute, the Institute of Ethnical Minorities, Lenin's Communist Institute, the Vorowsky school at Vladivostok, prepare thousands of Bolshevik enthusiasts of European, Asiatic, and African origin.

The Red military academy gives them military instruction.

There is a continual coming and going of Soviet agents and students between the various regions of Asia and Africa and Moscow.

In his speech of May 18, 1925, to the students of the Oriental University at Moscow, at which fifty nationalities were represented, Stalin is quoted as having given the following details: "There are among the students two fundamental groups. The first is composed of those who have come to us from the Soviet East, countries which have shaken off the imperialist yoke and where the workers have overthrown the bourgeoisie and are now in power. The second is composed of those who have come to us from colonial and vassal countries, countries where capitalism still reigns, and where the imperialist yoke still exists, where independence has yet to be conquered and the imperialists driven out."

For this struggle Bolshevism made use of all the elements in the East which offered resistance to the West. It extended its hands to nationalist movements, and, in the case of the Dutch East Indies, in order to give Communism a footing in that country, and even issued the following parole: "Although Communists pay no attention to religion, it is necessary for the preparation of Communism in the Dutch East Indies to pretend to believe in the purity and elevation of faith."

So we see the hand of Moscow in the national movements in China where a Borodin raised Tsjang Kai Sjek to the seat of government in Nanking. The Kuomintang has now broken with Bolshevism, but if Dr. Legendre is right, that rupture is to be attributed to personal disagreement between Tsjang Kai Sjek and Borodin, as the former feared that Borodin would obtain too much power. We may see the shadow of Moscow behind the nationalist movements in Indo-China, British India, and the Dutch East Indies, but those movements are only used by Bolshevism as a means to an end. One need only read what Stalin is reported to have said concerning the Communistic action in the colonies:

"It is impossible to arrive at the liberation of colonial countries, vassals of imperialism, without a victorious revolution: independence is not to be had for the asking.

"It is impossible to hasten revolution and conquer the complete independence of the colonies and advanced vassal countries without isolating in them the national and conciliatory bourgeoisie or without withdrawing the bourgeois revolutionary masses from the influence of this bourgeoisie, without realizing the hegemony of the proletariat, without organizing the advanced elements of the working class as an independent Communist party. After this, the tasks on the agenda of the revolutionary movement of the colonies, and the vassal countries which have been developed from the capitalist point of view consist: (1) In winning over the best elements of the working class to the Communist cause and in creating independent Communist parties; (2) in constituting the revolutionary bloc of workers, peasant and revolutionary intellectuals, against the bloc of the national conciliatory bourgeoisie and imperialism; (3) in assuring the hegemony of the proletariat in this bloc; (4) in fighting to snatch the small urban and rural bourgeoisie from the influence of the national conciliatory bourgeoisie; (5) in assuring the linking up of the liberation movement in the colonies and the proletarian movement in the more advanced countries."

This Bolshevist danger would not assume so menacing a form if Europe were united with regard to its task in the East.

That unity, however, is non-existent for various reasons.

In the first place, there is the World War and the pessimism which it engendered in various countries, more especially in Germany. The belief that European civilization had a greater task to perform and occupied a higher place in furthering world development was exposed to the most pessimistic criticism. These ideas found expression, *inter alia*, in the book of Oswald Spengler, *Untergang des Abendlandes*, which book claimed to reveal in past civilizations parallel periods of growth and decline, which periods it had also discovered in our modern Western civilization, which the writer prophesied would not survive longer than a few more centuries. The soul of the present-day culture, according to the writer, has died in the degeneration of great city civilization, which only knows dead super-technique but in which healthy art does not exist.

In post-war Europe, which in a prolonged struggle has witnessed in many countries the debacle of an intellectual civilization, a new kind of philosophy has arisen, nurtured, for example, by a Gandhi, which might be called "Asiaticism." Gandhi, the prophet of opposition, by means of passive resistance to the British authority, became a symbol of the Eastern philosophy of self-abnegation or the dissolution of self.

Next, through pessimism, the power of Europe is being undermined by Illusionism, the philosophy of life which views the whole world from the study-window and ignores facts.

The illusionist would apply the slogan of the French Revolution, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," to all races, and forgets that there is no such thing as equality in the world, that one has received ten talents, the other five, and a third one, and that the only equality is that of the soul before God.

The illusionist opposes the so-called consciousness of race superiority that the West is supposed to have, and forgets that it is not a question of a feeling of race superiority, but of definite qualities which each people or race possesses. The average oriental, for example, will presumably prove himself superior to the average European in deportment and in his attitude towards life. But if the East wishes to retain the advantages of authority, order, and hygiene, the gifts which Western technique has brought, then on these cardinal points it still depends on Western leadership.

The European illusionist or defeatist—call him what you will—always thinks that the non-European is an extremist, and forgets that the line of division does not run according to colour. It is not a question here of colour, but of *mentality*. Europeans and non-Europeans who stand for order and authority in this matter stand together. Those who consider order and authority to be the first necessity for the existence of a people stand side by side in these times of chaos and dissolution, no matter to what people, to what race, they may belong. It is worthy of note, with regard to countries like Russia and Japan, that the oriental revolutionary chooses the side of the white Bolshevist and opposes the element of order and authority which Japan, the yellow imperialist, as the revolutionary calls him, represents in the Far-Eastern world.

It is ignorance of facts, lack of a sense of reality, that may lead the West to the edge of the precipice. And it is therefore highly desirable that the future leaders of a people should travel as much as possible in their youth, visit as many countries as possible, and so attain a first-hand knowledge which will combat the slogans by which some would rule the world to-day.

And one of these slogans is that of the right of self-determination of the nations, which is due to President Wilson, who thought, as many North Americans do, that it is possible to make the whole world uniform, after the American standard. Although President Wilson's words were meant to rouse the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and former Poland to resistance against the Central Powers, they have been employed by leaders of those races which live under a colonial régime in order to break what is called European imperialism. This theory would prove disastrous if recklessly carried into practice with regard to those oriental races who now live under a stable and settled government.

*Hinter China steht Moskau** is the title of a book by the German writer Dr. Gustave Ritter von Kreitner, who knows the East thoroughly, thanks to a long residence in China, Tibet, and Japan.

The only method for Europe to protect the rights of its subjects in China is by means of their extra-territorial rights. Immediately after the war the Germans and the Austrians were deprived of their rights. Is it surprising that China is now also encroaching on the rights of the other white races?

Thus, Europeans have in the East a common task. Those who understand that colonial task for their own country realize that this national task can only be achieved within the international cadre of Western Europe. This national conception leads to a healthy international co-operation. It makes one realize, on the one hand, that a new world war would signify the end of Europe; and, on the other, that the fall of one colonial Power would inevitably lead to the fall of the others. If, therefore, in spite of pessimism and illusionism, they are brought to realize their common interests, which are also those of the oriental peoples to whom they have brought order and peace, the common task of them all will every day become more clearly realized.

* "Behind China Stands Moscow."

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THE FUTURE OF 'IRAQ

By J. S. Wardlaw-Milne, M.P.

Those of us who are interested in Near Eastern affairs have watched the progress and development of the kingdom of 'Iraq with sympathetic attention, and as the hour approaches for Great Britain to relinquish her direct responsibilities in that part of Arabia it is not untimely, I think, to consider what we have done in the past for 'Iraq and what her position in the world is to be in the future.

The German dream of Eastern Empire as the real cause of the Great War is not fully understood even today. Yet the statements made by the leaders of almost all the Allies, both at the time of and after the war, show clearly that it was with the idea of Eastern dominion far more than for any other reason, that the Great War was brought about. President Wilson, speaking at Buffalo in the early days of the war of Germany's aims, said, "From Hamburg to Baghdad the net is spread"; and, again, after a lapse of years, at the opening of the Peace Conference in 1919, President Poincaré, speaking of the origins of the war, said: "The Central Empires, bound together by a secret plot, found the most abominable pretext for trying to crush Serbia and force their way to the East."

To those who were engaged in the near areas of fighting and whose interests, efforts, and energies were centred in France and Flanders, it was natural that there was neither time nor opportunity for a detailed study of the facts and causes which led up to this greatest of all known wars. But if a study is made of the changing phases of European politics during the thirty years previous to 1914 it will be found that it is upon the East rather than the West that attention must be focussed if we are to appreciate the cause of the outbreak. It was a dream of Eastern Empire closely held by those in charge of military Germany, but concealed as much as possible from the world and even from many of their own people.

After the refusal of Germany in 1896 to join with the other Powers in Europe in pressure upon Turkey to put an end to the Armenian massacres, German influence throughout the Turkish dominions spread rapidly, for by that dissent she became the friend of Turkey, and steadily strengthened her position in the Near East. The project of the building of the Baghdad Railway, the construction of which was being pushed ahead at the time of the outbreak of the war at the rate of nearly a mile a day, by something like four hundred German engineers resident at Aleppo, and the many, if somewhat grotesque, attempts at promoting friendship with the Muhammadans in the days previous to 1914, clearly show the object which lay behind the movements taking place in Europe.

Our small Expeditionary Force to Mesopotamia (originally sent merely with the intention of holding our bases on the Persian Gulf and at first hopelessly ill-equipped for the campaign which was eventually found to be necessary) experienced hardships, the story of which has never been fully told. Without proper preparation and quite unfitted for the tasks in front of them, the original force from Basra underwent privations which were unequalled in any other of the many theatres of war. In due time and after heroic achievements, that force developed into the compact army which eventually retook Kut and began the final fight for Baghdad. There our troops, under General Maude, dealt one of the most serious and vital blows to the cause of Germany and her allies when the city was taken, and little enough has been made, in my view, of the wonderful leadership shown by that great soldier in the conduct of these operations.

The 'Iraq of today is a vast plain over most of its territory, without a single hill of the slightest importance, and even Baghdad, 500 miles above Basra by river, is only 112 feet above sea-level. During the hot weather, from April to October, there is no rain at all, and life seems an endless vista of hot and burning sand. In the winter months, however, the climate is not unpleasant, although the changes of temperature are very rapid. The average annual rainfall is only about five or six inches, most of which falls between November and March, and the river flood season has nothing to do with the rainfall, but is caused entirely by the melting of the Caucasian snows, hundreds of miles away. The bulk of the inhabitants are Arabs, a number being Bedouins or of Bedouin descent, many of whom are of a wandering character, although some have settled down in villages and towns to a life of petty agriculture and trade. As these settlers cease to wander they lose caste to some extent, for the true Bedouin of the desert, the " man of the camel," does not easily mix or intermingle with the tillers of the soil along the banks of the great rivers.

The two great divisions of the Muhammadan religion are about equally represented in 'Iraq, although the Shi'ahs probably slightly predominate. This sect look to Najaf and Kerbala as the most sacred spots on earth, with the exception of Mecca and Medina.

The population of the country is approximately 3,000,000, the minorities being represented by the Kurds, of whom there are about 500,000 residing within the present boundaries of the kingdom; the Assyrians, of whom there are only about 10,000 now living in 'Iraq; and certain other communities, such as Christians, who number about 79,000, Jews 87,000, Turkish Muslims 60,000, Yezidis 25,000, and Sabæans 4,000. This is the rather mixed population of the country in which General Maude issued a proclamation, on the taking of Baghdad, from which the following is an extract: "In the name of my King and in the name of the people over whom he rules, I address you as follows: 'Our armies do not come to your cities or lands as conquerors or enemies, but as liberators. Since the days of Hulagu your city and your lands have been subject to the tyranny of strangers, your palaces have fallen into ruins, and your gardens have sunk in desolation. . . . Since the days of Midhat the Turks have talked of reforms, yet the ruins and wastes of today testify to the vanity of these promises. . . . It is hoped and desired by the British people that the Arab race may rise once more to greatness and renown among the peoples of the earth. . . . Oh, people of Baghdad, remember that for twenty-six generations you have suffered under strange tyrants. I am told to invite you to participate in the management of your civil affairs in collaboration with the political representatives of Great Britain, so that you may be united with your kinsmen in north, east, south, and west in realizing the aspirations of your race.'"

It is profitless perhaps to look back to the days immediately after the war, but some of us who were deeply interested in Mesopotamian affairs could not but be struck with the lightness with which, as it appeared to them, the future of these important territories was disposed of by our political leaders in Great Britain. It is impossible to enter in detail into these matters now, but some at least held the view that there never should have been any question of this important territory being administered on the basis of a Mandate, but that, in fact, by complete and absolute right of conquest, we should have insisted upon 'Iraq becoming a definite part of the Empire as a Crown Colony. It was the time, however, when much was being made of our commitments abroad, and on every side one heard the cry of the terrible expense which would be entailed upon the British taxpayer. The voice of those who endeavoured to show that, far from being a liability, the taking over of Mesopotamia in the end would prove a valuable and profitable policy was unheeded. The late Mr. Bonar Law, in a famous speech, referred to the fact that this country could not become the policeman of the world, and although I am confident that there was no reason why this very pertinent statement should be taken as applying particularly to Mesopotamia, there can be little doubt that this and other statements strengthened the popular idea that we should not be permanently committed to further territorial responsibilities. It is too late to look back now, except to record the fact that there were those who took a different line, and who urged their views at the time by every means in their power.

The first necessity after the Armistice was the restoration of order in Mesopotamia, and although the idea of a Mandate was accepted by Great Britain in April, 1920, the country, which was in British military occupation, was not fully restored to order till October of that year, when the first High Commissioner, Sir Percy Cox, arrived. Meantime, however, His Majesty's Government had decided upon establishing a provisional 'Iraqi Government with a Council of State, in which all sections of the community were, as far as possible, to be represented. This was actually inaugurated by the High Commissioner a few weeks after his arrival. At this time those of the people of the country who were politically minded appeared to have no decided view as to their future. Some desired a republic; others, probably the large majority, preferring a monarchy; but all appeared to desire to see an elected Parliament on the spot, presumably based on the democratic system in force in this country. It is very doubtful whether those who held these views had any clear idea of the duties and privileges of citizenship, and their enthusiasm was doubtless due to the wild talk of political liberty and the widespread idea at the time of a future in a world safe for democracy.

Actually, this country has never had a Mandate at all, but we have administered the country on the supposition that we had, and on the basis of our holding it under what is known as an "A" Mandate. This position was accepted in April, 1920, under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and Article 16 of the Treaty of Peace. A dangerous agitation had in the meantime arisen in 'Iraq, led by a few of those whose intellectual pre-eminence put them in a position of influence, and this took the form of opposition to any form of external control. It became necessary for this country either to face an indefinite period of military occupation or in some way to meet the popular view, which was gradually tending in favour of a monarchy. This situation culminated in a proposal that Amir Faisal, who had rendered valuable services to the Allied cause, and who appeared to be equally acceptable both from the British and 'Iraqi point of view, should become a candidate for the throne. It was ascertained that the Amir fully understood the responsibilities of the British Government towards the League of Nations, and it was agreed that if he became King of 'Iraq, he would negotiate an Anglo-'Iraqi Treaty. As a result of these arrangements a national referendum was held and the Amir Faisal became King of Iraq in August, 1921. It is well to note, however, that until that date, and, in fact, until the first Treaty of Alliance was formally signed in October, 1922, our authority continued under the idea of, but actually without, any definite or signed Mandate at all. This Treaty contained conditions which enabled the British Government to satisfy the League of Nations that even under a monarchy system we were in a position to discharge mandatory obligations. The Treaty was to form the basis of the relations between the two countries for twenty years, unless 'Iraq in the meantime became a member of the League, and the British Government undertook to use its good offices to that end. Two years later the Council of the League decided to take the Treaty of Alliance as the basis of the arrangements between Great Britain and 'Iraq in place of a formal Mandate. Passing over a number of other negotiations and proposed treaties, most of which were not ratified, the next important landmark is the Treaty of 1925, in which the King of 'Iraq undertook to be guided in all important matters by the advice of our Government here at home. In this Treaty, signed in January, 1926, it was stipulated that the previous Treaty of Alliance of 1922 should remain in force for twenty-five years from December, 1925, unless 'Iraq became a member of the League before that time elapsed, and again our good offices were confirmed towards her achieving that ambition. The Treaty of 1927, which was not ratified, definitely stated that the British Government would support 'Iraq's application to enter the League in the year 1932, "provided all goes well"—a somewhat curious wording in an official document. In 1930 a further Treaty followed and was ratified, but this Treaty is not yet actually in force, as it only becomes operative when 'Iraq enters the League as a member. This runs for twenty-five years from the date of her membership, and although it is not actually in force, it is the Treaty under which our working arrangements are operative to-day. Briefly, it may be said that this Treaty provides for mutual assistance between this country and 'Iraq in the event of war; it gives us no special privileges except as an ally, but it does provide us with the right to establish an air base at Basra and another west of the Euphrates.

There is an interesting point in connection with the proposals for the 1930 Treaty of Alliance. When this was suggested the League was asked on what terms a Mandate could be relinquished, and the Council of the League referred the question to the Permanent Mandates Commission. This Commission referred back to the Council, asking whether the question dealt specifically with 'Iraq or with any Mandate. On receiving the reply that any Mandate was to be considered, the Commission laid down the conditions upon which such could be relinquished. Put very shortly, the conditions which were adumbrated were just what one would expect. For example, the ability of a State to keep order within its own borders; its ability to maintain stable finance; its ability to protect itself; to give security and protection to minorities; to have properly marked boundaries; and to have a properly operating judicial procedure. The Council of the League then asked the Permanent Mandates Commission to state whether, in the case of 'Iraq, they considered the country was ready and suitable to have independence; to which the Commission replied that, so far as they had information before them, they thought it was ready. The matter was then taken to the session of the League of Nations which sat in January this year, and it was then agreed to recommend to the Assembly that Great Britain should be released from her mandatory obligations from the date when the Assembly gave admittance to 'Iraq. The points, however, which had been laid down in regard to financial stability, judicial procedure, minorities, and the like, had to be covered by definite assurances and documents, and these have to be deposited and approved by the Council before the Assembly can admit 'Iraq to membership of the League. In all probability these matters will all be fulfilled in time for 'Iraq to enter the League in September of this year.

One of the important points, it will be noticed, in the minds of the members of the League—and also, of course, in the minds of many of those interested in Near Eastern questions—is the position of minorities when our control is removed. Of the minorities in 'Iraq, the Kurds, as I have said, are the largest group, but it is well to remember that the half-million of them resident in 'Iraq are only a small part of the whole race, and they are also spread over Turkey, Persia, and Syria. The Kurds have been described as the "Highlanders" of 'Iraq, and undoubtedly they are somewhat difficult to deal with, although in many ways an attractive people. In the early days, after the war, a movement for the setting-up of an independent Kurdish State was put forward, and several applications were made to the League of Nations to recognize and support this scheme. It was, however, eventually abandoned as impracticable by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Actually, a well-developed Kurdish point of view may be said only to exist in one part, and it is worth remembering that when the High Commissioner in 1921 tried to obtain a more or less unanimous opinion from the Kurds as to their wishes for their future government he found the task extremely difficult, if not impossible. When the League Frontier Commission visited 'Iraq in 1925, it laid down that the area in which the bulk of the Kurds resided should be within 'Iraqi territory, but added that regard must be paid to the desire of the Kurds to have officials of the Kurdish race for the dispensation of justice, and for teaching in schools, and that Kurdish should be the official language in their district. The real difficulty of carrying out this last proposal is that it is extremely doubtful which of the numerous dialects can be definitely stated to be the real Kurdish language. So far as the other conditions were concerned, full rights were guaranteed to all minorities by the official statement of the Prime Minister of 'Iraq in 1926. These were: Freedom of conscience, which Article 13 of the 'Iraq Constitution lays down clearly, and in which it is stated that although Islam is the official religion of the country, all are free in conscience and to practice any form of worship desired, provided that it does not conflict with public order. Any minority also has the right to maintain its own schools and to teach in them in different parts of the country. Again, it is clearly laid down that all subjects of the State shall have equal status as 'Iraqis. By the Electoral Law of 1924, communal representation was granted, and subsequently four Jew and four Christian deputies were elected, while under the Provincial Administration Law of 1927, twenty Jews and seventeen Christians were elected on the Provincial Councils. Articles 78 and 79 of the Constitution of 'Iraq provide for spiritual councils and religious courts in the case of minorities, thus leaving to the special conditions of each race such matters as relate to marriage, divorce, wills, and the like. On the whole, I think it may be said that the position of minorities in 'Iraq is completely safeguarded by the Constitution so far as any document of the kind can fulfil that purpose. In this connection it is interesting to note that in March, 1926, the British Government presented a memorandum to the Council of the League of Nations setting out the measures taken by the 'Iraqi Government to put into force the conditions laid down by the Frontier Commission in the case of the Kurds, and the League agreed that the required policy had been carried out. In May, 1928, all the Kurdish areas took part in the General Election and returned sixteen out of eighty-eight deputies, and there was no lack of Kurdish candidates. It may, I think, be said on the whole that the Kurds accepted the position as set out in the Constitution and were not seriously disturbed until the advent of the Treaty of 1930, when for the first time the date of the probable withdrawal of the British control became imminent. In October, 1930, the policy of the British Government and of 'Iraq was put before the Permanent Mandates Commission, together with petitions from certain Kurds, with the result that though the Commission rejected the proposal for a separate Kurdish Government under the League, they requested His Majesty's Government to consider measures to guarantee the position of the Kurds when the time came for the Mandate to be relinquished.

The Assyrians are in a rather different category from the Kurdish minority. They are an alien race, with a religion alien to 'Iraq, and they are not bound to the country by any strong ties of patriotism. Theirs, however, is a sad history, with which all must have the deepest sympathy. Twice betrayed by Russia during the war, a number of the survivors found their way into 'Iraq, where they were fed and housed for three years at the expense of the British taxpayer. In 1920 attempts were made to form an Assyrian colony on the Turko-Persian frontier, and since then more or less successful efforts have been made to settle them in the northern part of the country; so much so, in fact, that at the end of 1929 it was estimated that only about 350 families remained to be dealt with. A number of the Assyrians were recruited for local levies and did good service. Unfortunately, certain difficulties arose between these people and certain other 'Iraqi subjects, possibly because of jealousy on the part of the latter of the special privileges, grants of land, etc., which had been given to the Assyrians. At any rate, in March, 1931, it was necessary for the High Commissioner to call upon the 'Iraqi Government to honour their obligations in regard to remission of taxation and to promote Assyrian settlement.

Of the other minorities a word may perhaps be said of the Yezidis, who are commonly believed to be devil-worshippers. Actually this is entirely a misnomer, for although their worship does take the form of propitiating the devil, it cannot in any sense of the word be described as devil-worship. They are not easy people to deal with or to advance, as, for one thing, the tenets of their faith do not encourage, and in fact distinctly frown upon, any form of education.

Speaking generally, it is only proper and right that before her entry into the League 'Iraq should be required, as it is understood she is prepared to do, to give guarantees for the protection of minorities on exactly the same lines as those which have been given in the case of other States entering the League. There seems no reason to believe that in doing this she is not equally anxious to show her ability, as well as her intention, of welding all the minorities under her rule into a contented people in conjunction with the Muhammadan inhabitants of the country.

Some hold the view that this country should not abandon the Mandate in view of our responsibilities towards these minorities, but it is surely too late to raise this question now. As I have pointed out, we have undertaken for the last ten years to assist 'Iraq to take her place among the nations of the world, and we cannot now claim more from her in the way of guarantees than the League have demanded from her and from other countries in a similar position.

As regards the future of the country itself, the growth of trade must of course be slow, but considering the world depression which exists at the present time, there is no reason to be pessimistic. Exports are fairly steady, and general trade is not going back. The future development of the oil industry is largely in the hands of the 'Iraq Petroleum Company, the interests of which are held about equally by British, French, Dutch, and Americans. This company has secured from the Government the right to develop oil east of the Tigris in the Kirkuk district, and the Government of 'Iraq does not appear to have made a bad bargain, as it has secured a payment of £400,000 a year from May, 1931, half of which is to be considered as rent and the balance to be set against actual royalties when the oil is produced, which royalties are payable at the rate of 4s. a ton. It is, I believe, intended that a pipe-line should be laid from Kirkuk to Haditha, a distance of about 140 miles, and that the supply-lines should then bifurcate, one pipe proceeding to Haifa in British territory and the other to Tripoli within the French area—in the first case a distance of about 480 miles and in the second of 410 miles or thereabouts. Another company is, I understand, negotiating for the development of the oilfields west of the Tigris. So far as railway development goes, a survey has been made for a direct line to Baghdad, through Palestine and Trans-Jordania, but I think no report of that survey has yet been made public.

It is said that our giving up the 'Iraq Mandate may have a serious effect upon other mandated territories, and it may well be that the French may fear some such effect in Syria. The other "A" Mandate which Great Britain holds is for Palestine, but the conditions there are in no way similar to those in 'Iraq.

No doubt the new kingdom of 'Iraq will have difficulties of its own to meet, but so far as its relations with surrounding countries are concerned, there seems no special reason to fear any serious trouble in the immediate future. Ibn Sa'ud, the Sultan of Nedj, has signed a treaty of friendship with 'Iraq, and although he is not without his own problems, owing to the decline in pilgrimage to Mecca and the difficulties with Egypt over the Holy Carpet, there is no reason to fear that the relations between Hedjaz and 'Iraq will not remain friendly, though border tribes may stir up trouble from time to time, as they have done in the past. 'Iraq, however, is not a country that can be easily invaded. On the other border, tribes from Persia—a country which is not too settled—might also give rise to disturbances, but unless in the event of serious strife in Persia itself or the spread of Bolshevist influence to it from Russia, there is no reason to suppose that 'Iraq cannot hold her own.

Our future responsibilities when the Mandate is relinquished are as few as our advantages for the immense amount of time, money, and valuable lives we have spent in the service of the country. We have a right to maintain forces to protect our air bases if we desire it, although 'Iraq with her own army and a growing air force has undertaken to do all that is necessary in this connection. No doubt we shall be able to promote a commercial treaty at a later date, but, apart from this, our air force only exists to protect commercial trade routes and to promote commercial air development. The responsibility for internal order in every respect will rest upon 'Iraq itself.

From what I have written it will be clear, I think, that while I regret the attitude which this country has adopted ever since the war, I realize that it is useless to deal now with the past. No doubt the cry for home rule is in some ways the greatest tribute to our carrying out of our obligations. We can at least claim that all we could do has been done to ensure that the kingdom of 'Iraq will now be able to stand alone, and steadily grow into a stable State with a contented people. The courts will administer the law which the Arab believes in and understands, and we can only trust that, as a close ally of the British people, the establishment of the 'Iraq nation will bring order and civilization to the remotest parts of the desert, restore this ancient land to peace and prosperity, and enable a great Arab nation once more to take its proper place among the free peoples of the world.

THE HOME-COMING OF THE HYDERABAD PRINCES

By A Correspondent

From early dawn on the long-expected day every street in the great city of Hyderabad in the Deccan, every road that leads to it from the many suburbs and adjoining villages, was thronged with people going all in one direction—towards the railway station at Nampalli. There were other railway stations in the city, which is vast and populous and of late years has become quite up to date in its convenience, but this was the terminus at which travellers arrive from Bombay, and Bombay is the port at which travellers arrive from Europe. Everybody in the city, from the Ruler downward, had long been expecting the return of certain travellers from Europe with a longing which those who know the tie which binds the Ruler to his people in an Indian State will understand. The heir-apparent and his brother, who had been for more than half a year in Europe, were to return that day. To increase the popular excitement they had lately married and were bringing back their brides with them. The bride of the Crown Prince was the only daughter of the Khalifa of the Muslims, a princess of the House of Osman; her name was "Royal Pearl," while the bride of the other prince was a descendant of the same great family, and her name was "Water-lily." The Muslims were glad as if an honour had been done to every one of them, and the Hindus were glad because they knew the brides were noble ladies, thoughtful for the poor. Some came on foot, others in painted carts, like boxes upon wheels, with open sides and coloured curtains flapping in the breeze. Some rode on sturdily plumed tailed horses, and here and there a group of two or three rode high upon a supercilious camel. But as they neared their destination carts were left behind and horses stabled. Dense crowds on foot, silent and respectful, kept back by lines of soldiers, watched the Nizam and his great nobles drive up to the railway station. As His Exalted Highness passed there was a little clapping of hands, and some schoolboys, who must have had a European master, gave three cheers. But the respect of Eastern crowds consists in silence.

At nine o'clock the whistle of a locomotive in the distance caused a movement of the crowd, and a minute later an engine appeared in sight, drawing the bridal state saloon bedecked with flowers, followed by other state saloons; for Sir Akbar Hydari, the leader of the Hyderabad Delegation to the Round-Table Conference, and his colleague, Sir Richard Chenevix Trench, were returning with the princes. Behind the white state coaches—palaces on wheels—some ordinary first-class coaches for the members of the princes' suite made up a train of quite unusual length.

The platform had been divided by a curtain into two unequal parts. The greater part was packed with noblemen and high officials of the State, the lesser part was empty save for a few servants. It was there, behind the curtain, that the brides were to alight; and it was there that, after embracing his two sons and having them blessed on their arrival by some holy men, the Nizam first saw his daughters-in-law. It is to be surmised that His Exalted Highness approved of what he saw, for he seemed quite joyful when he reappeared, and the speech which he delivered to the people on the platform was in happy vein.

And then, as the royal carriages drove off, the Indian crowds for once threw off their ancient calm and wild applause and shouts of blessing accompanied the Nizam and the princes all along the miles of road, first to the palace and then to Bella Vista, the lake-side palace which had been allotted to the princes. An era of new hope had dawned for Hyderabad. It was an Indian winter day, hot sunshine with a cool breeze blowing—the Deccan breeze which can wreak havoc on occasion, the breeze beloved of Aurangzeb. The temperature was about that of a summer's day in Lombardy. The princesses, it is said, were astonished at the coolness, and remarked that the climate of Hyderabad was like that of Nice.

The heir-apparent had been ill and was still only convalescent; but he was able to be present at all the wedding festivities, which were, however, slightly modified on his account. His Exalted Highness the Nizam had forbidden his people to indulge in any extravagance of decoration or illumination. Those who wished to show their loyalty on the occasion might contribute what they could afford to a fund for providing a "Shadikhana" (a place where weddings can be celebrated) for the city. But, notwithstanding the firman, the illuminations were magnificent every night for a week after the arrival of the brides and bridegrooms.

The old walled city by the River Musi is but a small part of the modern city of Hyderabad, but it is still the most important part, containing as it does the most important public buildings. It lies in a hollow among rocky tors, and even from the neighbouring heights is almost entirely concealed by the trees which surround it and are interspersed among its buildings. The landscape round reminds one of the background of an old Italian picture—here a citadel or temple on a rocky height, here close to it a lake, a huddled town, a grove of forest trees. There is one side only from which a distant view of the old city can be obtained—the slope from upper Chaderghat to the riverside; but that till lately was all buildings and high garden walls. Now that modern ideas of town-planning prevail, the City Improvement Board has opened a wide road which forms a vista. On the night of the State banquet, those who drove from Bella Vista (on roads which will compare with any to be found in Europe) had, thanks to this new plan, a vision of the city—domes and minarets and palaces decked out in jewellery of fairy lights that quite outshone the stars—long before they reached it. And in the city streets made beautiful and on the ledges and the roofs of ancient buildings stood dense crowds of silent people full of an intense desire which could be almost felt.

Motor-car after motor-car passed through the river-gate under the arches, past the lovely Char Minar, and the gateway of the stately Mecca Masjid to the palace. There the Court of Honour, illuminated with myriads of fairy lights which were reflected in the waters of the central basin, was like a scene from the Arabian Nights. The guests assembled on the steps before the throne-room awaiting the arrival of the Nizam and the princes and princesses—noblemen in Moghul Court dress, Indian ladies in rich saris mingled with British officers in uniform and civilians in full evening dress. There were also many English ladies quite at home amid the throng. To the strains of "The Roast Beef of Old England," played by an excellent band, the guests went in to the dinner-tables, which were laid with the Nizam's famous gold plate. After dinner the toast of the King was honoured, and then the British Resident, rising to propose the toast of the Nizam, made a speech which delighted the people of Hyderabad. In the course of it he said:

"It is a matter of common knowledge how the Hyderabad Delegation, under the able leadership of Sir Akbar Hydari, carried out this policy and made their mark on the Round-Table Conference. Indeed, they brought the prestige of the Nizam and his Dominions to a very high level and made the whole Empire see that the title of the Faithful Ally of the British Government was no empty formula.

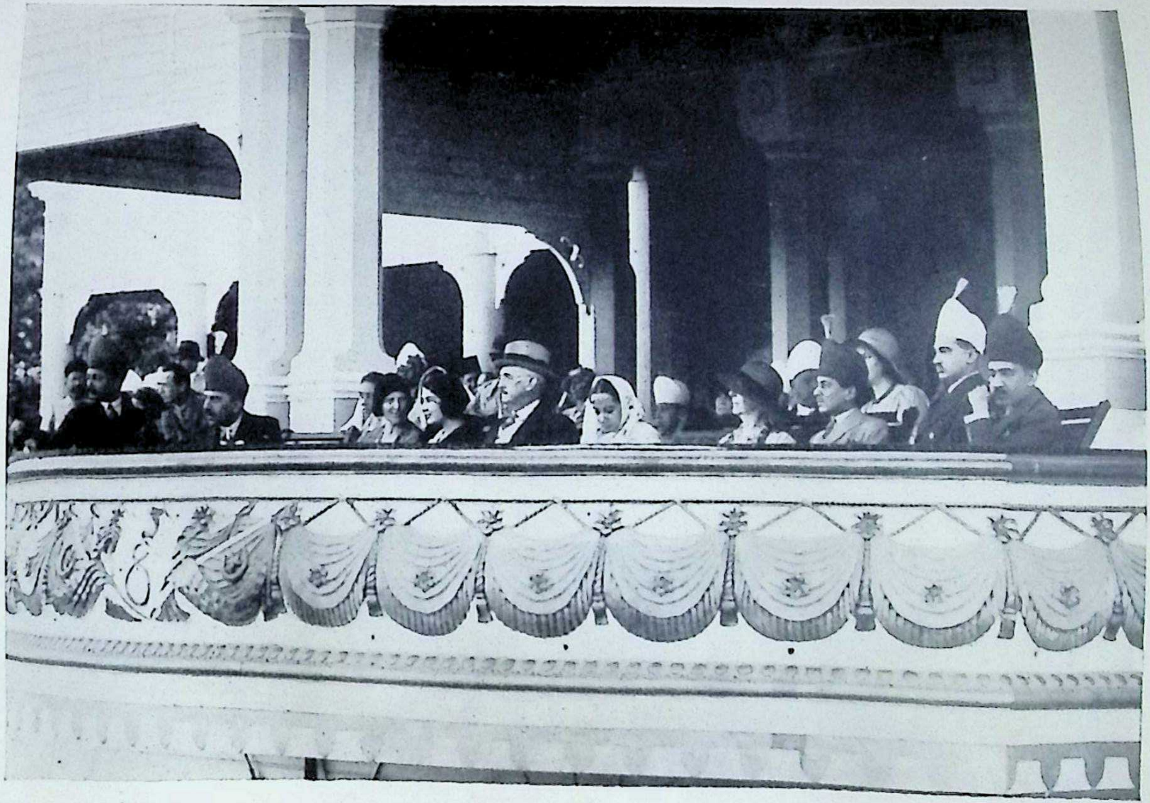
"Then came the news of these alliances of a very different sort —the romantic alliances which have captured the imagination of so many in Europe and in India. I can assure you that there was no deep-laid plan connecting these events, but, at the same time, they have all sprung from one origin—His Exalted Highness's deep-rooted desire to do his best for all that concern him, for his family, for the people of his Dominions, and for the Indian Empire as a whole. It happened, and I think that this is a happy augury, that all these plans came to fruition at the same time. The Delegation returned bearing evidence of the worth of Hyderabad's contributions to the deliberations of the Empire, and, on New Year's Eve, the Sahibzadas arrived with their charming brides.

"We all congratulate them most sincerely on their wonderful good fortune. Little did they think when they started some ten months ago on their European tour what a happy issue it would have. We are all more than sorry for the cause that has kept Princess Dur-us-Shawar from being here to-night, but there is one consolation in that I am able to say things which it might have embarrassed her to hear. Whatever doubts anyone may have had on the wisdom of this great change in the customs of the Asafia House, they must have vanished when the princess appeared—dispelled by her queenly beauty and dignity and by her rare charm and intelligence. So much I can say in her absence; but I must spare her charming cousin the embarrassment she would feel were I to express to her face the high praise which is her due.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I will ask you in a moment to drink to the health of the father who has acted with such foresight and courage on behalf of his sons, and of the ruler who has acted with foresight and courage on behalf of the people of his Dominions. I will ask you to drink long life, prosperity, every happiness, and a brilliant future for his heir and Princess Dur-us-Shawar, and for Sahibzada Muazsam Jah and his charming and talented bride—in short, to drink to the increased prosperity and dignity of the Asafia House; may it, INSHALLAH, be beautified, strengthened, and established by these happy alliances and by the wisdom and courage of its head, both in the councils of the Empire and in the hearts of its people. Ladies and Gentlemen, His Exalted Highness the Nizam, his sons and their brides. God bless them."

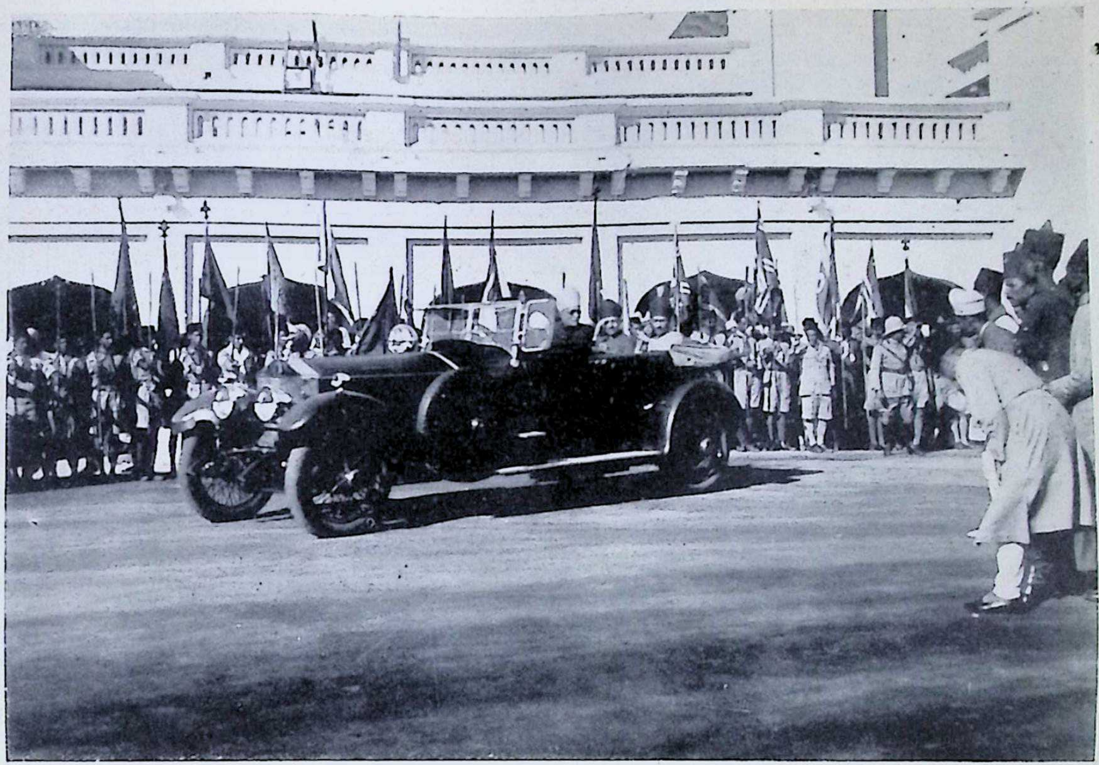
It was a happy speech delivered in a cordial tone, but it was much more than that in the estimation of Hyderabad, the greatest of the Indian States, last survival of the glorious Moghul Empire. The remarkable progress which the State has made in all directions during the reign of the present Nizam had not been advertised, and so had been overlooked. Now Hyderabad had obtained full recognition as a modern State, and the Turkish marriage had restored its international status. The Nizam's well-earned title of "England's Faithful Ally" meant something to the British. That was the feeling. Great was the joy throughout the city when the speech appeared in the newspapers. And then the city became quiet in the month of Ramadan, the month of fasting and thanksgiving, and remembrance, which began just nine days after the arrival of the special train.

HYDERABAD,
March 7.



THE TWO PRINCES AND PRINCESS NILUFAR WATCHING THE MILITARY SPORTS HELD IN HONOUR OF THE BRIDES AND BRIDEGROOMS

In the middle is the President (Lieut.-Col. Keyes), wearing a hat. On the right in front of the pillar is the Crown Prince.
(See article on "The Home-Coming of the Hyderabad Princes.")



THE HYDERABAD PRINCES IN THEIR CAR AT THE RAILWAY STATION

A GLIMPSE OF SHILLONG.

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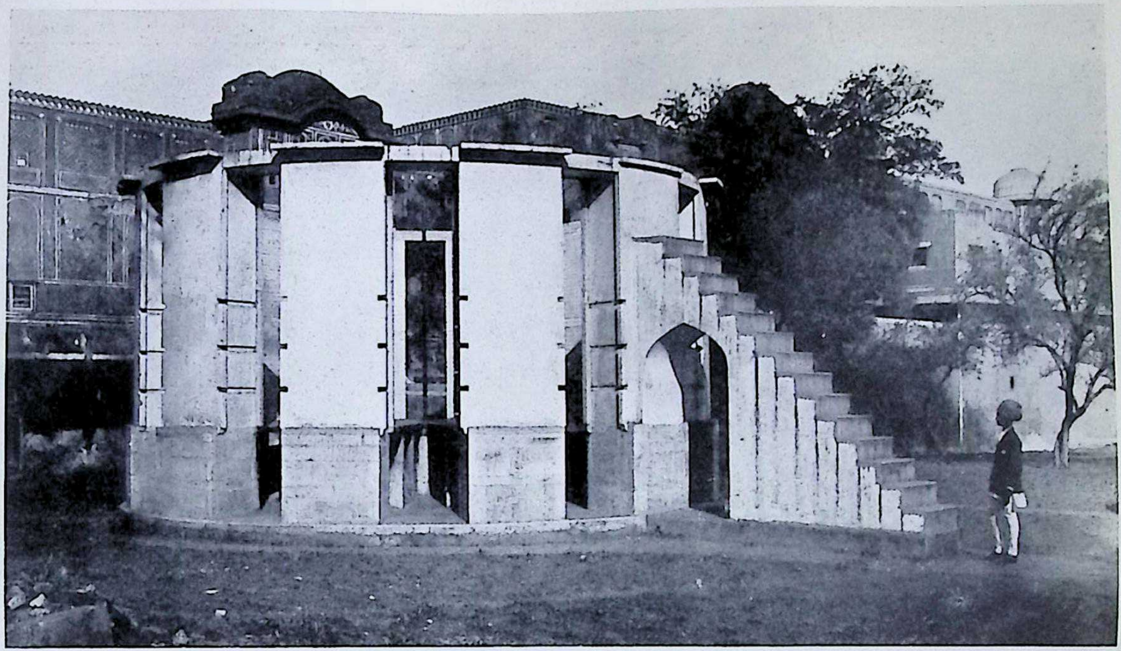

JAIPUR OBSERVATORY, RAM YANTRA.

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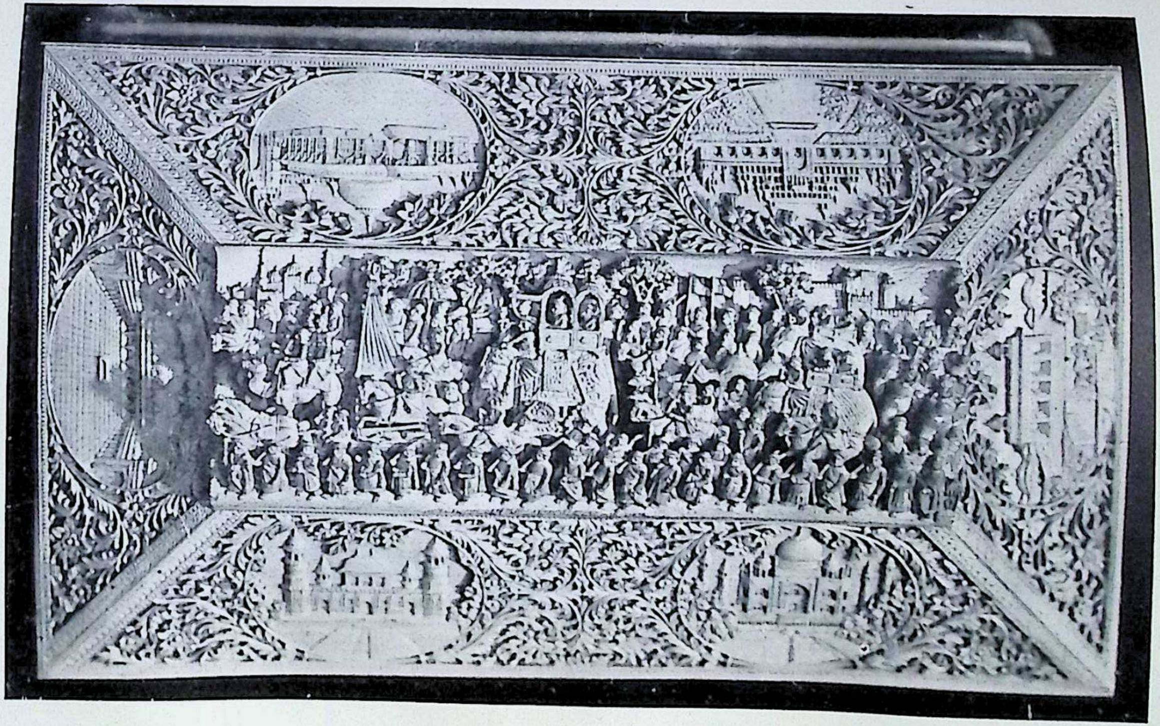

AN IVORY CASKET.

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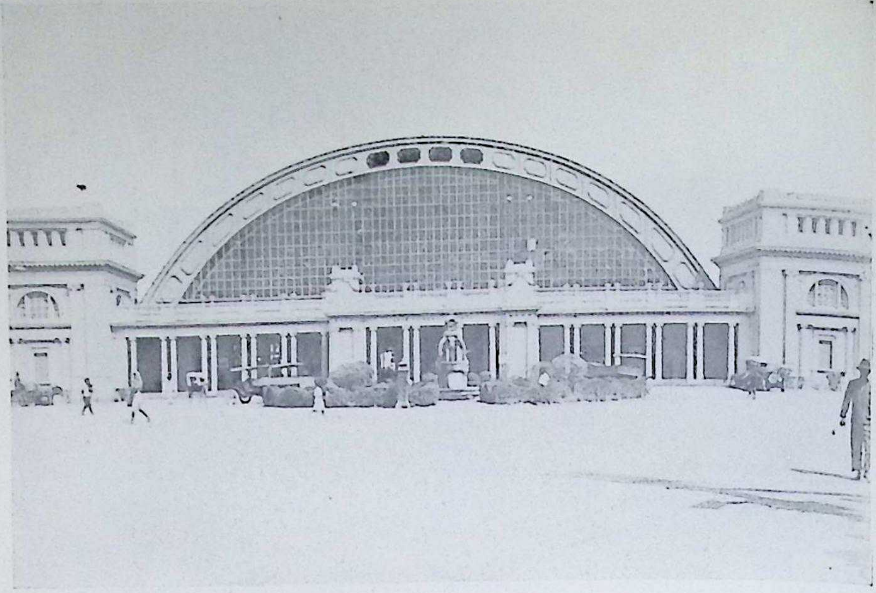
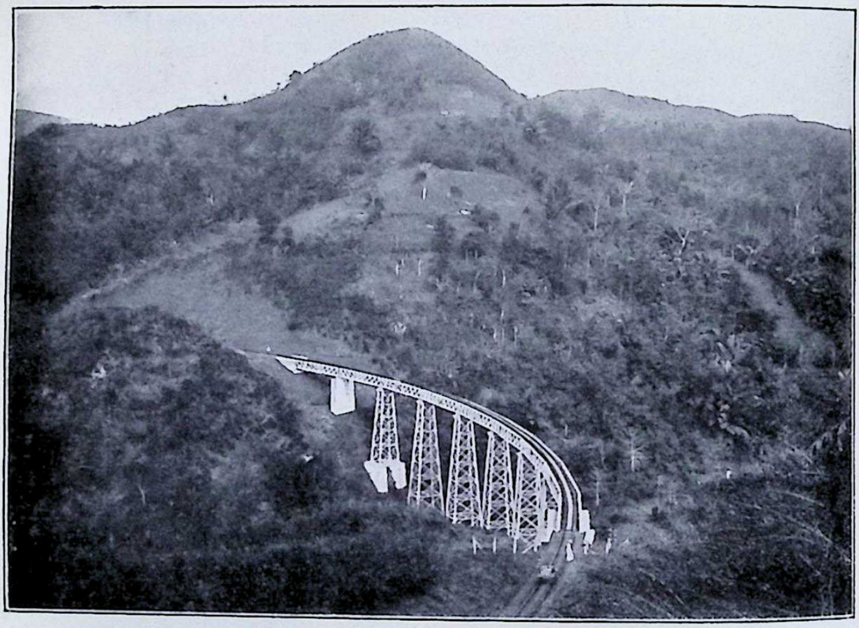


BANGKOK RAILWAY TERMINUS



A RAILWAY VIADUCT, NORTHERN SIAM.

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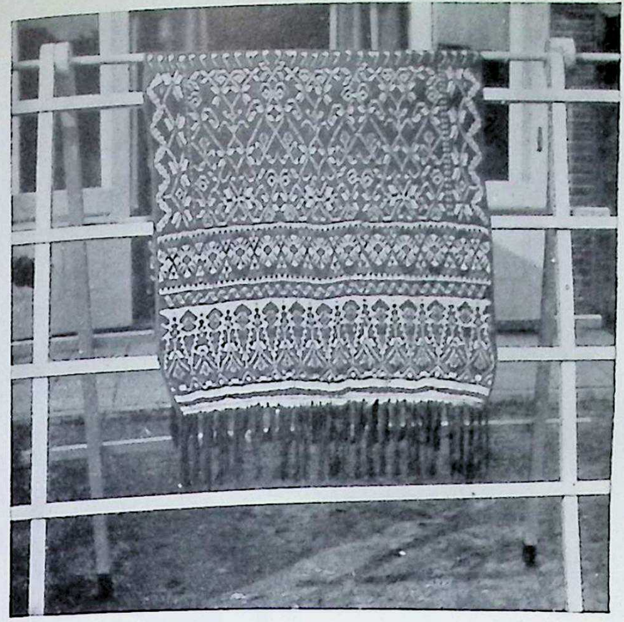
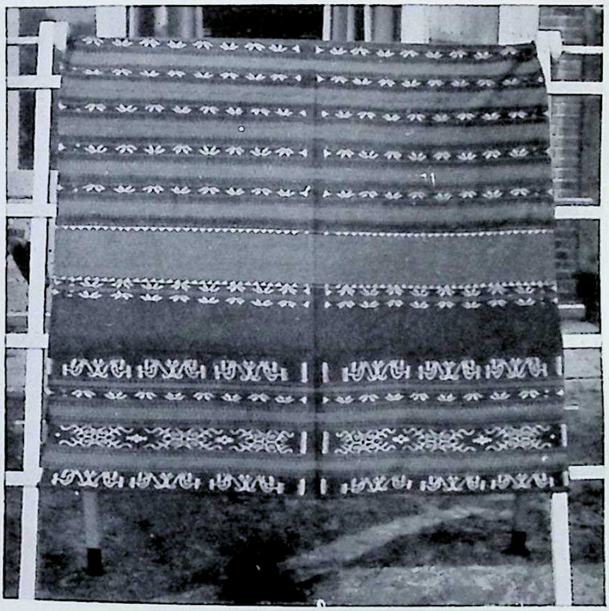


WOVEN MATERIAL FROM ROTI (W. OF TIMOR).



A "SARONG" FROM REJUA (FLORES): DARK BLUE WITH YELLOW PATTERN.

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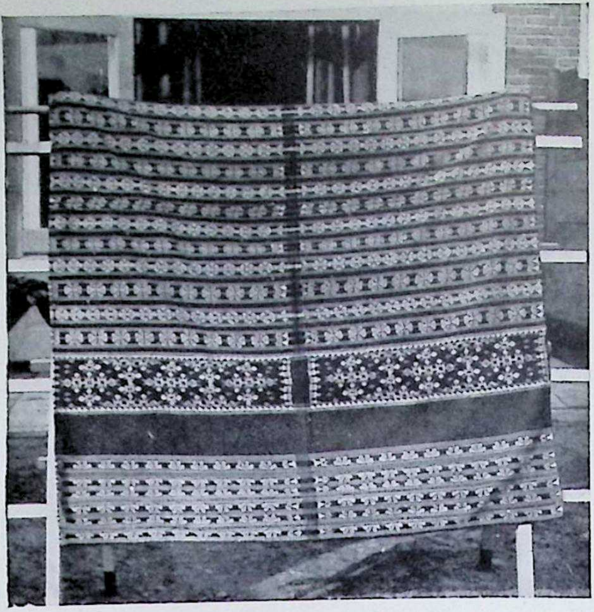
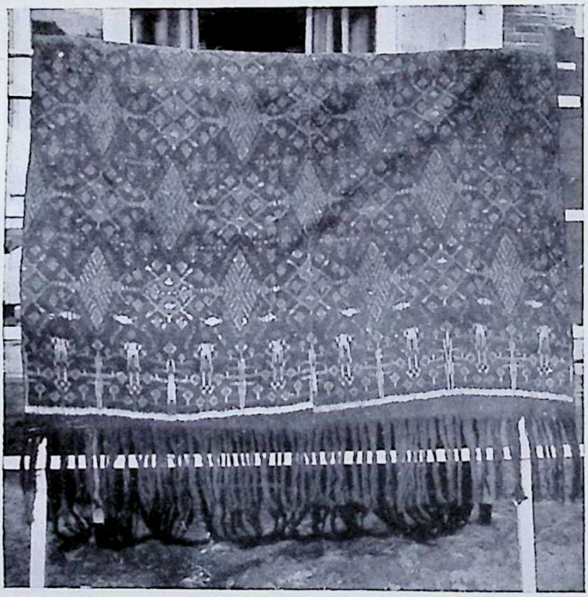


A PARTICULARLY FINE TISSUE FROM SAVU, WEST OF TIMOR, AT WHICH THE WIFE OF A RAJAH WORKED FOR A WHOLE YEAR.



WOVEN MATERIAL FROM ENDEH, SOUTH COAST OF FLORES.

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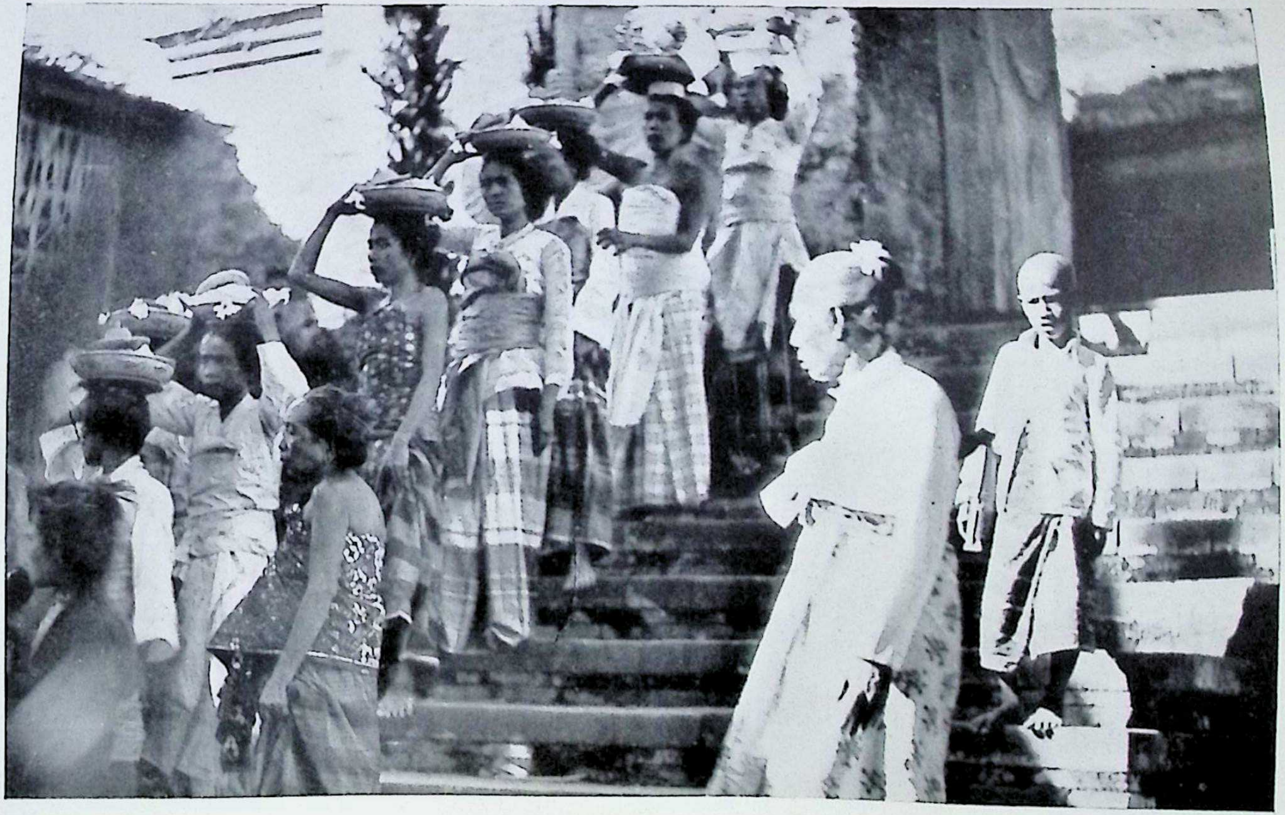

WOMEN BEARING OFFERINGS AND HOLY WATER TO A CREMATION (BALI).

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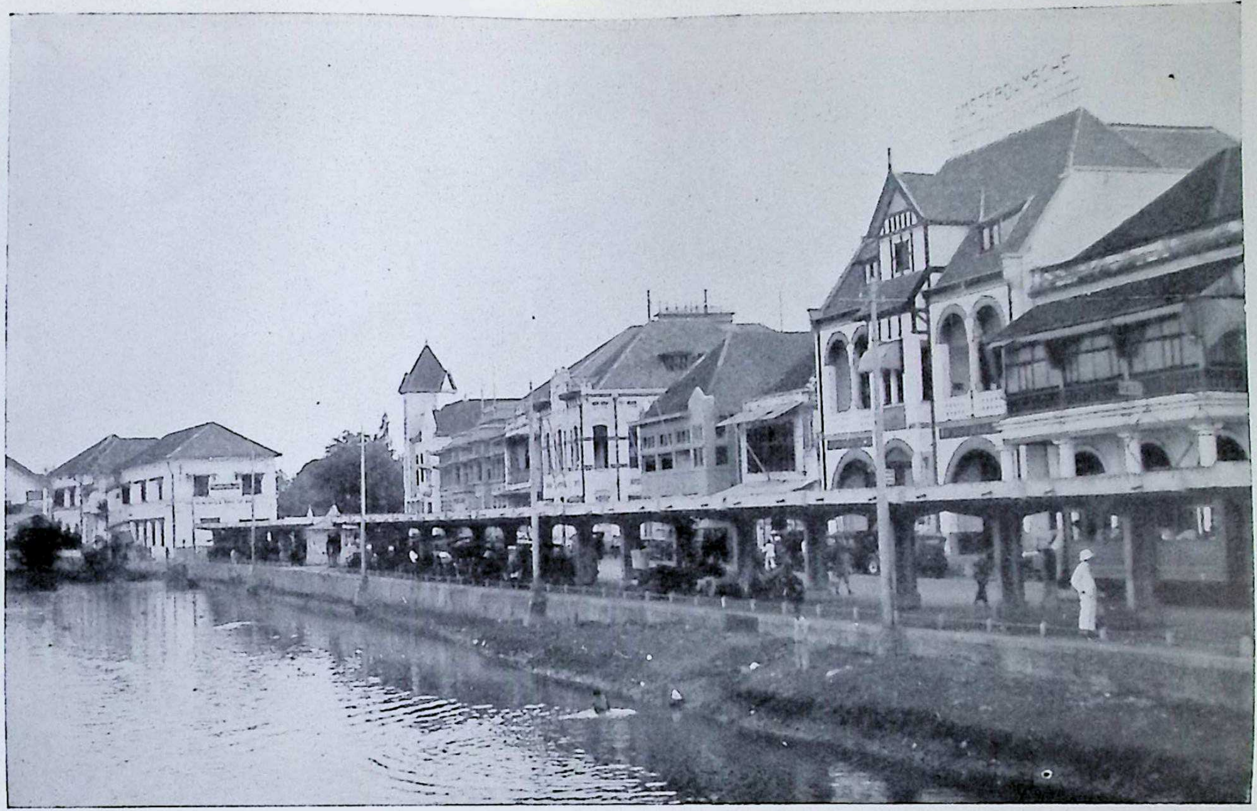

THE "WILLEMSKADE" AT SURABAYA IN OCTOBER, 1930.

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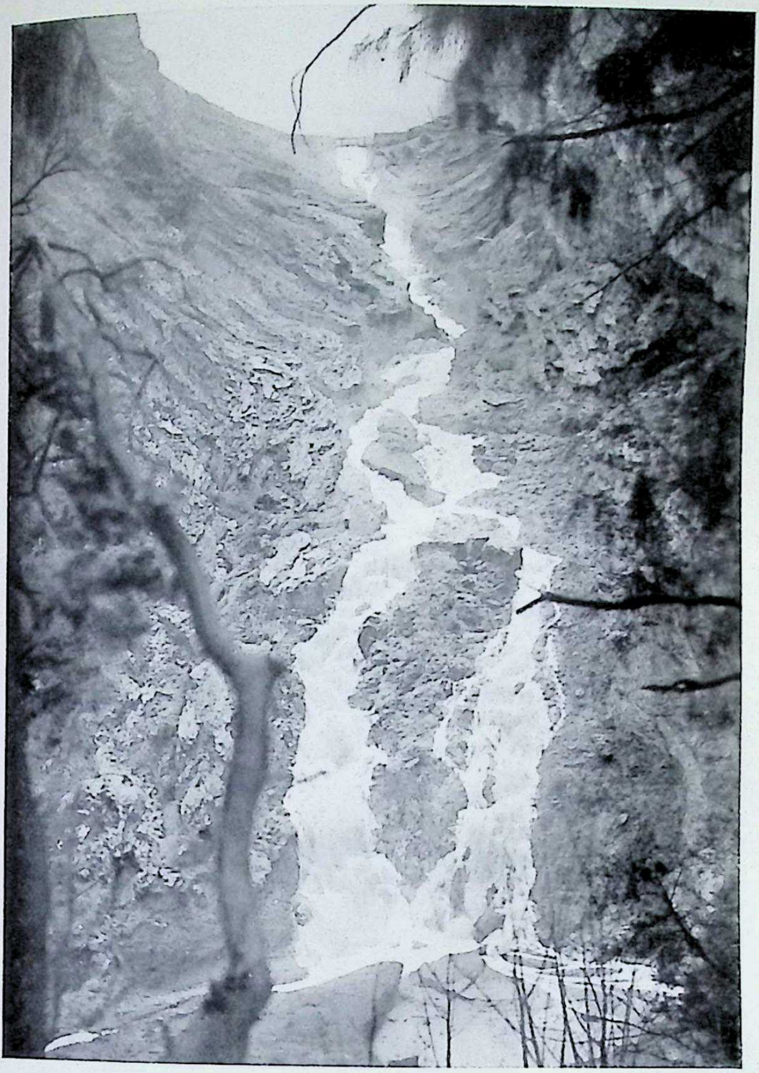

OUTLET OF THE CRATER-LAKE OF MOUNT IJÈN WITH THE BANYU PAHIT (BITTER-WATER) FALLS.

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A VILLAGE OF THE CARAÏBIAN INDIANS (SURINAM).

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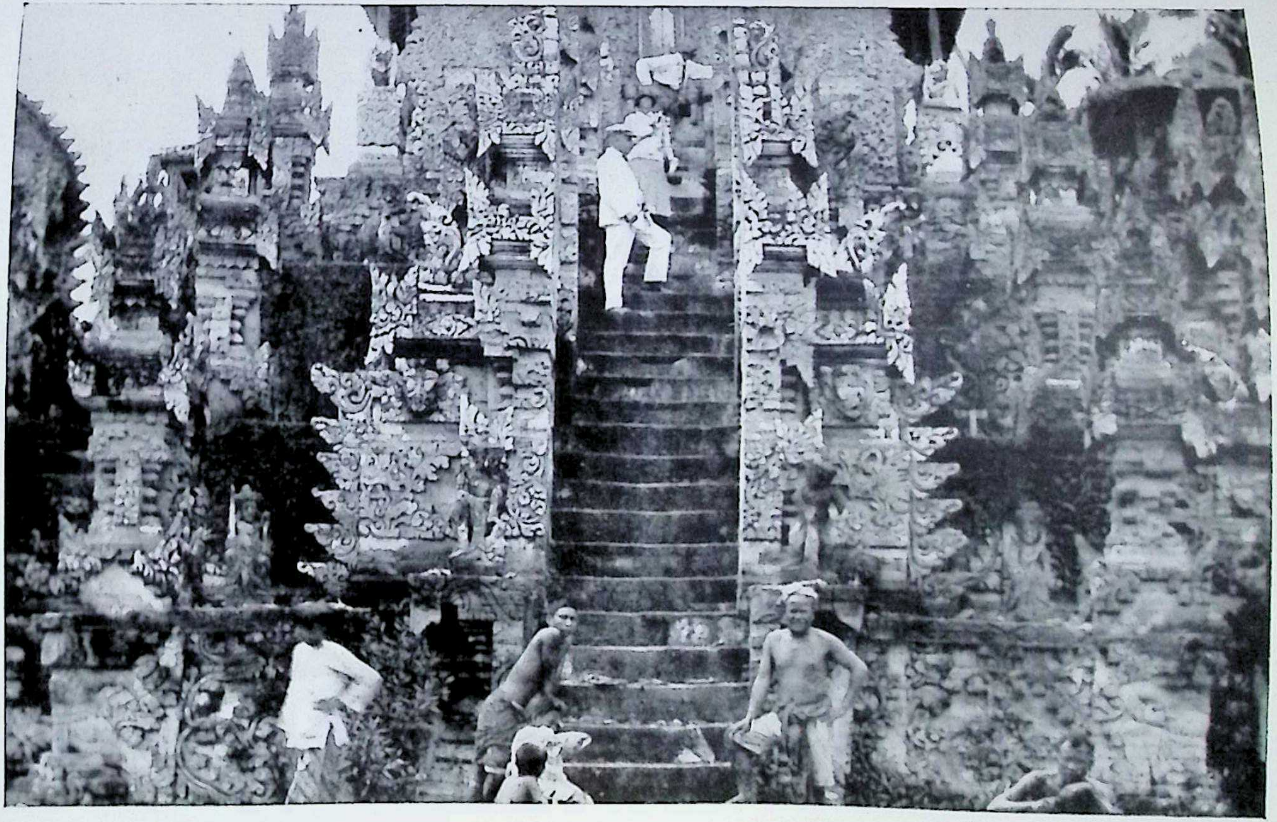

MONUMENTAL STAIRWAY IN THE TEMPLE OF SANGSIT (NORTH BALI).

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LOOKING ACROSS THE DEAD SEA TOWARDS JEBEL USDUM FROM THE MOUNTAINS OF MOAB.

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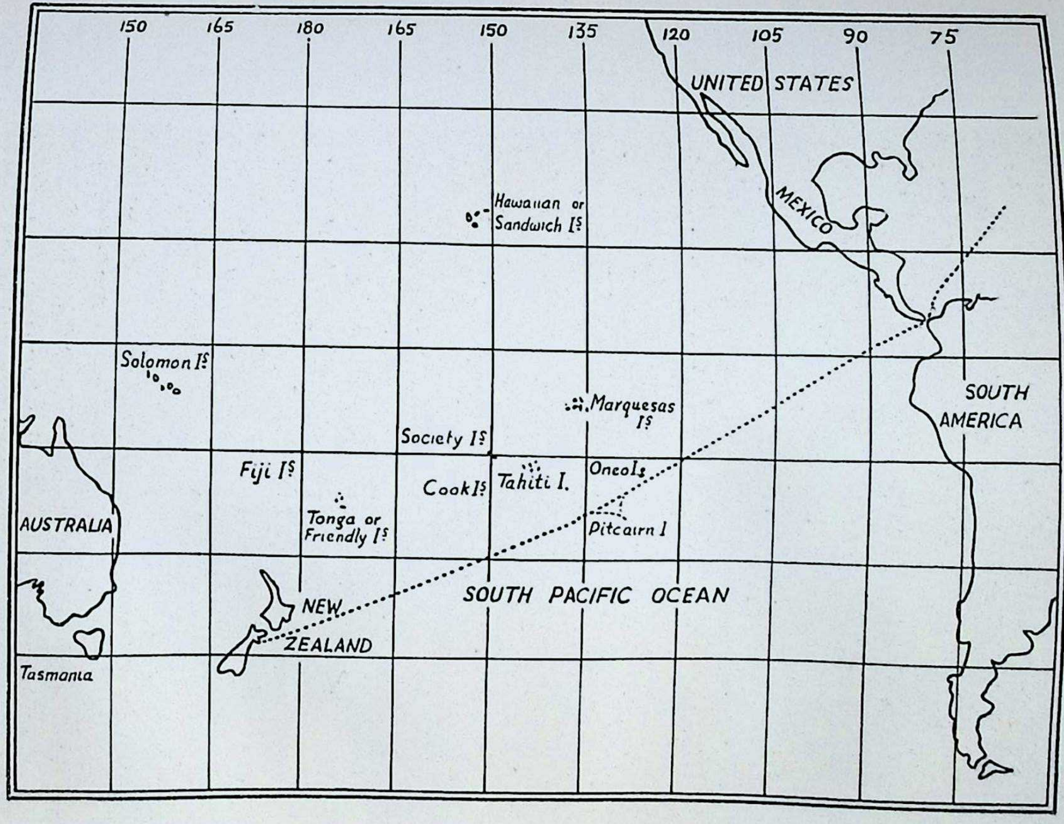
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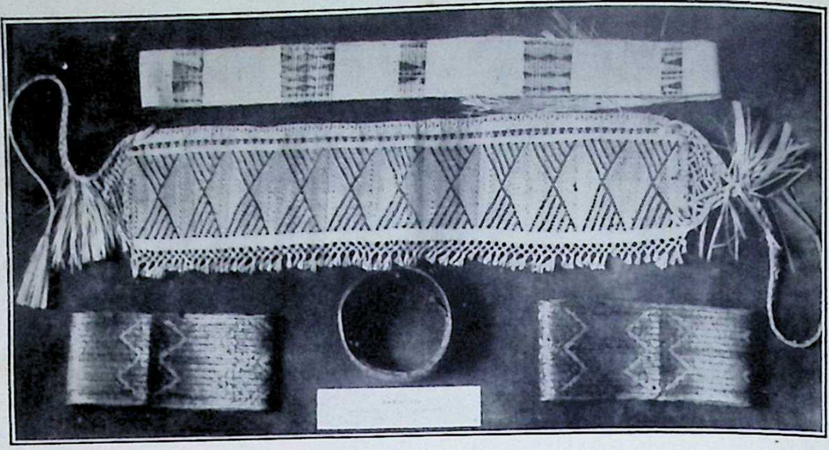
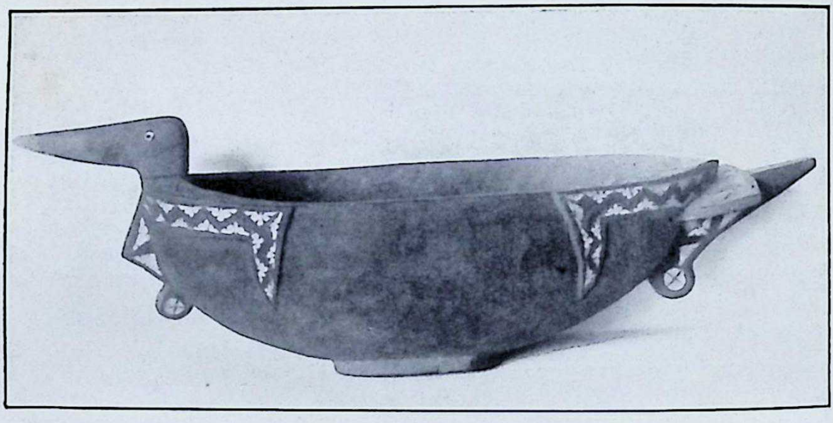
Fiji I^s
Cook I^s
Tahiti I.
Oneo I^s
Tonga or
Friendly I^s
Pitcairn I
AUSTRALIA
SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN
NEW
ZEALAND
Tasmania

SKETCH-MAP INDICATING THE POSITION OF THE SOLOMON ISLANDS.



BANDS AND BRACELETS: PLAITED STRAW (SOLOMON ISLANDS).



FOOD BOWL, CARVED FROM WOOD AND SHAPED LIKE A BIRD (SOLOMON ISLANDS).

KOKOMURUKI ISLAND*

BY C. M. SALWEY

(Hon. member of the Asiatic Society of Japan, etc., and author of the *Island Dependencies of Japan*, etc.)

THIS small island of twenty-five acres is only just marked on some of the most carefully prepared maps by a single dot. It lies between the Equator and Australia, and is included in the Guadelcanal division, south-east of the Pacific Ocean. It belongs to the British Dominions.

Kokomuruki Isle proves to be one of great interest and romance. It has been the good fortune of the author to come in touch with the only English white lady who has virtually given her life to it, by estranging herself from others in order to sojourn among the half-caste community of about a hundred souls who have made Kokomuruki their earthly home.

In the early days when adventure by navigation was undertaken by brave and noble men in quest of knowledge concerning the island-strewn Pacific Ocean of seventy millions of square miles of water, this group was visited.† Dark spots that dot the vast expanse proved to be islands, sometimes inhabited, sometimes desolate of any humanity.

It was the north-west portion of this large archipelago that was best known centuries long ago, but now we have gained information of a most interesting nature, especially from Mr. Frank Burnett's book, published by Messrs. Bell and Sons, Ltd., in 1911, entitled, *Through Polynesia and Papua.* In this work we learn how industrious the natives have been in reclaiming the land from the inroads of the sea; how sturdy men and women have turned to good account the fertile land, finding it in a condition to sow crops for food, as well as for barter and exchange for the absolute necessities of life when opportunities arose.

The Solomon Isles are credited with having been discovered by a Spaniard, Alvaro Mendana, in A.D. 1567, who gave the islands their names on account of the valuable materials they possessed and produced, which became highly prized in trade, particularly in those days; articles such as ivory, copra, coral, sandalwood, tortoise-shell, and so forth; raw materials for hand and art work, which already at the beginning of the last century were coveted and secured at a high price. Many of our grandparents' treasures that have been handed down to us bear out this statement.

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* The smallest island of the Solomon Archipelago in the Western Pacific Ocean, under British rule.

† It must be borne in mind that Vasquez Nunez de Balboa was the first to sight the Pacific Ocean when on his adventuresome pursuit across Panama with his followers.

Each of these islands that I am venturing to designate *Flowers of the Ocean* has a beauty of its own. They attracted explorers not only to visit, but to sojourn in them, and discover their several peculiarities and charms. Carteret, perhaps, was one of the most eager in days gone by. He is stated to have been the first to sight this interesting archipelago. Whether this be true or not, the Spaniard already mentioned laid claim to investigating the whole of this extensive group. Louis de Bougainville also came here.

A division of this somewhat extensive group of the Solomons that go to make up the vast tracts occurred in 1893, when the British and the Germans drew a dividing line for the time between, and each country owned a portion; but since the World War they have become entirely under British rule.

Most of the larger islands around this one in question are still inhabited by people known as Papuans. The tropical situation, so near the high temperature of the Equator, prevents the wearing of any but the scantiest of clothing, though they are perpetually molested by numerous enemies, which are active day and night. Poisonous spiders, mosquitoes, and centipedes freely abound.

In this island of Kokomuruki they have to work hard for their daily sustenance. Provision to quench thirst has to be sought, as well as substantial food for daily fare. They love their plots of land, which have been theirs by inheritance for generations. These they guard with jealous care, having another use for these inheritances besides cultivation. Money secured from chance visitors to the community for what takes the fancy of the sailor or stranger, such as turtles, shells, beautiful butterflies; rare plants, the seeds of which are often scattered and dropped from the beaks of birds in flight to other climes, thus taking root; coral of many kinds, feathers of birds unknown in European forests, new entomological specimens, and other attractions for the scientist. All these bring money to the natives, and in order to secure this in a place of safety, their booty is hidden away in the earth, and, they believe, protected by the trained snakes that are taught to guard the treasure and show dangerous proclivities if approached by any but the rightful owner. The books for boys on Treasure Islands and the adventures of raiders are quite exemplified in this case, as well as in many other desolate spots of the Pacific.

Besides the smaller enemies to life and health already mentioned, there are other still more active creatures in the island. I refer here to the alligators or crocodiles. As many as sixty eggs have been found in a single muddy nest. These huge monsters lie on the mud and seem, like some other though smaller specimens of nature, to partake of the colour of their surroundings. But on dark nights, lying perfectly still with their jaws wide open and their breath emitting a curious fascinating odour (somewhat resembling musk), they attract small living creatures so near that in an unguarded moment, with a sharp stroke of their tail, they knock the victims insensible before devouring them.

Not only do they lie in wait to entrap small creatures, but five human beings have fallen their victims during the last four years.*

Land crabs are another serious pest. Slowly in the quiet hours of darkness they climb the trees and deprive the inhabitants of their supply of daily food—namely, the fruits on which they depend for nourishment when the water supply runs dry, as the rainy season is very uncertain.

Luckily, the island produces various kinds of fruits, including oranges, coconuts, bananas, and other tropical fruit, and native vegetables.

Parrots, with their beautiful plumage, also cause trouble in consuming the food that the island produces. Like all the roving marauders of nature, their appetite seems insatiable, but on account of their beauty, and friendly inclinations, they are permitted to indulge in these proclivities. In fact, birds of all kinds are encouraged, since, being without correct knowledge of time from the want of clocks, the people tell the time by a system of their own.

Next to the fear of the alligators, the lady tells us "we have poisonous snakes and centipedes, scorpions and deadly spiders, which it requires the greatest care to avoid, but the most dreaded insect of all is the mosquito, who conveys so many diseases, such as malaria, and even black-water fever."

Before the marriage of the English lady in 1918, she was a trained nurse, sent out by the Colonial Office in England to work among natives and Europeans. Her medical knowledge has been her safeguard, and her general knowledge of other useful employments has endeared her to the community. They look up to her as a loving and kind mother to all, in whatever condition of distress they are suffering, and truly great has been her help to one and all in times of sore need.

"The fascination of the romance of being the pioneers in a strange, uncared-for island of coral groves, clear skies, and eversmiling sunshine," allured the lady to Kokomuruki Island soon after her marriage, and she became quickly disillusioned on arrival. She was often in charge while her husband travelled to other parts of this archipelago in quest of food for barter and exchange and daily necessities such as clothes, tools, medicines, etc., and at first was terrified of the natives, "but use has become a second nature, and fear is almost mastered."

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* This from a letter received from the lady in the island.

The house occupied by the lady and her husband, as well as the furniture, is all hand-made from materials found in the bush. They live, and very often sleep, in the open, notwithstanding the dangers described.

The difficulty of communicating with the English lady on this island lies in the great distance that exists between Sydney, in Australia, and Tulagi, in which the main Post Office for the group is situated. All letters, however, are taken care of, and distributed when called for by the residents of the other islands, as well as those who have the authority to receive them.

When in the year 1893 the British Protectorate was proclaimed, the official issues of stamps were most carefully examined by Mr. C. M. Woodford, the resident Commissioner, and letters were marked "franked," until the question of the postage stamping was finally settled.*

As with most other people in the world the love of gold and other possessions has a wonderful influence over the scattered inhabitants. Some of the more careful begin to hoard their possessions at an early age. In this exceedingly small island of Kokomuruki we learn that youth is of a happy disposition, fairly industrious, and not while young fond of spending his money long before it is due.

Before closing this account of Kokomuruki, which was brought to my notice as I specialize in writing on islands, and this one in particular (a letter from which appeared in the *Daily Express* some time ago), I should like to say that, my sympathy being aroused, I discovered that the dearest wish of this lady was to have a small hospital in which to nurse and shield her patients from ever-present dangers in times of sickness. Consulting friends concerning this dire situation, the doctor who was attending me at the time willingly and generously headed my list of subscribers, and then other friends came forward. For the modest sum of £30 a wooden shelter was planned by the lady's husband, and the work has already begun. A tank structure is to be supplied also for storing the rain water, as there does not appear to be any other for drinking purposes, or any rivers or spring in Kokomuruki Isle.

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* This information has been courteously afforded to the author by the Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of the Herts Philatelic Society, W. M. Holman, F.R.P.S.L., who gave a most accurate account and minute description of the official, and false stamps, of the Solomon Islands before the above Society.

The modest sum mentioned will not provide furniture of any kind within the hospital, and, when raised, the building and contents will have to be protected against the superstition of the inhabitants.

Though many among the community of a hundred souls are Christians, some cling to old beliefs—viz., if sickness ends in death, it is thought to be through the influence of the devil, and there is the idea that if death takes place in an ordinary dwelling the house is doomed and must be burnt.

How different to the custom concerning demise in a house of the Formosians—with them, wherein the *Major domo* has breathed his last breath, a grave is dug in the centre of the floor of the hut in which he has lived and dwelt; then putting all into order and placing *totems* around outside, his home becomes his sepulchre and demons are thereby scared away.

These islands of the ocean are full of treasures, and there is much useful produce to be found in them for the seeking; every action of kindness and thoughtfulness carried out should prove a blessing to those who inhabit them.

From a letter lately received from the white lady living on Kokomuruki Island we learn of the severe earthquake, followed by a tidal wave forty feet high, causing sixteen deaths and many casualties among the inhabitants. Two villages were entirely destroyed. This calamity occurred on Sunday, October 4, 1931, when the inhabitants were asleep. But the lady adds: "We are luckily early risers and were able to move into safety. Our island, however, was swamped and a great deal of damage done to it, but not so severe as the Island of Cristoval. Our weather has been very trying all this year; scarcely any rain until quite recently. The hospital is being built and we are all so happy about it." To save expense the lady's husband is obtaining the material for the needed tank, and the timber is being secured and brought by the kindness of a neighbour. Everything is being done to save expense by the use of a launch which facilitates the quicker transit of the goods. The influenza has penetrated even this out-of-the-way small island, but the English lady, being a nurse sent out by our Government, is braving all her difficulties. Snakes and wild dogs are giving trouble, and the former are seeking refuge in the huts and houses. Two skins have been presented to me as curios, among other native treasures.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HINDUISM—I

By Stanley Rice

(Author of *The Challenge of Asia*, *Life of the Maharaja of Baroda*, etc.)

The great thinkers of the world, in every age and in every country, have sometimes thought so greatly that no ordinary man can understand them. This, no doubt, is due to a variety of causes. In the first place, since language itself is strictly limited in its power of expression, philosophers have been forced to use a vocabulary without a knowledge of which it is useless to proceed further. But, such again is the indeterminate quality of language that, as we shall presently see, philosophers and metaphysicians are themselves unable to agree as to the proper connotation of a given term. The consequence is that the ordinary reader, however well equipped for the digestion of such mundane matters as history, science, or art, finds himself lost in a bewildering maze of words, and unless he can keep steadily before his eyes the fundamental principles of the subject, he is apt to stray into byways which take him ever farther from his goal and end by leading nowhere. Further, since metaphysics must by the very nature of the subject be speculative, a vista is opened of endless arguments, of endless theories, each supported, it would seem, by unassailable ratiocination, but so far imperfect, that the mind of man, being finite, can only express infinite things in finite terms, by finite analogies and in the light of finite experience. The world however goes on; men are married and given in marriage, seek out the mysteries of Nature, explore the possibilities of healing, slay and are slain, buy and sell, with human experience as their guide and without much relation to the speculative arguments of philosophers, metaphysicians, or, let us add, theologians. Yet it would be grossly unfair to suggest that these thoughts and these speculations have been wholly without influence. On the contrary, every nation is profoundly affected, consciously or unconsciously, by the teachings of its greatest men, which have not seldom been productive of a system of religion, or have profoundly modified an existing system, or, again, have even succeeded in destroying it; and no nation can remain untouched by the religious atmosphere in which it has been evolved.

In India philosophy and religion have always been closely related. The central tenet of the Jews, which differed from that of surrounding peoples, was a stern monotheism, expressed in the corporate terms of a tribal god, but admitting no other. This conception is maintained throughout the Jewish and Christian writings, which treat it as a postulate and never seek to prove it by any form of reasoning. It is true that the idea of God underwent a change; the stern Jahveh whom Samuel sought to please, and no doubt sincerely, by making a holocaust of innocent men, differing from him only in the matter of belief, and of yet more innocent animals, who did not differ even in that respect, became the God of Love, the Father of His children, but no one ever attempts to prove anything. Even the writings of St. Paul are couched in the language, not of the cold logician attacking an objective proposition, but in the words of a missionary enthusiast, seeking to convert. Indeed, when Christianity began to lose sight of the fundamentals, the simple theology of the Jews, the lofty moral teaching of Jesus Christ, and the broad dogmas of Paul, it began to lose itself in vain disputation and to break up into almost innumerable sects. When it tried to express metaphysical mysteries in such documents as the Athanasian creed, it merely succeeded in becoming unintelligible. Islam, too, which has many points of contact with Judaism, has as its fundamental conception a complete Deism. The Koran, which insists throughout upon this, is otherwise largely made up in the Meccan *suras* of denunciations of the Prophet's enemies, who are also, of course, the enemies of God, and the Medina *suras* contain a considerable body of rules for the conduct of life, rather after the manner of the laws of Moses as we have them in the Pentateuch. Whether Muhammad was capable of cold, detached reasoning in the philosophical manner does not matter; he, like St. Paul, was an enthusiastic missionary, whose aim was to convert and convince, not to dissect and analyze.

Alone among the great religions of the world, Hinduism does not admit a Founder. The revealed Scriptures are collections the author or authors of which are unknown so far as they may be ascribed to human agency. Yet they too, like all others, rest upon postulates and upon observations which find a place in all systems. They observe the universe and postulate a directing Force, call it what you will, outside the phenomenal world. They observe that man is a rational animal, differing, to all appearances, from other animals both in degree and in kind, and, with the intuitive longing of mankind, which seems to be present in almost every race in the world, they postulate a something in man which will survive this life in the flesh and can be differentiated in philosophic thought from the body. They observe the existence of evil and have found the same difficulty as others have found of reconciling it with the postulate of a controlling Force which in theistic creeds takes the form of an almighty and omniscient personal Deity, and in the earlier and more rarefied form of Hinduism of an Absolute without qualities and without attributes. They have sought to account for the multiplicity of individual distinctions between man and man and have recognized that, if the phenomenal life is continued, it becomes a striving after an ideal state.

All this, or nearly all of it, is in effect the foundation of Christianity and, indeed, of Islam; Buddhism we may for the present ignore, since it started as a Protestant form of Hinduism, and accepted a good part of its system, just as Protestants accept a good part of the form of Catholicism from which they broke away. Christianity, observing the order in the universe, postulated an *ultima ratio* which it calls God—an abstraction which it cannot conceive and can only express in human terms. The philosophers, perhaps unwilling to accept the idea of a personal God as tending to confusion of thought and to misconception, have called their abstraction the First Cause, the Absolute, the Unknowable. Christianity, assuming further what it cannot prove, believes in the immortality of the soul and in a state of existence which far transcends the life on this earth, and in which each man retains his own individuality. The existence of evil is fully recognized and is ascribed to the Devil who, to fulfil the inscrutable will of God, is allowed to exercise a certain sway in the world.

Such are the main principles on which the Hindu religion is founded, and it seeks to build up a system on the doctrine of the átman, Maya, Karma, Samsara, and Moksha, which, translated imperfectly into English, represent the Universal Soul, Illusion, the fruit of works, transmigration, and the final attainment of bliss (Ananda). It is obvious that such conceptions as these afford scope for philosophical and metaphysical speculation which is seemingly endless, and when we come to details we find that Hindu philosophy discovers many points of difference, not only from other creeds (since it is in fact a philosophy of religion), but also amongst its own exponents. Innumerable questions arise which can be answered in more ways than one. What is the nature of the átman or Universal Soul? What is meant by Maya? Is it an absolute or only a relative Illusion? How does transmigration take place? When does it cease, if at all? and what is the state called Moksha? Does it imply a reabsorption into the original Universal Self, as a drop of water is absorbed or mingled with a river, so as to lose identity without losing existence, or is it pure annihilation? Does the existence of evil depend upon the alleged nature of man himself, or is it the product of certain interacting forces or upon the proportionate mixture of qualities? Out of these and similar questions arose the six systems of philosophy called the Vaiseshika, the Nyaya, the Samkhya, the Yoga, the Purva Mimamsa, and the Vedanta.

The fundamental principles are interrelated as must of course be the case if an harmonious system is to be evolved. The soul of man—the individual átman—is immortal, and being an emanation from the Paramatman, the Universal Self, is also eternal. But during its sojourn in the world, which itself is full of impurity, it takes upon it a portion of, or is sullied by, that impurity. It is therefore the aim of every righteous soul to obtain deliverance (Moksha) by release from all transmigration (Samsara) and so eventually by reabsorption into the Universal Self. But Hinduism rejects any such ideas as vicarious sacrifice or vicarious atonement, whereby salvation is obtained by faith in the original sufferer coupled with repentance for individual sin. It holds a man (which word must stand for the human envelope and its átman) responsible for his own deeds (Karma), and according to those deeds he will receive reward or punishment in the next incarnation by being born into a higher or lower envelope. It would seem that the átman bears no actual relation to its vehicle. Just as empirical man may be carried one day in a train, the next in a boat, and the day after in a motor-car, without any visible effect upon him by the nature of the vehicle, so, it seems, the soul may be carried in one incarnation by a Kshatriya body and in the next by a Brahman, if the deeds, that is the Karma, have been good, or by a Sudra, if evil. The átman may thus inhabit the body of a lower animal which, though in its phenomenal form it cannot itself attain Moksha, may yet serve as the temporary abode of the átman. It will thus be seen that the Karma of any given incarnation acts both forwards and backwards, and this conclusion is often overlooked by European writers. For the incarnation at any given time is the result of the previous Karma; if I am born a Brahman that is because I have deserved to be so born by my previous conduct, and by my conduct as a Brahman I shall be judged as having approached nearer to or receded farther from the attainment of Moksha. This doctrine is not unlike that of purgatory: those who reject that doctrine conceive a sudden transformation—"in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye"—from a terrestrial to a celestial form or, as we are told but do not believe, the evildoers will be cast into everlasting fire. Both purgatory and transmigration conceive an intermediate state in which the soul is prepared for final bliss, but it would appear that while the idea of purgatory contemplates a continuous approach to perfection, the path of transmigration is like the slippery ascent of a mountain where at any given stage the climber may slide back further than he has climbed.

Finally, since there is only one Reality, without form or substance, transcendent and immanent, without qualities or attributes, unknowable, of whom nothing can be predicated but "it is," it follows that the phenomenal world of sense with its obvious attributes, its form, and substance is unreal (Maya); that is to say, it is either absolutely unreal like a dream or a mirage, or it has only a relative reality.

It is difficult for a European student with no pretensions to philosophy to present these high matters with any degree of accuracy. M. René Grousset, who is one of that small band of scholars devoted to the study of Oriental philosophy, has very wisely relied mainly on the texts and has refrained, as far as was possible, from introducing controversial matter of his own.* He has quite fairly and dispassionately summarized the various systems and has shown their evolution from the Vedas and Upanishads, not forgetting that Buddhism, in its various forms, and Jainism had by no means been without their effect upon later developments. He does well, too, to remind us of what we are too apt to forget, that the "revealed" Scriptures were handed down in oral form and were subsequently summarized in the Sutras. In the words of Lord Ronaldshay (now the Marquess of Zetland), "The necessity for having to commit to memory vast treatises in prose gave rise to a sort of oral shorthand which developed into a recognized type of literature known as the Sutras —strings of terse aphorizing in which everything was sacrificed to brevity and condensation."† Consequently, a large field is opened up for exegesis, and it is only to be expected that commentators will differ.

I am fully aware that the summary given earlier may not conform in all particulars to any given system of philosophy, inasmuch as these systems differ so much among themselves, not in principle but in dogma. The position we have reached is not unlike that of one who in describing orthodox Christianity insists upon the eternity of God, the dual nature of Jesus Christ, the doctrine of the Trinity, the immortality of the Soul, and the existence of the Hereafter, but omits reference to Mariolatry, Transsubstantiation, and the invocation of Saints. The picture is imperfect because it is evident as it is natural that one system grew out of another: the doctrines of each were considered by its successor, and the latest, the Vedanta, with the great Sankara as its high priest, probably commands the largest numbers of adherents. The quintessence of Hindu philosophy is, however, contained in the famous Bhagavad Gita, by the time of which the abstract frigidity of the Upanishad speculations had given way to a warmer theistic conception which was more in accordance with human desires and aspirations. M. Grousset does not deal with this, because it is beyond the scope of his subject, but it cannot be omitted if we are to consider the general effect of this body of doctrine upon the life of the people.

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* *Les Philosophies Indiennes.* Desclé De Brouwer et Cie., Paris. 2 vols.

† Lord Ronaldshay: *The Heart of Aryavarta.*

Nothing, then, could be farther from the truth than to suppose that Hinduism is an idolatry. That is, or should be, a vulgar error, to be classed with the absurd and wholly incorrect ideas formerly prevalent about Indian women. It probably arose first from the sternly iconoclastic and very intolerant attitude of Islam, markedly reflected in the writings of Ibn Batuta, to whom "the idolaters" are a race apart, and next to the advent of English Protestants, just about the time of Puritan ascendancy. More than all, it was due to a not unnatural confusion between pure philosophic Hinduism and the village superstitions which may have come down from pre-Aryan times. "The heathen in his blindness" may "bow down to wood and stone," but we have learned, since scholars like M. Grousset have taught us, that the enlightened Hindu is very far from blind.

I have never been able to understand why most, if not all, European writers consider that the Hindu religion is pessimistic. The Unknowable is merely the Christian God, impersonal at first but later on personified as Krishna or Rama or Siva. It is said that the burden of Karma weighs upon the soul of India, which has nothing to hope for but an endless series of transmigrations. It is true that there seems to be no means, save the empiric one of actual experience, of knowing when the soul is so purged of its earthly defilement that it is fit for reabsorption, but to call the series endless is a misnomer. There is nothing endless but infinity, and infinity is a conception the mind of man cannot grasp. If this series were to go on for hundreds, thousands, or even millions of years, that period would still count for little in comparison with eternity. Moreover, the theories of Karma and Maya can be paralleled from Christian writings. Karma, as Professor Radhakrishnan, whose lectures at Oxford were a welcome sign of the awakening interest of Europe, has said, means no more than the warning that "Whatsoever a man sows, that shall he also reap," and Maya, the illusory character of the phenomenal world, is outlined in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which tells us that "here we have no continuing city." The eschatology of the early Christians led them to look for the immediate dissolution of this transient world and the catastrophic establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven. Indian philosophy expects no cataclysm, but looks forward to a time of bliss according to individual conduct. There is a chance, even a certainty, for everyone, and no one is damned to "everlasting fire" either for not holding any given creed or for any other reason.

If it be objected that Christian doctrine, based upon Pauline teaching, insists upon justification by faith, it may well be replied in the words of St. James: "What doth it profit, though a man say he hath faith and have not works? Can faith save him? . . . Show me thy faith without thy works and I will show thee my faith by my works." Is there not more than an echo of this in the words of the Bhagavad Gita:

"Whereso any doeth all his deeds
Renouncing self for Me, full of Me, fixed
To serve only the Highest, night and day
Musing on Me—him will I swiftly lift
Forth from life's ocean of distress and death
Whose soul clings fast to Me. Cling thou to Me!
Clasp Me with heart and mind! So shalt thou dwell
Surely with Me on high. But if thy thought
Droops from such height: if thou be'st weak to set
Body and soul upon Me constantly
Despair not! Give Me lower service! Seek
To reach Me, worshipping with stedfast will:
And if thou canst not worship stedfastly,
Work for Me, toil in works pleasing to Me,
For he that laboureth right for love of Me
Shall finally attain."*

The truth is that to the majority of men and women the world is a pleasant place or at worst it is like an English April day, a compound of sunshine and showers. Philosophers may reason and priests may preach that the world is full of evil from which it is the object of every good man to escape; yet when any good man has advanced a stage towards eternal bliss or has exchanged this temporary for an everlasting life, the occasion is one of mourning which can only be logically explained by the motive of self-pity. Philosophers may reason and priests may preach: everybody believes what they say and nobody acts upon it. The ploughman ploughs a phantom earth and sows a phantom seed; a phantom sun and rain produce a phantom crop and upon it a phantom Government collects a phantom revenue. All these things, say the philosophers, are unreal; death itself is unreal, since it is only the gate of another life. This reasoning may be irrefutable; yet the modern Christian and the average Hindu do not willingly exchange the unreal and the temporary for the real and eternal. There are, of course, many Hindus, as there are Christians, whose minds are so set upon religion that, in the words of Lord Ronaldshay, "it is for no colourless abstraction that they have renounced the world. (God) is to them the sole reality, the ultimate goal towards which sooner or later all mankind must direct its steps." India is today theistic, and it is the spirit of that passage of the Bhagavad Gita, already quoted as typical of many others, which enables us to say with confidence that the teaching of the philosophers, founded upon (and in some respects hampered by) the authority of the revealed Scriptures, that their speculations and their conclusions have had a profound influence upon the life of the country.

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* Sir Edwin Arnold: *The Song Celestial.*

It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to attempt any comprehensive survey of this influence. The question would probably have to be approached from the other end; we should have to note Indian characteristics as they appear to us, and then to apply to them the test of philosophic doctrine. The complexity of human life is, moreover, a formidable obstacle, and hardly less formidable is the impact of Western civilization upon modern Indian thought and practice. Reasoning *a priori* upon probable tendencies rather than actual facts, we may discern one or two points worthy of mention. Modern Christianity, influenced no doubt by democratic theories, such as were expounded by Rousseau and by the framers of the American Declaration of Independence, tends to become a matter of social service rather than of belief in dogma or theology. A man to whom institutional religion means nothing, who is prepared, if not to deny, at any rate to question those fundamental doctrines which gives the priest his *raison d'être quâ* priest, may yet have nothing but admiration for that same priest in his capacity as social worker and may be his staunchest supporter. To the Hindu, basing himself upon the Scriptures and the teachings of philosophy, this may well seem to be only another instance of Western materialism, for the social worker is chiefly engaged in relieving the distress and supplying the physical wants of the poor, and the life of this world is by comparison of little or no importance. The Agnostic would reply that he is carrying out the teaching of Jesus, whose wisdom he acknowledges though not his divinity. The Hindu ideal would seem to be the attainment of Supreme Bliss through the path of meditation; that is to say, he should fix all his attention upon himself to the entire exclusion of the world and its distractions, and therefore to his complete indifference to the affairs of others. Such a conception of life, which was also that of the early Eastern anchorites, called saints in Christian hagiology, led to the last two *ashramas* enjoined upon Hindus—life in the forest and life as a wandering beggar. Facts and the struggle for existence have put an end to this ideal life except for the very few. The Bhagavad Gita, while admitting the way of salvation through works combined with faith, proclaims that the higher way, unattainable save to rare spirits, is through meditation. The result has been a kind of individualism in which a man's conduct to his neighbour is chiefly valued for its reaction upon himself. This does not mean that social service is entirely unknown to Hinduism; there is a great deal of brotherly love and kindliness, especially in the villages, but it is not social service as we conceive it in the West. The modern tendencies in that direction—such organizations as the Servants of India, such conceptions as those of Tagore, such institutions as Baby Welfare Societies—have been, if not inspired, at any rate encouraged or supported by Western example.

It has seemed to me too—though Indians have protested against the suggestion—that, possibly owing to the doctrines of Karma and of Maya, there is a lack of what we should call human sympathy. As Karma teaches that a man is suffering for his own misdeeds, and as Maya stresses the illusion—relative or absolute—of this life, to relieve suffering is to interfere with Providence, while death (and therefore life) is of no great importance. Once upon a time some villagers brought in a dead panther in order to get the Government reward. There was a second cart and I asked what was in that. "Oh!" they said, "that is the man who was mauled." I said I would attend to the man first, as the dead panther would probably stay dead! They showed no surprise; at the same time it did not seem to have occurred to them to say anything about the man, though one supposes that they were taking him to the hospital. Possibly they thought it was none of my business.

The teaching that good deeds are a way to salvation, which, as I have shown, is represented in the Christian Scriptures as an outward and visible sign of grace, has been used in support of what Lord Ronaldshay calls "perverted patriotism."* The argument seems to be this. Patriotism is a virtue; a patriotic deed is a good deed; to kill Englishmen is patriotic, and the conclusion is obvious. Add to this the conception that human life is of little value, your own or your neighbour's, and it is not difficult to conceive that state of exaltation which produces assassination, with the certainty of detection and the possibility of execution. Of course it does not always work that way. The intuition of self-preservation causes a man to attempt to escape from the law, which may be unjust but is powerful; and the same instinct drives most men to try and save their skins. Human nature is much the same all the world over.

It is, however, a crude reasoning which would judge a religious system by the misconceptions of its votaries. If the world were to press the teaching of the Gospels to its literal conclusions, we should sell all that we have, and we should make war on the principle of the conscientious objector. We do neither, and if we did the world would be a very curious place. The Hindu systems are the product of acute thinking by acute brains. Consciously or unconsciously they have—especially in the later theistic forms—satisfied and influenced millions of men, and it is well that an eclectic band of scholars, among whom M. Grousset is to be reckoned, is bringing Western thought to bear upon them.

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* Lord Ronaldshay: *The Heart of Aryavarta.*

Such are the outlines of the philosophy of religion in India. The subject, complicated as it is, is not complete without reference to the differences in speculation as well as to the practical philosophy of phenomenal life, which, for all the abstract reasoning of philosophers, has a way of insisting upon attention. We hope to return to this later.

(*To be continued.*)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

FAR EAST

SIAMESE STATE CEREMONIES: THEIR HISTORY AND FUNCTION. By H. G. Quaritch Wales, M.A., PH.D. (*Bernard Quaritch.*) 25s. net.

(*Reviewed by* A. M. HOCART.)

In the nineteenth century democracy was all the vogue in science as well as in politics. In science it was the people: folk-lore, folk-song, folk-dancing, folk-tales. A reaction has begun. State ceremonies, which twenty or thirty years ago would have been considered too sophisticated to be worth the study of any but antiquarians, are now more and more attracting the attention of students of human institutions. Mr. A. Leclère gave us a very good study of coronation ceremonies in Cambodia. Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales has followed his example and improved upon it with greater erudition, thoroughness, and comprehensiveness. The author adds to a sound historical training and sense unique opportunities as a member of the court chamberlain's staff. His sympathetic attitude towards those customs is yet another asset. The result is a very reliable and detailed account of ceremonies which throw a good deal of light on the religion and political organization of the Indian world. To speak of religion *and* political organization in the East is perhaps redundant: they are synonymous. It is to be hoped that this work will bring home this fact to scholars. There are hosts of treatises on the religion of India which make no allusion to the divinity of kings. It is like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. One reason is that scholars have seldom studied political organisms except in texts. The only living form some scholars make use of in the interpretation of their texts is modern European society, and as that keeps, or tries to keep, its Church and State in water-tight compartments, scholars are apt to keep their Oriental Church and State as strictly apart, and so leave the main part out of Eastern religion.

The blame does not lie entirely with such scholars. There are few books on living peoples that can claim equal authority, say, with the Sutras or the Shastras. They generally give us the author's opinions, which may be wrong, and omit the details which would make the book dull, but would also make it really useful. In the Sutras and the Shastras we have solid facts which will always remain as the rock on which to build. Dr. Quaritch Wales' book does provide a rock on which to build, and should thus help to increase the small number of modern books which can be placed beside ancient texts. It has this advantage over those texts, that they are addressed to a public which knows all the fundamentals of society, and so they assume that knowledge, and, at most, allude to them in a manner tantalizingly obscure. Our author writes for those who know nothing, and so gives us the whole facts.

The author has not only given his own observations, but has made a diligent study of previous materials. He uses his sources critically, sometimes too critically. Thus on page 226 he complains that most European writers "make the mistake of confounding the royal fan with a sword with which, they say, the king cut the water. But this . . . is absurd." It is not: the water is annually cut with a sword in Kandy to this day. Absurdity may be a guarantee of truth; for people are more likely to emend them to make them look plausible, than to imagine them. On page 67 I should be inclined to back Kaempfer against our author, for the mode of succession is known in Ceylon, Nepal, and the Pacific.

The author's training and outlook is that of a historian, not of a sociologist, and his excursions into sociology are not successful. He does not appear to realize that a very different procedure, and even turn of mind, is required to observe the workings of a society, to what is necessary for recording its structure. For the former close observation and experience of actions and reactions is necessary. The author's remarks on the "sociological value" (why not the "social value," or simply the "usefulness"?) of this or that custom are not backed by such observation, but represent merely what the author would expect the usefulness to be. One of his longest excursions into sociology, that about the harem, makes no reference to harem intrigues, wars of succession, sexual problems, eugenic or dysgenic effects: in fact, all the effects which cannot be inferred from the constitution of a harem, but only by seeing it actually at work. The author is like an anatomist who should guess the functions of the heart or lungs purely from their shape without ever seeing them at work.

The author's strong point is the morphology, not the physiology, of society. He appears to have been persuaded against his own better judgment into these sociological flights, for they sound half-hearted and are qualified with an abundance of "would's" (p. 53). The book would be better without them; and let us hope that his future studies will be directed to his proper subject. He can add considerably to the value of the present book by a sequel containing a detailed account of the social structure of Siam. Society is organized for its customs, and an account of state ceremonies is incomplete without one of the organization of the country. We hear of Ministers of Agriculture, of Foreign Affairs, etc., but these are misleading translations, for they invite us to conceive these offices after a European model. We should like to know what the titles of these officials really meant, and what their functions really were in the old days. We want to hear more of the division into right and left; in fact, of the whole structure from top to bottom.

Should Dr. Quaritch Wales undertake such a task the following suggestions may be useful:

1. To translate the titles, expressions (p. 40), everything in Siamese, and give a glossary at the end.

2. To give the Sanskrit form where there is one. Thus one guesses that *deba* stands for *deva*, but may guess wrong. Is *baladeba* for *bāladeva*, junior god?

3. A Sanskrit scholar might revise these translations. It is not clear whether the author has correctly understood *gajendrā-śvasnānam*, when he translates "the sprinkling of lordly elephants and horses" (p. 297); it would be clear if "of lordly elephants and of horses." On page 158 the author reproduces a translation which is much too free.

One or two errors need rectifying. It is not correct that the Queen is not mentioned in Vedic literature (p. 116). She is mentioned with the general and other "jewels" and in the horse-sacrifice. The three steps of Vishnu do not represent the rising, culmination, and setting of the sun, but the rising from earth to the zenith (p. 245). Here the author regards Vishnu as a manifestation of solar energy; yet on page 30 he has said that *although* the King was identified with Siva and Vishnu there are features that indicate that he was the sun. Why *although*?

The book is well produced and illustrated.

CHINA IN REVOLUTION. ANALYSIS OF POLITICS AND MILITARISM UNDER THE REPUBLIC. By H. F. MacNair, University of Chicago. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 1931. 17s. net.

The author, who is well known to European students of Chinese history, has spent a good many years in Shanghai and has thus witnessed the recent period of the changes in China. The account of the upheaval begins with Yuan Shih-Kai in 1912 and his attempt to restore the Throne in China. Following his failure, Sun Yat Sen seized his opportunity, and with him begins the great struggle for that country—re-establishment on a new basis. The number of generals and politicians is bewildering to the European, but Professor MacNair has compiled a good index, to which the reader can turn for easy reference. On one point the author lays stress, and the present Chinese rulers will remember it, that it is practically impossible for a highly cultured nation to break with the past. China, in that case, and the rest of the world would be the losers.

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE EAST. By René Grousset. Vol. I.: The Near and Middle East. Translated from the French. With 313 illustrations. (*Hamish Hamilton.*) 25s. net.

Monsieur Grousset's original work in French has become so widely appreciated that a translation into English was much overdue, and the publisher of the rendering deserves every praise for having undertaken its issue in such a beautiful style. In his position at the Musée Guimet, M. Grousset has full opportunity to study the arts of the East, and it may be stated that his presentation is comprehensive, authoritative, and lucid, and gives a perfect picture of these arts. The large number of illustrations, reproduced from various sources, are not only usefully described within the text, but in themselves are a perfect source of education. The present volume is divided into six chapters, beginning with the Neolithic age. The most recent discoveries—*i.e.*, Sir John Marshall's work at Harappa and

Mohenjo-daro—have already been taken into account. Other chapters deal with Egypt, Chaldea and Assyria, the Persian pre-Islamic and Islamic civilization, and with Arabia.

WESTERN INFLUENCES IN MODERN JAPAN. A series of papers on cultural relations. By Inazo Nitobe and others. Illustrated. (*Chicago University Press; Cambridge University Press.*) 22s. net.

The title of the book fully explains its contents. A number of Japanese professors and other prominent men have combined in defining the results of Western contact with Japan. Mr. Nitobe, the editor, has become known to the European and American public through his well-known and inspiring volume, *Bushido, the Soul of Japan*, besides other works. His introductory chapter displays to the full his extraordinary learning, both Eastern and Western, and his understanding of art. In spite of his nationalism, he is aware of the benefits which Western culture has bestowed on the world at large, and now favours an adoption of such foreign institutions in Japan which may serve her purpose. As regards the modern Japanese system of education, this appears chiefly influenced by German theories, although the other Western countries share in the development of schools and universities. Of the contributors very few have become well known in Europe, and yet each chapter and subject is composed with extraordinary knowledge and insight. The specialists' subjects deal with the whole cultural life, arts and sciences, religion, law, social movements, the army and navy, and we cannot conceive of any other work giving with so much authority an insight into modern Japan.

NEAR EAST

A TRAVERS L'ASIE-MINEURE. LE NOUVEAU VISAGE DE LA TURQUIE. Par Eugène Pittard. (Paris: *Société d'Editions, Géographiques, Maritimes, et Coloniales.*)

(*Reviewed by* MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.)

Not long ago, in that age of illusions known as "Before the War," people still wrote and talked of "The Unchanging East." Who could talk of the "Unchanging" East to-day, when the whole East is changing with a will—a will to meet and beat the West on its own ground? Historically speaking, it is only yesterday that the Turk was at the gates of Vienna, that Wortley Montague lectured before the Royal Society on some novelties which he had brought from Turkey, among them being inoculation against smallpox. The superiority of the East, delusion though it seems to-day, was real; and so long as the great Eastern Empires kept the sense of their superiority the East appeared unchanging. Moreover, it seems doubtful, after reading Monsieur Pittard's admirable book, whether the sense of superiority has even now been hammered out of the Turks. Rather one imagines that the "miracle" of Turkish regeneration, so amazing to our author, may be due to mere impatience of the very shadow of inferiority and determination to excel under the new conditions. Of the greatness of the effort for regeneration there can be no doubt. The Turks were never lacking in sincerity of purpose. But the author errs in thinking that it is due entirely to Mustafa Kemâl Pasha. It began with the Committee of Union and Progress, and derived a good deal of its inspiration from a group of passionately patriotic Turkish writers—*e.g.*, the poet Nâmiq Kemâl—which sprang up in the sixties of the last century. The saviour of the nation from destruction has preserved it, the remembered peril has convinced everybody of its necessity; and the chief obstacles, in Capitulations and Concessions to the Powers of Europe, and the presence of a disloyal minority, have been eliminated. It was pretty generally said that the loss of the Greek Anatolian population, the commercial element, would represent a very serious loss to Turkey. But, according to our author, it is not so. It caused much inconvenience for a year or two, but the gap caused by the deportation is no longer noticeable, the place of the Greeks of Turkey having been taken by the Turks of Greece, particularly in the great tobacco industry. Monsieur Pittard shows us how the agriculture, trade, and industry of Turkey have, without assistance from outside, been brought back almost to the pre-war standard, despite the fact that the most fertile regions had been devastated by the enemy, the cattle killed, the villages destroyed. It is a story which, though told in terms of economics, borders on romance. But it is very far from the romance of Turkey as we know it, and the present writer must plead guilty to having felt a thrill of pleasure, which the author evidently shares, at the survival of the old Turkish life and character in all essentials. Exaggeration in the course of such an effort there was bound to be. The changing of the head-dress and the script are unimportant provided that the national characteristics of honesty, sobriety, and love of beauty remain unimpaired.

Monsieur Pittard is substantially of the same opinion, though he foresees more advantage from those changes than we do. In one passage of his book he seems to think that owing solely to the change of script, the whole Turkish nation will become literate in a few months. The new script fits the language rather less than did the old one, which had at least the great advantage of familiarity as well as historical relationship. What does cause Monsieur Pittard some anxiety is the indifference of some of the present leaders of Turkey to the antiquarian and artistic riches of their country.

At Diyâr Bekir he encountered such a man: "Un jour, qu'au jardin municipal nous buvions du café avec quelques notables, l'un d'eux, pour condamner cette magnifique enceinte [the city walls] eut cette raison peremptoire: les murailles empêchent l'air de circuler. Cet homme était digne de la maison des fous. Est-ce que dans le cœur de nos villes, encerclées de hautes maisons à six étages l'air n'est pas plus empêché encore de circuler?"

At Broussa he exclaims:

"Je donne toutes nos villes modernes pour le premier quartier venu de Brousse."

And he is right, æsthetically. But do the futurists who now bear rule in Turkey see things in that light? He does not tell us the reason why "one can no longer visit" the Green Mosque at Broussa. But in other cities he has told us of mosques and madrasahs, world-famous for their beauty, turned into barracks.

Finding Asia Minor three parts "désertique," he rightly lays great stress upon the need of irrigation works, and, above all, upon the need of planting forests, which bring rain. We gather that the Turkish Government is not indifferent to this great need.

Monsieur Pittard is a skilled ethnographer and anthropologist, and it is with astonishment that we read his statement that the Turks are from their origin a white race unrelated to the Mongols. We had always understood that the Turks, when they first appeared in Asia Minor, had marked Mongolian features, and that they have been changed into a white race by intermarriages. The portraits of the very early Sultans of the House of Othman certainly support this view, and so does the allegedly pure Turk type still, before the war, to be found in villages, especially in the vilâyet of Adana.

"Il faut souhaiter"—he writes in conclusion—"au peuple turc de longues années d'apaisement politique, de prospérité économique. La tâche qu'il s'est donnée est si haute qu'il a besoin d'y appliquer toutes ses pensées, toutes ses forces. Seule l'union de toutes les bonnes volontés pourra l'accomplir. L'avenir de la Turquie ne peut laisser l'Europe indifférente."

The present reviewer wishes Turkey the peace and prosperity which would have been hers long ago if Europe had only been indifferent to her future, had only let her alone.

HISTORY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA TO THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST. By A. T. Olmstead. With 187 illustrations and 19 maps and plans. (*Charles Scribner's Sons.*) 30s. net.

The author holds the post of Professor of Oriental History at Chicago and requires no introduction—one need only mention his *History of Assyria*—nor recommendation, for he has long been appreciated as a scholar of worldwide reputation. Excavations of recent years and research have been contributory to bringing the Professor's study to a conclusion. We find that thereby the Bible history has been confirmed and supplemented, and without the study of the Bible there can be no history of Palestine. The book opens with prehistoric times—that is, long before there was a Holy Land—and gradually we see arising out of the mist man himself, with his desire to live, his occupations as a hunter, and then as a cultivator, and finally a settler. On page 90 the development of the alphabet is explained. Chapter XV., on Hebrew Origins, is one which will be studied far and wide. Suffice it to mention that Semitic tribes inhabited Northern Arabia, whence they emigrated in course of time to Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, and finally we learn how Joshua led Israel into

Canaan. The whole story of the Hebrew conquest is a most fascinating one. Thus, the complete history passes before our eyes. The numerous plates and illustrations are well chosen from many sources and are chiefly archæological. The map is clear, as only the necessary places are mentioned. Numerous references, on almost every page, are quoted to allow the reader to check the statements, and finally there are the Indices of Proper Names and of Subjects.

ART

Bronzes du Luristan. Par André Godard. With 68 Collotype Plates. (Paris: *Van Oest.*) 300 fr.

The Ars Asiatica, of which the above-mentioned work forms vol. 17, has made great strides; it has become a large and important series, whilst the quality both of text and illustration has remained unchanged—*i.e.*, the best. Authors of great mark have been the contributors, and it may confidently be asserted that without the Ars Asiatica Series our knowledge of Oriental art would have remained very deficient. Monsieur Godard was invited by the Persian Government to take charge of archæological researches. The Bronzes of Luristan appears to be the first result of his residence there. After an introduction wherein we learn what actually led to the discovery of the objects, the author gives a description of the various cemeteries and of the tombs. The chief part of the text is naturally reserved to the description of the objects, carefully divided into categories. The first section is devoted to arms such as daggers (for beautiful specimens see Plates 7, 8, 9), swords (reproduced in actual size on Plate 10), lance-heads, axes (on Plates 14 to 25); another section deals with personal ornaments: bracelets, ear-pendants, necklaces, pins, rings, etc. Chapters on animals are provided, with extraordinary reproductions on the plates, on bronze vases, cylinders, seals, and pottery, with fine samples. Altogether, it is not too much to say that this volume is one of the most valuable and beautiful of the Ars Asiatica Series.

Impressions of Japanese Architecture and the Allied Arts. By R. A. Cram. Illustrated. (*Harrap.*) 12s. 6d. net.

It is pleasing to note that a new edition of Mr. Cram's book has been in demand. We have begun to appreciate during recent years that Europe has to learn from the East in many matters, and Art is one of them. The volume consists of a series of papers, compiled some thirty years ago, which yet form a united whole. Mr. Cram is an admirer of the old Japanese art and culture, and this is beautifully expressed in "The Genius of Japanese Art." Other chapters deal with the early and later architecture, with temples and shrines, with temple gardens, and with domestic architecture. These essays are a philosophic guidance to architects as well as to the art-loving public, and the admonitions contained in these pages should fall upon ears that are willing to hear. When Mr. Cram complains of the Westernizing of modern Japanese artists and their general outlook, it will be realized that this new outlook began with Commodore Perry's military action (page 224).

THE ART OF EGYPT THROUGH THE AGES. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross. (*The Studio.*) 42s. net.

The publication, some years ago, of a beautiful volume of reproductions of examples of pre-Roman Egyptian sculpture, expressly selected by Mr. Weigall for their æsthetic merit and not for their antiquarian importance, may perhaps have suggested the present work, which, however, goes further than its predecessor both in embracing all the arts and in bringing the story through the Roman, Coptic, and Islamic periods down to comparatively modern times.

A survey, in less than 100 pages of text, of six thousand years of Egypt's artistic achievement can hardly be exhaustive, but the editor and the publishers can be congratulated on a genuine success on the scale which they have chosen. Their main difficulty must have been the huge mass of material, only manageable by writers whose familiarity with their subject has enabled them to avoid being clogged by detail. Sir Denison Ross is an experienced editor, and his all-British team is a strong one—or, rather was; for the death of two of the most distinguished of the contributors, Sir Thomas Arnold and Dr. H. R. Hall, occurred, unhappily, before publication. The plates, which occupy over 250 pages, have been carefully chosen to illustrate the text from examples all over the world, and as a picture book alone the book would be well worth its price. Six of the plates are in colour.

Professor Peet writes on the Predynastic Period, and, with Dr. Blackman, on the Middle Kingdom; Dr. Hale on the Old Kingdom; Professor Newberry on the New; Mr. Harold Carter on the Reign of Tutankhamen; and Professor Gardner on the Ptolemies and the Roman Era; while the Coptic Period, Muslim Architecture, and Muslim Applied Arts are treated respectively by Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Captain Creswell, and Sir Thomas Arnold. The chapter on Ceramics is anonymous.

No one would, of course, maintain that Egyptian art, as a whole, is constant to one tradition throughout its vast history, or would deny the profound effect of a succession of conquests, of changing civilizations and religious systems. Nevertheless, it is impossible to study these reproductions without accepting the dictum that "an original native element has survived throughout these superimposed cultures," the survival being especially traceable in the applied arts. Some conventions, in sculpture and architecture, were preserved in Egypt with strangely little variation through century after century by the conservative tendencies of an all-embracing religion, but even when these and other forces making for continuity were replaced by others, the native genius emerges, again and again, in indisputably great works of art; though the age of Ikhnaton surpasses all the rest, it has no monopoly of beauty and inspiration. Egyptologists, notably in this country, for long disregarded æsthetic in favour of archæological interest, and the artistic merit of many of the objects here illustrated will come as a revelation to many.

LES COLLECTIONS KHMÈRES DU MUSÉE ALBERT SARRAUT À PHNOM-PENH. Par G. Groslier. (*Ars Asiatica*, Vol. 16.) (Paris: *Van Oest.*) 300 fr.

This is the second volume of the series having Khmer Art for its subject, the first being on Khmer Bronzes by the well-known authority M. G. Cœdès. There are fifty magnificent plates, each one perfect in execution. Worthy of special mention are the examples on Nos. 6 and 7, illustrations of Buddha statues guarded by Nagas. A most graceful bronze statuette is to be seen from three different angles in Plate 12 depicting the three-headed god Hevajra; it is one of the most elegant works of its kind. A remarkable statue is that of a male figure with a horse's head (Plate 20). To the student of decorative art we would recommend Plates 48 (Gold Jewellery) and 46 (Khmer Ceramics); the examples mentioned may suffice to give the reader and collector an idea of the rich choice of art treasures to be seen in the present volume.

Although the purpose of the author is to describe the contents of the Sarraut Museum, it would have been appreciated if the very brief outline in the Introduction of Khmer art had not been confined to the examples he is describing. There are, of course, in French, several works giving lengthy treatises, but they may not be available to the reader of this series, and we would have recommended for their benefit a larger and more comprehensive essay on Khmer art generally.

CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. PART VI.: MUGHAL PAINTING. By Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. (*Harvard University Press.*)

The Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, Mass., is known to possess the largest and best collection of Mughal paintings, and the world cannot be too grateful for this opportunity of admiring its treasures. A most valuable contribution to the volume is the Introduction. From it we learn that in Mughal art the patron—nay, the creator—was Emperor Akbar himself, who encouraged artists by inviting them to a special building at Fathpur Sikri, where they were housed. He inspected the work regularly, and thus it is to him that we have to be grateful for now being able to view these wonderful creations. Dr. Coomaraswamy's enthusiasm and knowledge of Indian art can here be surveyed. A list of the Mughal Emperors is appended to the Introduction for the benefit of the student. Hereafter appears the *Catalogue raisonné,* in which the paintings are described, the dates are given, and the texts, when they appear, are printed with their translations. It is a pleasure to look at the very complete Bibliography of twelve pages, and the Index of Names is equally valuable.

ORIENTALIA

THE LIFE OF A MOGUL PRINCESS (JAHANARA BEGUM, DAUGHTER OF SHAH JAHAN). By Andrea Butenschön. (*Routledge.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* A. L. SAUNDERS.)

An admirably told romance of the Wars of Succession which broke out towards the close of Shahjahan's reign among his sons, each striving for the throne. The leading *motif* is the cold and unscrupulous purpose with which the youngest son, Aurangzebe, outmanœuvred and murdered his three brothers, posing for this end as the champion of Sunni orthodoxy against the liberalism and religious tolerance which had marked the preceding reigns, but which had shrunk from Akbar's real enlightenment to mere indifferentism. Mme. Butenschön puts into the mouth of a royal sister of the contending brothers her witness to these stirring events mixed with the tale of her passion for a Rajput knight and lover. Romantic chivalry has sometimes been claimed as a peculiar possession of Europeans, especially mediæval and Catholic. If any think thus, they would do well to read this book. The author tells of the picturesque ceremony of the Rakhibandhan, wherein a lady (sometimes a mere child) binds an armlet, her own ornament and sometimes of her own hair, on the arm of her knight. He is thereby vowed to her service, but with no sexual relation expressed or implied. The custom exists to this day, though hampered by modern ideas.

The fanaticism of Aurangzebe (in India he is usually spoken of by his title of Alamgir) profited him little. He tried to centralize his vast dominions instead of being content with suzerainty over his Hindu and Muslim feudatories, some of whom showed promise of stable government, and he alienated the Hindus, especially the Rajputs, whom his predecessors had favoured. Then Sivaji arose in the land, the Europeans appeared on the coast, and the dynasty whose glory had not been excelled even by Imperial Rome was torn in pieces by Mahrattas, Afghans, Sikhs, and Jats. A fallen dynasty is one of the most pitiful sights in history. We feel satisfied that the King and Princess (Padshah Begum), who is Mme. Butenschön's magnificent heroine, at least ended in pride and dignity.

THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO. Translated into English from the text of L. F. Benedetto by Professor A. Ricci, with Introduction and Index by Sir Denison Ross. With maps and illustrations. (*Routledge.*) 21s. net.

There is no lack of modern editions of Marco Polo. We have, for instance, those of W. Marsden, G. Pauthier, and Henry Yule, the last being edited by Professor H. Cordier. Yet these works are more or less for the scholar and research student. The present handsome issue is based upon, and a translation of, the magnificent edition published in Florence in 1928 by L. F. Benedetto, and it will appeal to the general reader as being compiled in the modern style, and affords light reading. This is not the only advantage. The handsome format, the beautiful type, and the omission of unnecessary footnotes, all help to make this volume attractive and presentable. In place of footnotes, the editor has very wisely made references easy by a complete and detailed index of thirty pages. Four plates, two of which are reproductions from a British Museum copy, ahd four maps adorn the text. This latest translation is bound to capture readers of courageous exploits, of romance, and therefore it may remain as the most popular rendering of all.

The editor is to be congratulated for having included the volume in the Broadway Travellers' Series.

STUDIES IN EARLY MYSTICISM IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST. By Margaret Smith. (*The Sheldon Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

Miss Smith's first work on Rabi'a established her reputation as an Arabic scholar and thinker, and she now proceeds in her researches upon the subject.

Before Sufism had entered into the realm of Islam, it long existed in the Christian Near East, and therefore Christian Mysticism, as found amongst the Greeks, the Syrians, in Egypt, Mesopotamia, etc., up to the seventh century, had to be dealt with. We then come to the influence of the Christian contact with Islam. We obtain a clear picture of the origin and gradual building up of the doctrine leading to Sufism. These doctrines are explained in a special chapter, and an account of the early Mystics is given. There is a good Bibliography and a complete index to authors and to terms.

THE SONG OF THE LORD, THE BHAGAVATGITA. Translated by E. J. Thomas. (*John Murray.*) 3s. 6d. net.

The "Wisdom of the East" series has grown in volume, and let it be stated that the latest issues are as attractive as the early ones. It is strange that no modern English edition of the Song of Songs was in existence. All the more do we welcome this translation of the great scholar Mr. E. J. Thomas.

EGYPTIAN TALES AND ROMANCES, PAGAN, CHRISTIAN, AND MUSLIM. Translated by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. Illustrated. (*Thornton Butterworth*). 15s. net.

The author, since his retirement from his duties at the British Museum, has shown great energy in his writing of learned books on Near Eastern subjects, which one cannot but admire. This latest volume contains translations of stories taken from the three periods: Ancient Egyptian, Coptic, and Modern or Muslim epochs, thus exhibiting his versatility in those languages. The first category includes historical and religious romances, the second are naturally of Christian character, relying more or less on the Old and New Testaments, and it can be noticed that the old beliefs had been left in oblivion. The Muslim part of the volume contains popular Arabic stories to which the author has either listened in the East or has translated from Spitta's romanized version.

INDIA

MALABAR AND THE DUTCH. By K. M. Panikkar. Foreword by Sir Evan Cotton. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.* London: *Kegan Paul.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* DR. P. GEYL.)

Mr. Panikkar's book is a very welcome contribution both to the history of India and to the history of European colonization in India. The fact that in his story these two aspects are so well balanced is not the least of its merits. In the monographs written by Europeans the Indian history side is as a rule neglected, if only because they are based exclusively on the European material. Mr. Panikkar, on the contrary, has not been content to use the memoirs left by the Dutch "Commandeurs" for the benefit of their successors—a splendid source, made available some twenty years ago in a series of English translations by the Madras Government—but he has also drawn largely on documents and chronicles in Malayalam.

In his introduction Mr. Panikkar gives fairly full information about the sources which were at his disposal. It is a pity that in the body of the book he has been so sparing of references at the foot of the page. There are many passages where the conscientious reader would have liked to know what authority the writer used. Especially the pioneer in a particular field of research should carefully mark his path so as to assist those who will come after him. A defect of less consequence, but irritating to the Dutch reader, is the spelling of the Dutch names; few are given correctly.

The Dutch established themselves at Cochin in 1663, the conquest of that town by Van Goens being the last act in the long war by which they broke down the Portuguese empire in Asia. Malabar never was one of the most successful settlements of the Dutch East India Company. The pepper monopoly, which was what the Dutch were after, proved very difficult to maintain against other European competitors, who managed to enter into relations with one or other of the inland rulers. The Dutch never succeeded in subjecting the whole of Malabar. They reduced the Rajah of Cochin to a position of absolute dependence, but although they defeated the Zamorin in 1716, they shrank from pursuing a costly war of conquest. In 1741 a reverse which the Dutch forces suffered at the hands of a power even then rising to greatness in the ever-changing policy of the Indian states, Travancore, practically ended the period in which the Dutch Company was more than a trading concern in Malabar. Not until 1795, however, did it have to surrender Cochin—to the English.

Mr. Panikkar's account of the interplay between the Dutch intruders and the unstable political system of the Indian world is exceedingly interesting. His verdict on the Dutch and their influence is, on the whole, favourable and marked by a sane detachment.

THE INDIAN HORIZON. By Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan. Foreword by the Marquess of Zetland. (*Benn.*) 3s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR JAMES WALKER.)

In undertaking his American lecturing tour the Maharaja of Burdwan displayed anew the qualities of courage and initiative that Lord Zetland, in his foreword, notes have always characterized him. To hear as a lecturer the leading Hindu nobleman of Bengal, a cultured Indian and the possessor of vast estates and of much practical experience of public affairs in India, was a novel experience for American audiences, not the less notable in that the lecturer travelled without the assistance of a secretary or a valet. It is evident from this volume that the Maharaja succeeded in presenting to varied American audiences a wonderfully true and candid picture of the Indian problem and, in particular, of the colossal difficulties that Britain has to contend with in her determination to realize "Responsible Government" for India and of the impossibility of forcing the pace by ignoring these difficulties.

In the seven chapters of this little book, based on his lectures, the Maharaja makes many shrewd yet quite unprejudiced observations on both the past and the present. The key-note of his political creed is a profound belief in the British administration of India and in the good faith of the British efforts to raise India by successive stages to a position of political equality with the other British Dominions. No one is more keen than the Maharaja on conferring real power and responsibility on the Indian Legislatures. But throughout the book the caution is reiterated that until "Hindus and Mahommedans sink their differences and unite to make an Indian nation, paramountcy must remain in the hands of the British." It is the prospect of the weakening of British paramountcy that has led Hindus and Muhammadans into a struggle for power, perhaps even for bare existence—as has been hinted in some quarters—a struggle of a bitterness hitherto unprecedented under British rule. "In consequence," to quote the author, "one side is pinning its faith on the superiority of numbers, while the other is depending on separate electorates, as a foundation, and, if the worst came to the worst, on weightage by help from across the frontier." The recent total failure of the conferences in India to settle the communal question by consent, and the threats of direct action by both parties if they do not get their own way, strikingly corroborate the Maharaja's appreciation of the case. An "imposed settlement" cannot be maintained, even provisionally, unless the imposing power remains paramount. That power cannot rely for its survival solely on paper safeguards or on a touching faith in the capacity of its Governors to wield supernatural powers in emergencies without any human agency to aid them. The bar to progress may not be complete, but the degree of progress must be greatly curtailed by the failure of Indian leaders to agree. All fair-minded Indians can see that this result is inevitable, and the thought should spur them to renewed efforts to come to agreement.

Space does not permit of reference to the Maharaja's views on other complex and difficult problems involved in constitution making, such as federation. But many will share his grave misgivings as to the truth of the now fashionable assumption that it is only by the road of democracy on Parliamentary lines that India can attain nationhood. In India, as it is, even if communal questions were settled and done with, it is unimaginable that a system of territorial electorates, voting by ballot, could result in the return of an Assembly even moderately representative of all classes and interests. The Franchise Committee have a hard task.

On the whole, this volume is a much more important contribution to the literature on its subject than its modest bulk would suggest. In producing it the Maharaja has done good service to his country and to the Empire.

PANORAMIC INDIA: SIXTY-FOUR PANORAMIC PHOTOGRAPHS. By W. R. Wallace. Introduction and notes by K. H. Vakil. (Bombay: *Taraporevala Sons and Co.* London: *Kegan Paul.*) 17s. 6d. net.

In opening an illustrated volume the reader's attention is naturally drawn in the first instance to the objects represented, and then to the technique of reproduction. In the present instance it at once becomes apparent that the selection is masterly, whilst all the details come out artistically and clearly in the photogravures.

The title "Panoramic India" is fully justified by the broad views that are given, both of landscape and buildings. The introduction and notes are all that can be desired for the purpose, each of the nine sections being prefaced by the author's apt general observations, followed by comments in an informative style upon each illustration from an historical and artistic point of view. Thus text and illustrations become happily blended.

MISCELLANEOUS

LA VIE DE PIERRE RUFFIN, ORIENTALISTE ET DIPLOMATE, 1742-1824. By Henri Dehérain. Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban. Service des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique. Tomes XIII. and XIV. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner.*)

(*Reviewed by* N. M. PENZER.)

These two volumes fully maintain the high standard of the works already published in this series. The method of dealing with the life of Pierre Ruffin is perfectly simple and clear, each event being taken in due chronological order and dealt with in a manner that is to quite a large extent autobiographical. This has been made possible by the great amount of research into Ruffin's letters that the author has undertaken. In volume two an entire section is devoted to the manuscript sources. The printed books are dealt with separately, thus the bibliography is very complete. There is also a full index, for which our especial thanks are due. The general format is excellent, and the wide margins make the book a pleasure to read. We can now glance briefly at the work itself.

Pierre Jean-Marie Ruffin was born at Salonika on August 17, 1742. He was the fourth son of Thomas-Antoine Ruffin, interpreter to the Consulate at Salonika, where he had been since 1718. At the age of eight he was sent to Paris and entered the Chambre des Elèves du Roi en langues orientales in the College of Louis-le-Grand, where he took the *jeunes de langue* course, especially created for future interpreters. Here he remained till 1758, when he went to Constantinople to finish his studies in Oriental languages under Philibert Deval. By 1767 Ruffin's novitiate was over, and his friend Le comte de Vergennes managed to find a suitable post for him in the Crimea. As a matter of fact, it had already been filled by M. le baron de Tott, but Ruffin acted for this gentleman in the office of interpreter.

In order to appreciate the position of Ruffin in the Crimea, it is necessary to remind ourselves of political conditions in Europe at the time. In 1757 Mustafa III. had succeeded to the Turkish throne and had concluded a treaty with Prussia to counteract the Franco-Austrian alliance of 1756.

In 1763 the recently elected Catherine II. of Russia had placed Poniatowski on the vacant Polish throne. The Sultan was appealed to for help, and, spurred on by the aggressive policy of Russia in the Caspian and Black Seas area, war was at last declared on October 6, 1768. In the spring of 1769 a threefold Russian offensive was launched—on the principalities, the Crimea, and the buffer State of Kabardia. In spite of ample warning, Turkey was unprepared, and by 1771 the conquest of the Crimea was complete. Endless conferences followed, but came to nothing. The war dragged on, but in 1773 Mustafa III. died and was succeeded by the weakling Abd-ul-Hamid I. This fact, added to the general demoralization of the army, finally lead to the humiliating Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774. According to some of the terms of the treaty, the Tartars from the Polish frontier to the shores of the Caspian were declared independent under their own Khan. This included the Crimea, where Krim Gueraï had succeeded Maxoud Gueraï as Khan.

We can now return to Ruffin, who had become attached to Krim Gueraï's suite, and to whom the responsibility of diplomatic missions began to be entrusted.

After the death of Krim Gueraï, le baron de Tott departed for Constantinople, and Ruffin was left alone at Kaonchan. While in the service of the new Khan, Devlet Gueraï, he had the misfortune to be mistaken for a Turk by the Russians. This was in the village of Jassi; and although Ruffin was able to avoid being killed by proving himself to be a Christian, he was taken to St. Petersburg as a prisoner of war, and did not obtain his liberty until nearly a year later.

After a visit to Paris in 1770, where he received several honours, Ruffin proceeded to Constantinople in the service of M. de Saint-Priest, the French Ambassador. He was entrusted with many important missions, and their success can to a large extent be accounted for by the fact that, after Ruffin's treatment by the Russians, he was most favourably regarded by the Turks.

Four years later, after his marriage to a Venetian lady in Constantinople, he determined to end his career in the Levant. This he was able to do, as he was appointed Secretary-Interpreter to the King, which meant that to him were entrusted missions, not only with the Turks, but along the whole of the North African coast. As an outcome of this post he went on many highly important missions—*e.g.*, to Morocco (1777-1778). He was also in charge of the ambassadors of Tippou Saïb during their visit in 1788. During the French Revolution Ruffin held numerous posts at Versailles and Paris, and in the year III. (1794) was sent on a diplomatic voyage to Constantinople. An interesting family event had occurred in 1793, when his daughter Rose had married Barthélemy de Lesseps.

From 1795 to 1804 Ruffin was engaged in an expedition to Egypt. With the rupture of the Ottoman Government and France in 1798, he was created chargé d'affaires. Many events, such as his arrest and captivity in the Château des Sept Tours, were to take place before Ruffin had the opportunity to act in his new capacity. Space will not permit of detail here. Neither can we do more than mention that in 1803-1807 Ruffin was concerned in the negotiations of the Franco-Persian alliance, and was sent on the Gardane Mission to Teheran.

This is all fully dealt with in volume two, as well as his relations with Sebastiani, the Marquis De La Tour Maubourg, and Talleyrand.

The fourth section of the work is devoted to a consideration of Ruffin as an Orientalist. His chief language was, of course, Turkish, but his knowledge of both Arabic and Persian had constantly proved of the utmost use in his diplomatic missions. His relations and correspondence with other, and more famous, Orientalists, such as Silvestre de Sacy and Joseph von Hammer, are discussed in chapter three.

Without going into further detail, we can thoroughly recommend these volumes to those interested in the political affairs of the Near East at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, and in particular to those who would look behind the scenes of the diplomatic relations between France and Turkey, and later between France and Egypt.

CHILD OF MISFORTUNE. By Reginald E. Salwey. (*Heath Cranton*). 7s. 6d. net.

In this novel the author carries out his usual power of characterization, almost introducing the reader to the living presence of those who are actors in his story. Individually they stand out in vivid contrast to one another.

There are many points of deep interest, and moments when choice of action has to be quickly decided. Sudden death frustrating the honourable intentions of the Baronet who has erred, as soon as Rachel Jarman accepts her exalted position it influences her unfortunate child, from whom she finds it necessary to hide the secret of her birth. The passing of a most just law, coming into force during the term of this drama, enables Lady Starwynter to relax her unmotherly attitude towards her beautiful daughter, and finally relenting of her unloving treatment, is eventually able to share the happiness of the child she has so long wronged and estranged.

It is possible this story will make many who have suffered happier, after they have perused it to the end.

The passionate and fierce love of Lilian's lifelong playmate and ultimate lover reaches its reward, and his jealous heart that admitted of no imaginary rival finds peace, where peace could only be experienced.

This somewhat intricate story is worked out skilfully; the clever and kindly solicitor is by no means one of the least interesting of the many whose services are necessary to bring about a happy and satisfactory termination.

CORRECTION

Through an unfortunate printing error, Mr. N. Krishnamurti was incorrectly described in his article on "The Ruler of Travancore" in the last issue of the *Asiatic Review*.

The description should read as follows: "Travancore Secretary to Diwan Bahadur T. Ragaviah (delegate to the Round-Table Conference)."

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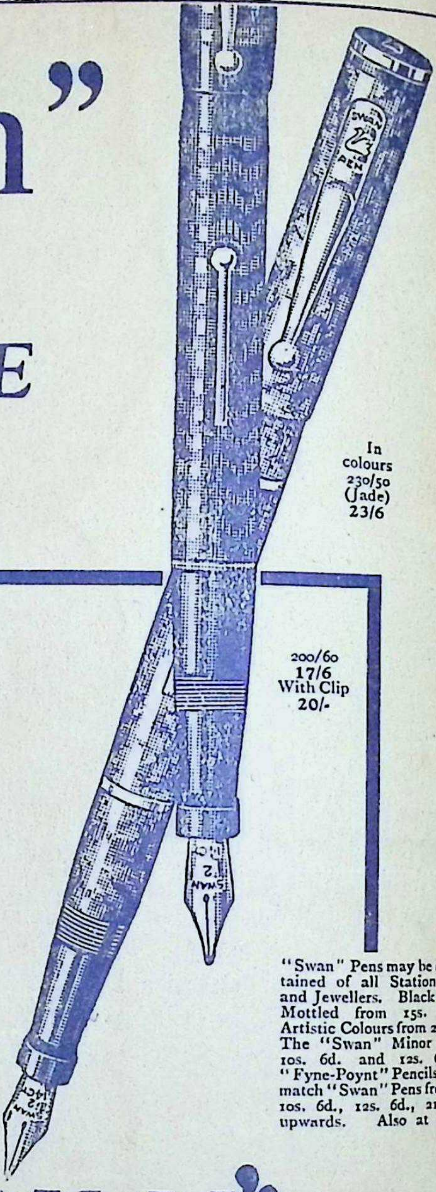

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE INDIAN ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE: THE SECOND PHASE

By the Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

In the course of an address to the members of the East India Association in May, 1931, I dealt with the work of the Indian Round-Table Conference so far as it had then gone. I now propose to describe the further proceedings of the Conference and to comment on the situation to which it has given rise.

Let me remind you of the position which had been reached when Mr. MacDonald brought the proceedings of the first session of the Conference to a close in January, 1931. The outstanding feature of the policy which he then outlined was the acceptance by his Government of the principle that responsibility for the government of India should be transferred from Parliament at Westminster to Indian Legislatures, both in the Provinces and at the centre; in other words, that Parliamentary government modelled as closely as circumstances would permit on the British system was the goal in view. So far as structure as distinct from mechanism was concerned, the Conference had agreed generally that the immense size of India and the existence of huge administrative units in the shape of the Provinces of British India, each with its own Administration, to say nothing of the Indian States, pointed clearly to a Constitution of a Federal type. Mr. MacDonald accepted this view, but made it clear that the goal was not to be reached in a single stride. The new Constitution was to contain such provisions as might be found necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations resting upon Great Britain as the custodian of the interests of the Indian peoples, and it was to confer upon the Viceroy such powers as might be necessary to enable him to afford minorities protection for their political liberties and rights. Moreover, for an unspecified period certain portfolios were to remain outside the control of the Indian Legislature, notably those of Defence and External Affairs, while in regard to Finance such conditions were to apply as would ensure fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State at Whitehall and the maintenance unimpaired of the financial stability and credit of the Indian continent. Mr. MacDonald added that in such statutory safeguards as might be devised for meeting the needs of the transitional period it would be the primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers were so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new Constitution to full responsibility for her own Government.

Policy Re-affirmed

While these matters are present to your minds it will be convenient if I anticipate my account of the actual happenings at the second session of the Conference in the autumn of 1931 by a brief reference to Mr. MacDonald's statement at its close. The speech with which he wound up the session on December 1 was remarkable, not so much for anything new that it contributed towards the solution of the problem, as for the emphatic re-affirmation which it contained of the policy laid down in his earlier pronouncement. In January, 1931, Mr. MacDonald had spoken as the head of a minority Government which depended for its existence in the House of Commons upon the complaisance of its political opponents. And though the Conservative delegates at the Round-Table Conference had given conditional support to the policy then laid down, they had done so with some hesitation, while it was notorious that a section of the Conservative party, both in the House of Commons and in the constituencies, was definitely opposed to so rapid an advance.

By December, 1931, the scene had undergone a dramatic change. Mr. MacDonald now faced the Conference, not as the head of a minority Government, but as the leader of a Government reflect-ing to a unique degree the will of the nation—a Government supported by the whole of the Conservative party, the greater part of the Liberal party, and that section of the Labour party which, under the leadership of Mr. MacDonald himself, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Snowden, had, to its credit, put country before party and given its support to the National programme. In these altered circumstances the real significance of the declaration of December 1 lay in the Prime Minister's announcement of the acceptance by the National Government of the policy laid down in his earlier pronouncement. In particular, it was explained, the Government desired to re-affirm their belief in an all-India Federation as offering the only hopeful solution of India's constitutional problem. "They intend to pursue this plan unswervingly," Mr. MacDonald asserted, "and to do their utmost to surmount the difficulties which now stand in the way of its realization"; and he added that in order to give his declaration of policy the fullest possible authority, it would be circulated as a White Paper to both Houses of Parliament, whose approval of it would be sought forthwith.

When early in December the matter was submitted to Parliament, a plea for caution was put forward in both Houses, and, as was to be expected in the case of a Chamber numbering among its members many persons with experience of administration in India, with greater force and with a larger measure of support in the Upper than in the Lower House; but at the end of a three days' debate, maintained at a high level throughout, the Government were authorized to proceed with their policy by a majority of 106 to 58. In the House of Commons approval had already been given by a majority of 369 to 43. The policy thus received in striking manner the endorsement of Parliament, irrespective of party, and has thus become beyond all possibility of challenge the policy of the nation.

It was not only in Great Britain that the scene had undergone a transformation; between the first and second sessions of the Conference equally striking changes had taken place in India. The leaders of the Indian National Congress, who had rejected the offer to attend the first session of the Round-Table Conference in 1930, had found it expedient to reconsider their position in the light of the results achieved at the conference table. The Viceroy, Lord Irwin, quick to seize the opportunity which had thus presented itself, had made a swift gesture by releasing unconditionally from the prisons in which their defiance of the law had landed them Mr. Gandhi and other leaders of the civil disobedience movement. His vision had been justified, for as the result of prolonged and patient negotiation between him and Mr. Gandhi a truce had been agreed to, the civil disobedience movement had been called off, and an invitation to the Congress to send representatives to the second session of the Round-Table Conference had been accepted.

THE SECOND SESSION

So much for events in India. The stage was now cleared once more at St. James's Palace in London, where the management—if the staff of the India Office, on whose shoulders fell the task of making the necessary arrangements, may be so described—awaited with interest and a good deal of curiosity the arrival of the performers, with Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as new and unpredictable stars in the cast. What would be the attitude of such uncompromising advocates of Indian independence at a conference table at which, as was obvious in view of the decisions already reached, a not unimportant subject of discussion would be the nature and scope of the limitations to be imposed upon the autonomy of the Indian Legislature under the Act by which Parliament was to confer self-government upon India?

The session was certainly not lacking in dramatic quality. There were at times emotional passages between delegates representing different points of view; periods of tension lived through in an atmosphere highly charged with explosive possibilities; but on the whole those who looked for a spectacular drama on a grand scale must have been disappointed. Generally speaking, the proceedings were carried through in a lower key than had been the case during the earlier session. As was inevitable, the exhilarating optimism which had been engendered by the discussion of abstract principles tended to cool down when the practical difficulties in the way of giving effect to them came up for discussion. The picture conjured up in the minds of many by the conception of an all-India Federation bringing into a single glittering edifice the democratically governed Provinces of British India and the autocratically governed territories of the Ruling Princes had been a pleasing one. Those who had planned it had seen, in imagination, the immense and bewildering heterogeneities of the Indian continent—those formidable and stubborn obstacles to nationhood—vanishing under the magic dome of a political edifice which was to defy the centrifugal tendencies inherent in the circumstances of the Indian continent, and to give to its many-tongued and many-visaged peoples a hitherto undreamed-of measure of cohesion.

It was only when the first flush of enthusiasm had died down and the various possible methods of applying the principle began to claim attention that it was realized that there were likely to be drawbacks as well as advantages attaching to the scheme. The number of Ruling Princes present at the first session of the Conference, though representing States of various types and of the first importance, had necessarily been only a small proportion of the whole; and it was not unnatural that some, at least, of those who had not been present should view with apprehension the possible consequences to their States of so rapid and so great a change. Even in the ranks of those who had taken part in the deliberations of the Conference a difference of opinion manifested itself, a view departing widely from that provisionally accepted at the Conference finding a spokesman in His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, ruler of the largest of the Phulkian States, and himself a recent Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

MINORITIES

But the fundamental difficulty which presented itself at the very beginning of the second session of the Conference was that of finding a bridge across the gulf that divided the Muslims and the Hindus. The Muslim delegates, fresh from contact with their co-religionists in India, made it plain that, until an agreement had been reached securing to them the share in the future government of the country to which they considered themselves entitled, they would not be prepared even to discuss the transfer of power to an Indian Federal Legislature. And encouraged by the attitude of the Muslim representatives, the Sikhs put forward claims affecting their future position in the Punjab, which it was found impossible to reconcile with the claims of other interested communities.

Here, then, was the Conference at last at grips with the bed-rock problem of Indian government—a problem which has its roots deep down in history, one which has existed throughout the British occupation—a source of danger and often of serious disturbance, yet one which has not manifested itself in more serious guise only because control has been in neutral hands determined and able to hold the scales even between the rival communities. And as if to give point to the intractable nature of this deep-seated antagonism, the interval between the two sessions of the Conference had been marked in India by serious outbreaks of communal strife.

In February, 1931, a band of Hindu villagers brutally massacred eleven Muslims in a rural district of the United Provinces. "There was nothing modern nor political in this crime," commented the members of a Commission of Inquiry appointed a few weeks later to investigate a much more serious outbreak at Cawnpore in the same Province. "A Muslim *zamindar* (landowner) sent a haunch of venison to a tenant. Some Hindus said it was beef, not venison, and the massacre of the Muslim inhabitants was the result." No doubt that was so; but the same thing cannot be said of the much graver outbreak at Cawnpore.

When considering the Hindu-Muslim problem in its more recent manifestations, we have to remember two things: first, that the Muslims have been slower than their Hindu rivals to take advantage of the facilities which have been provided under British rule for the acquisition of a Western education, and that, quite apart, therefore, from the handicap imposed upon them by their numerical inferiority in any purely democratic system of government, they are less well equipped than their Hindu fellow-citizens for achieving success in any contest in which intellectual subtlety and familiarity with the theory and practice of Western democracy must necessarily play an important part; and, secondly, that they are a people with many centuries of history behind them and with race memories of the days when the overlordship of India was theirs; a people conscious of the proud part which their forbears played upon a glittering stage when for two centuries the great northern capitals of Delhi and Agra were the seats of the resplendent courts of the famous dynasty of the Moghuls. And it is impossible to escape from the conclusion that, with the prospect of control passing gradually from British hands to those of a Hindu majority in the future Constitution, Muslim antagonism is being sharpened by Muslim fears.

The outbreak in Cawnpore in March, 1931, referred to above, was the direct outcome of the civil disobedience movement, the Muslims of Cawnpore refusing to join the Hindus in demonstrations ordered by the Congress on the occasion of the execution of Bhagat Singh, a Punjabi revolutionary convicted of the murder of a police officer and of waging war against the King-Emperor. Members of the two communities quickly came into collision, and the early clashes, to quote the finding of the Commission of Inquiry—

> " developed into a riot of unprecedented violence and peculiar atrocity which spread with unexpected rapidity through the whole city and even beyond it. Murders, arson, and looting were widespread for three days. . . . The loss of life and property was great. The number of verified deaths was 300, but the death roll is known to have been larger and was probably between 400 and 500. A large number of temples and mosques were desecrated or burnt or destroyed. . . ."

More recently still, serious trouble has been experienced in Kashmir, where the Muslim population has become restive under the oppression, real or imaginary, of Hindu rule.

Here, then, in a nutshell, is the explanation of the Hindu-Muslim problem, and it is obvious that, with roots so deep, no formula for solving it which did not carry with it the convinced assent of those concerned would be worth the paper on which it was written. From the time, therefore, when the question first obtruded itself upon the attention of the Conference, Mr. MacDonald made it plain that it was one which Indians must settle for themselves. The first of the privileges and the burdens of a self-governing people was, he was at pains to point out, to agree how the democratic principle was to be applied.

FRUITLESS NEGOTIATION

An attempt to find a solution was, consequently, made, informal negotiations proceeding daily behind closed doors during the last days of September and the opening days of October. Though strongly opposed on principle to the demands of the Muslims for separate communal electorates and for representation in the Legislatures, both Provincial and Central, in excess of that to which they would be entitled on a purely numerical basis, it is possible that Mr. Gandhi, unwilling to demonstrate to the world at large the hard reality of the communal problem, so often and so conveniently attributed by Great Britain's enemies to a Machiavellian policy on her part of "divide and rule," might have persuaded himself of the expediency of agreeing to them. But at Mr. Gandhi's elbow, alert to detect and to quash any sign of weakness on the part of his less orthodox fellow-countryman, stood Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, leader of the Hindu Mahasabha—intellectually brilliant, soft-tongued and courteous to a degree, but in his championship of Hindu orthodoxy adamant. A striking figure this—slim, white-robed, of quiet demeanour, yet an orator capable of passionate flights; a man who for fifty years has maintained himself in the forefront of Indian public life; for a decade or more Vice-Chancellor of the Hindu University at holy Benares; twice President of the Indian National Congress. There was little chance of acceptance of the Muslim view on the part of this doughty upholder in its integrity of the ancient tradition of the caste Hindus.

A meeting of the Committee of the Conference charged with the duty of dealing with the minorities question was called for October 8. The main item of business on the agenda paper was to receive a report by those who had been engaged in the informal negotiations for a settlement of the minorities problem. The meeting provided one of the dramatic episodes of the session. The Committee sat in one of the smaller rooms allotted to the Conference in St. James's Palace. The whole of the seating accommodation at the table was occupied by members of the Committee; other delegates and the officials in attendance crowded the floor space along the walls. A hushed silence fell on those present as the Prime Minister took his seat and called on Mr. Gandhi to make his report. Every eye was turned on the small figure swathed in many folds of homespun cotton cloth, seated immediately to the left of the chair. With the slow delivery and the meticulous pronunciation of every syllable which he adopts, Mr. Gandhi made his eagerly awaited statement. It was with feelings "of shame and of humiliation," he said, that he had to announce that they had failed to reach agreement.

Subsequent attempts to find a way out of the impasse were successful only to this extent, that the Muslims and most of the other minorities reached agreement amongst themselves as to the nature of the protection to be afforded to them; but the main question remained unsolved, neither the Muslims nor the Sikhs nor the Hindus being able to compose their differences. It is no nearer solution today, and towards the end of March the Muslims put forward a demand that a settlement embodying their own claims should be imposed by the Government of Great Britain.

This failure necessarily robbed the remaining sittings of the session of much of their interest; for though progress was made with the consideration of the methods by which effect might be given to the decision to set up an all-India Federation, the Muslim delegates sat silent spectators of the proceedings, refusing to discuss the details of a Constitution in which, in the absence of a satisfactory settlement of their claims, they declared themselves unable to take a share.

THE FINAL SCENES

Fresh interest was aroused in the final plenary sitting of the Conference by curiosity as to the nature of the statement which, in these circumstances, the Prime Minister would make on behalf of the Government. The sitting began at 10.30 on the morning of Monday, November 30, and once more a spirit of drama descended on the Conference chamber. On the left of the Prime Minister sat Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, poetess, patriot, and politician, an impressive figure in the ample folds of her national costume, the gleam of her dark eyes telling of the fires that burned within. On her left was the almost huddled figure of Mr. Gandhi, and beyond him again Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other members of the various sections of the Hindu community. On the right of the Prime Minister were the members of the British delegation, and beyond them again the Ruling Princes. Facing the chair, seated at the inner lap of the huge oblong table, were Dr. Ambedkar, the chief spokesman of the Depressed Classes; Mr. Joshi, the thorough-going champion of Indian labour and ardent advocate of adult suffrage for the 350,000,000 of the Indian continent; Sir Hubert Carr, the leading spokesman of the British mercantile community; and the representatives of other minorities. Behind them, again, at the outer ring of the table sat the representatives of the 80,000,000 Muslims, under the leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan.

It happened to be Mr. Gandhi's weekly day of silence, and as speaker after speaker rose to deliver his final speech the Congress representative sat brooding at the table, a mute, intractable, and enigmatic figure. The day wore slowly on towards its close, and at length, a little after midnight, his period of silence over, Mr. Gandhi addressed the Conference. It was a mischievously pessimistic utterance shot through with bitterness and devoid of constructive suggestion of any sort; and had the Conference closed then it would have done so on a note of unrelieved though, happily, wholly unjustifiable gloom. But a complete change was wrought in the heavy atmosphere by a speech which must be accorded a high place among the great oratorical efforts of mankind. For after Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had spoken there rose from the end of the table the long-robed figure of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, a man who through twenty years of chequered Indian history has played with singular success the part of Elisha to the Elijah of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale. The peculiarly appealing voice which Mr. Sastri knows so well how to employ rang with the cadence of a silver bell through the night. His courteous, but none the less emphatic, rebuke to Mr. Gandhi for his bitterness, and his inspiring profession of faith in the future, dispelled, as if by magic, the clouds which had descended upon the closing stages of the Conference.

After an adjournment at 2 a.m., the delegates reassembled on the morning of December 1 to listen to the statement by the Prime Minister to which I have already referred. So far as the communal deadlock was concerned, Mr. MacDonald expressed the hope that a solution might yet be found by Indians themselves; but, failing that, His Majesty's Government would be compelled to apply a provisional scheme of their own. He did not attempt to disguise from them the unsatisfactory nature of any such procedure:

> "This would mean that H.M. Government would have to settle for you, not only your problems of representation, but also to decide as wisely and justly as possible what checks and balances the Constitution is to contain to protect minorities from an unrestricted and tyrannical use of the democratic principle expressing itself solely through majority power."

Subversive Movements

With the close of the session, interest shifted once more from London to Delhi and Calcutta; and we must now glance at developments there. While the delegates from India had been engaged at the conference table the hot-blooded members of the more extreme section of the Indian National Congress had been viewing events with growing impatience. There were among them men who had always regarded with distaste the method of constitutional negotiation—men imbued with that false pride of race which causes them to mistake hatred of other peoples for love of their own; and when the economic distress arising out of worldwide causes became acute in parts of rural India, the attempt to take advantage of it proved too great to be resisted. Contrary both to the spirit and the letter of the truce signed by Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi, they threw themselves into a no-rent and no-tax campaign, concentrating upon certain districts in the United Provinces.

Concurrently with these activities was to be observed an alarming recrudescence of the terrorist movement in various parts of India, and notably in Bengal. The most revolting of the outrages perpetrated by members of the Bengal secret societies was the treacherous and cold-blooded murder of an English magistrate on December 14 by two Bengali girls in their 'teens, armed with pistols. This crime was followed by the attempt, also by a Bengali girl, early in the present year, to assassinate Sir Stanley Jackson, the Governor of the Presidency. But these were only the latest of a formidable series of outrages. Earlier in the year an English judge had been murdered in the broad light of day while at work in his court in Calcutta, this crime following at an interval of a week only an attempt to assassinate Sir E. Hotson, the acting Governor of Bombay. During the previous year the Inspector-General of Police and the Inspector-General of Prisons in Bengal had both lost their lives at the hands of the assassins, and an attempt had been made on the life of Sir G. de Montmorency, the Governor of the Punjab. These are but examples of the murders and attempted murders which marked the months during which the Round-Table Conference was at work. And while these events were taking place in the interior of the continent the organization known as the Red Shirts, inspired by agents of the Indian National Congress, was causing serious apprehension by its seditious activities on the North-West Frontier.

Against these various subversive movements, swelling in volume and increasing in violence as the days went by, the Government found themselves obliged to take drastic action; for no Government, unless intent on abdicating, can sit with folded hands while its agents are assassinated, its lawful dues withheld, its authority disregarded, and its laws defied. Toward the end of the year 1931, therefore, the Viceroy issued various ordinances conferring upon the Executives in the Provinces the additional powers which experience had shown were necessary to enable them to cope with the particular forms of seditious activity with which they found themselves confronted.

MR. GANDHI'S ARREST

This, then, was the situation when Mr. Gandhi and other delegates to the Indian Round-Table Conference returned to India early in the present year. It may be that Mr. Gandhi on his return found the left wing of the Congress out of hand and decided that it was better to swim with the current than to admit his inability to control it. Yet those who had watched him closely during the closing stages of the second session of the Round-Table Conference experienced no surprise when he crossed the Rubicon and threw down his challenge to the Government once more. Mr. MacDonald's speech, when bringing the Conference to a close, had been a straightforward and wholly unambiguous statement; not so Mr. Gandhi's reception of it. He would refrain from expressing any opinion upon it, he said, but would search for "the hidden meaning" underlying it; and those who were familiar with his peculiarly unstable temperament had little doubt that he was already contemplating a return to the barren wilderness of non-co-operation. At any rate, seizing as his excuse Lord Willingdon's very natural refusal to discuss with him the propriety of the measures which he had been obliged to take to safeguard the lives of his officials and the tranquillity of the Realm, Mr. Gandhi denounced the truce and called for a renewal of civil disobedience.

How was such a situation to be met? I make no apology for repeating the view which I expressed when Mr. Gandhi launched his civil disobedience movement in 1930. The duty of the Government, I then urged, was to go forward steadily and firmly on the path which had been marked out—*i.e.*, on the path of constitutional reform—turning neither to the right hand nor to the left; not allowing themselves to be stampeded by the violence of agitation in India into making concessions which, upon a consideration of all the factors in the case, were deemed to be too great in the interests of the people of India themselves, nor, on the other hand, refusing to make such concessions as the justice of the case might demand. I added that if such a policy was to be successfully pursued, the Government must make it clear that they possessed both the will and the means to restore order and to ensure respect for the law.*

Lord Willingdon's Policy

That is the policy which is, in fact, being pursued. It constitutes no departure on the part of Lord Willingdon from the policy of his predecessor. Lord Irwin has, indeed, made it known that his Government had matured their plans for meeting just such a situation as has now arisen, and he has stated that he cannot but suppose, had he still been Viceroy, that he would have acted precisely as Lord Willingdon has done. Lord Irwin's action in negotiating with Mr. Gandhi with a view to the representation of the National Congress at the second session of the Round-Table Conference was, in my view, an essential step in the policy to which this country is committed. It demonstrated to the world the sincerity of Great Britain in its desire to work out a Constitution for India in collaboration with all parties in that country; it gave some hope of an agreed solution of the problem with which we are faced, and, failing this, it placed us in a position of great moral strength against the National Congress in the event of their deciding to resume a disastrous policy of civil disobedience.

Constitutional Advance

It remains only to point out that in the pursuit of the constructive aspect of their policy the British Government have much more than mere promises to show. At the request of the Round-Table Conference at its first session, two Committees were set up in India, one to examine the possibility, from a financial point of view, of constituting a new Province by separating Sind from Bombay, the other to draft a scheme for the establishment of a military college for the training of Indian officers in India. Both Committees have completed their labours and issued their reports. In accordance with the promise of the Prime Minister at the conclusion of the second session of the Conference, the status of a Governor's Province has been conferred on the North-West Frontier; a register of electors has been prepared, and the first election of members to the new Legislature has already been held. At Delhi the Viceroy has summoned a consultative committee of delegates to the Round-Table Conference, while three other Committees, presided over by English public men, reached India early in the present year and are at work on tasks delegated to them by the Conference. These tasks are the consideration of the franchise to be adopted under the new Constitution, both in the Provinces and at the centre, and the investigation of different aspects of the financial problem involved in the formation of a Federation of entities differing so widely in their political constitution as the Provinces of British India and the Native States.

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* Speech in the House of Lords on May 28, 1930.

Thus the dual policy of enforcing respect for law while at the same time taking all possible steps to expedite the solution of the many subsidiary problems which present themselves, both to the architect and to the builder of so vast an edifice as an all-India Federation, is in full swing. Emerson found the Englishman to be him of all men who stood firmest in his shoes; "he has stamina," he wrote, "and can take the initiative in emergencies." It is a display of these two capacities that is called for in India today; and it is in the Englishman's continued possession of them that rests the best hope for the Indian peoples in the critical years that lie before them.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, April 25, 1932, when a paper was read by the Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., on "The Indian Round-Table Conference: the Second Phase."

The Right Hon. the Earl Peel, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir John P. Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Arthur McWatters, C.I.E., and Lady McWatters, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir George and Lady Godfrey, Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Leonard Adami, Lady Bennett, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Lady Hartog and Mr. Hartog, Lady Russell, Mr. H. K. Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mrs. Briscoe, Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. and Mrs. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Councillor the Rev. R. Burges, Rev. E. S. Carr, Miss C. K. Cumming, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mrs. Weir, Mr. Hugh Macgregor, Mr. A. H. Joyce, Miss Margaret Brown, Mr. M. E. Watts, Miss Baillie, Mr. H. B. Holme, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. C. A. Mehta, Lieut.-Colonel A. G. Hamilton, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Miss Morton, Mr. Ayana Angadi, Mr. and Mrs. Allen, Mr. H. C. Brown, Mr. Ernest Esdaile, Miss Horsburgh, Mr. J. H. Sanders, Mr. G. Q. Khan, Miss E. Gray, Mrs. Schuster, Miss Stacy, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. P. M. Joshi, Mr. B. Ghosh, Miss Caton, Mr. H. C. Hunt, Mrs. Dreschfield, Rev. Thomas Duncan, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, Mrs. A. M. Leslie, Mr. G. F. Folley, Mr. K. L. Gordon, Miss Hopley, Miss Mainwaring, Mr. J. G. Dunlop, Mrs. Steele-Perkins, Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Wrench, Mr. G. E. J. Gent, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think we are extremely fortunate this afternoon that this Association has secured the services of Lord Zetland to read a paper on "The Indian Round-Table Conference: the Second Phase."

Lord Zetland, as we are all aware, has had very great experience in India as an administrator, as a writer, and as a traveller. In addition to all those qualifications, he was a leading member of the Round-Table Conference itself. I may say that I also was a member of the Round-Table Conference; in fact, you see before you 50 per cent. of the Conservative wing of the

British Delegation to the Conference, so that anything that Lord Zetland says about it, and which I support, has the probability, at least, of being true. (Laughter and cheers.)

(The Lecturer read his paper.)

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said they were indeed fortunate in having such a very complex subject explained to them by one who could speak with triple authority, that of a successful Indian Governor, that of a prominent English public man, and that of a member of both sessions of the Round-Table Conference. The proceedings of those Conferences and the events in India and here during the last two years had been put before them with great impartiality and marvellous lucidity. He could not agree with everything the lecturer had said, but there was one point to which he took emphatic exception—namely, when the lecturer tried to justify Lord Irwin's pact with Mr. Gandhi in March of last year. The lecturer had said it was a necessary part of the policy which they followed, and it had justified this country in the eyes of the world. His, Sir Michael's, own view, and he thought that of many others, was that that pact marked the nadir of British rule in India; it was a shameful and humiliating submission and surrender to subversive revolutionaries. What was the *quid pro quo*? Mr. Gandhi had condescended to come here with some of his satellites, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. It was known that by mandate of the Congress they came here with proposals for ousting British rule; it was known that they came here determined not to compromise on any of the questions which came up for discussion in the second Round-Table Conference. It was known now—and to-day's paper had proved it—that they went back to India with hatred of this country in their hearts, and with a desire to wreck any form of reasonable constitution for India. The result was that those three people, to secure the attendance of whom at the Round-Table Conference the Government in India had humiliated itself, were all in gaol for open defiance of the law.

Passing to the Round-Table Conference itself, his comment was that they all admitted that the Act of 1919 was the beginning of a progressive realization of self-government in India. In the preamble to that Act it was laid down that there were two conditions which would govern the future extension of self-government. The spirit of co-operation and the sense of responsibility shown by Indian politicians in working the first Constitution were to be the tests when after ten years it was to come under review. When the Conference met those should have been the two main issues—the acid test to be applied. Were they applied? No. There was no one in either Conference to demand their application. If those tests were to be applied, who were the proper people to apply them? Surely the Governors of the provinces, those who had seen the first reforms in the working; those who had witnessed the difficulties of their working, the impossibility of their working in certain provinces, such as Bengal and the Central Provinces, the flaws in their working in other provinces. Certainly the members of the two Conferences could not apply those tests: they consisted exclusively of the politicians of India and the politicians of this country. Politicians must have the last word, but it was a matter of supreme importance to remember that in India administration was infinitely more important than politics. It was essential that some of the men associated with the administration in India during the recent difficult years should have been associated with the politicians in the investigation into these fundamental questions. Were they purposely left on the shelf just as the Simon Report was purposely shelved?

The result of the omission was that from the very start the Conference got away from the earth; it went into thin air, into the clouds. At the end of the second Conference, having got back to earth, it suddenly found itself up against them; it had decided nothing except vague generalities. It could not confess failure. No Conference would wish to admit failure; so that it asked the Government to send out various Commissions to India to fill up the gaps that had been left after the deliberations of the Conferences here. Those Commissions had gone out to India and, as Lord Zetland had told them, so far they had effected nothing regarding the two fundamental difficulties. They had thrown up their hands regarding the communal settlement, and left it to the British Government to attempt a solution. Similarly with regard to the Princes. The Princes had also admitted that they could not settle among themselves the question of their entry into the proposed Federation; they could not decide among themselves the allotment and proportion of seats in the Federal Government. After those years of vague idealism they were back again to the position from which they started. It might be said that they had framed the outline of a Constitution—it was a very vague ideal. When he looked at the outline of the Constitution it reminded him of the Irishman's definition of a net—a lot of holes held together by a bit of string. The analogy was that the holes were the Indian provinces and the Indian States; the string which had hitherto held them together was the power of a strong central British Government. What was the string that was to hold India together in future? According to the so-called Constitution there were to be two strings, a Federal Government at the centre, and provincial autonomy.

Let them examine those strings and see what strains they had to meet. One was the communal question, which was only part of the still greater minority question. They should bear in mind the strain that imposed not only on provincial autonomy, but on the proposed All-India Federation. Was that question any nearer settlement? Clearly it was further from settlement than ever. The second strain was the association of the Princes and the Federal Government. Was that any nearer settlement? They had seen since the first Round-Table Conference that the Princes had more and more shown their disagreement and their distrust of the principle of Federation. The conditions they had recently laid down made Federation impossible. They were now at the end of two years down to the very question which should have been put to the Indian politicians when they came to the first Round-Table Conference. If the matter had been suitably handled and the spade-work done properly, they should have been told: You claim self-government; you will have to prove to us, so that we can report to Parliament, that you are capable of agreeing upon a scheme of self-government for India. That question was never put; that question must be faced today.

They were told to put their trust in this ideal of Federation. Yes, but first they should show that it was feasible and acceptable. Hobbes in the seventeenth century, referring to the Papacy, said: "The Papacy is a pale spectre sitting on the tomb of the Holy Roman Empire." Hobbes was wrong, of course, with regard to the Papacy, because the Papacy today was very much alive. But if they did not face facts in India future historians would say of this shadowy Constitution which they were trying to build up that it was a pale spectre sitting on the tomb of the once great British Empire. But, in his opinion, that spectre would not be there for long; it would wilt away and two powerful demons would take its place, the demons of civil war and foreign aggression.

He did not want to close on a note of extreme pessimism, and therefore he desired to add a word of satisfaction that the National Government here, the Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy in India were facing the appalling situation which had been left to them by their predecessors with a courage and vigour which demanded in the first place their sympathy, in the second place their support, and in the third place their congratulations for the success which they had so far achieved. (Applause.)

Mr. F. G. PRATT said that he was very much struck by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's aphorism that in India at the present day administration was more important than politics. It seemed to him that the statement was no more true of India today than it would have been true of Ireland in 1921.

So far as the problem before them was connected with the great dominating personality of Mr. Gandhi, he was rather surprised to hear in the very interesting and able address to which they had had the privilege of listening the temperament of Mr. Gandhi described as unstable. He had had occasion to conduct controversial conversations and discussions with Mr. Gandhi, and his impression of him (and he thought the impression of nearly everybody who had come into contact with him and had to do business with him) was that his temperament, so far from being unstable, was one of extreme stability. It gave one the impression of an immovable obstacle; it was so hard to persuade him to alter any of the convictions which he so passionately held, or to budge an inch from any position which he had once taken up. All sorts of opinions were held about Mr. Gandhi in different parts of the world, but no one who had been in contact with him and had had direct personal dealings with him could ever think of him as a shifty or faithless person. If he made a promise or a pledge he would loyally stick to it; he was fundamentally truthful and sincere. This also must be said of him, that although various parties in India might disagree with him as regards his policy, nevertheless it was true that in India he stood for and had the overwhelming support of educated Hindu India. Mr. Gandhi himself would claim that he had the support of a great many other elements in India besides the Hindus, but at the very least he did stand for educated Hindu India.

He could not agree with the noble lord's justification of the Viceroy's refusal to discuss the ordinances with Mr. Gandhi. The ordinances had been issued to meet a crisis which came to a head while Mr. Gandhi was on the Indian Ocean on his way out. The United Provinces No Rent Ordinance was issued on December 24 and the North-West Frontier Province Ordinance was issued on December 28. Mr. Gandhi landed in Bombay on December 28 and spoke of the ordinances as a Christmas present to him on his arrival. On December 29 he telegraphed to Lord Willingdon in terms which were no doubt familiar to them all. This his first message was expressed somewhat bluntly and perhaps was a little deficient in courtesy, but in effect he was expressing a desire to see Lord Willingdon and to ask for guidance from the Viceroy as to his future policy. That message reached the Viceroy on December 29. Mr. Gandhi received the reply on the 31st. Between those two dates Lord Willingdon made a speech—namely, on December 30—in Calcutta at a dinner of the European Association. At the end of his speech he expressed the hope that even at that eleventh hour Mr. Gandhi would give the Government the benefit of the support of his "powerful influence." But the following day, December 31, the Viceroy replied to the telegram refusing to discuss with Mr. Gandhi the measures which had been adopted by his Government. Those measures had been discussed by the Secretary of State with Mr. Gandhi in London before he left for India. Discussion of those measures with Mr. Gandhi did not involve any weakening of the position or of the policy of the Government. It was quite possible to discuss and explain and justify the measures which had been taken without in the least relaxing their operation. Discussion and explanation was all the more necessary, because the measures of the Government of India had been taken with reference to events that had been taking place in India while Mr. Gandhi was in London attending the Round-Table Conference. He agreed with all that the lecturer had said of the mischievous activities of the Congress during Mr. Gandhi's absence. Liberal newspapers in India had spoken of those activities as "blunders which were worse than crimes," and sensible people in India had no sympathy with them; but those things had been happening in India while Mr. Gandhi was away, and there could have been no objection to those things being discussed with Mr. Gandhi by the Viceroy in order that he might have been made wiser as to what had been happening in his absence.

He entirely disagreed with what Sir Michael O'Dwyer had said about the mischievous and pernicious effect of Lord Irwin's conversations with Mr. Gandhi; he, with a great many other people, thought that Lord Irwin's attitude was entirely proper and entirely justified. Lord Irwin's conversations with Mr. Gandhi had been protracted for seventeen days—a prolonged crisis during which the whole of India had been standing on the tiptoe of expectation. A discussion with Mr. Gandhi at the end of December need not have lasted more than three days at the outside, and in his opinion it was a very great pity that the opportunity was not taken to have a discussion.

Colonel **Sir Umar Hayat Khan** said that he had always wondered what was wrong with Bombay. When all the other provinces were settling down, why could not Bombay be put right, and why was there trouble always going on there? He had not much hesitation in saying that the people who were against Government wanted it to clear out bag and baggage from India. By backing them they were backing their enemies, and if they were going to do that, how could they get on? They had been told that Mr. Gandhi was a man who always stuck to what he said; that he absolutely agreed with. Mr. Gandhi had always said that he did not want Englishmen; he wanted to kick them out. He had stuck to that by word and deed. The truth was they had more friends than enemies. The scales should not be kept even between friends and enemies.

They had heard about the unfortunate troubles on the Frontier and about Kashmir, and that certain very poor Mohammedans had gone on the side of Congress. They all knew about the Red Shirt movement. It was not a Mohammedan movement at all. If they took the real Mohammedans who knew what was right and wrong, not a single Mohammedan had gone against Government or on the wrong side. They had been hearing that day about Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and about their ability and their appearance. They were all in gaol—sent there by the present Government. Could it be said that Government had made a blunder? They could not do otherwise. It was the only way if they wanted to remain in power.

He had always admired the lecturer for his ability. His great ability was that he could see the stage and then describe it. It was beautifully done. But he would ask them to try to see what was behind the scene. It was always said by the agitators: "We want Governors from England." The reason was that the greater men they were and the ablest and the best gentlemen, it would be easier to bluff them, as they could not know much about India during their short term, and by the time they began to know something they had to return to England. The lecturer had only gone skin deep and no further, but the people who had lived amongst the Indian people and had been brought up amongst them, and could see them day by day, especially in the rural parts, really knew what they were. He could assure them that the people detested the Gandhi Pact. Those people said that the Government had acted not on the advice of its own friends, but on that of its bitterest enemy. If the weakness which had been shown in the last twelve years was continued things would go from bad to worse. He was very glad that at present the policy was tending towards the right side, and he hoped that it would continue on this course. (Applause.)

Mr. **Ayana Angadi** said he would like to put before the meeting what he thought to be the right interpretation of the situation in India today. Whether they liked it or not, they must face the facts. The lecture had been limited to discussion of the second session of the Round-Table Conference, convened and held in London. There were many delegates representing or pretending to represent the various communities and various political parties in India. What were the political parties in India today? They had the Liberal party and they had also the Congress party. The

British public were led to believe that the Indian National Congress which had been led during the last thirteen or fourteen years by Mr. Gandhi did not represent the main bulk of the Indian people, but that it was only one of several parties. He desired to assure them that the Congress was not merely a party, but it did really stand for the Indian nation. Mr. Gandhi, as spokesman of the Congress, was speaking for the majority of Indians. They might not like Mr. Gandhi's views; they might call him a fanatic, but it must not be forgotten that he did represent India today. If anybody was to "deliver the goods" in the name of India it was none other than Mr. Gandhi himself. The Round-Table Conference, as he had said, was convened in London, and the lecturer assured them that it was the fault of the Indian delegates that no agreement was come to. They had heard how Mr. Gandhi confessed his humiliation at the inability to arrive at any definite settlement with the Moslems. Who were the delegates at the Round-Table Conference? What was the idea of catching one man here and another man there and assembling them together on the pretence that they represented India when they did not? Even the delegates themselves when they came over to this country said plainly both privately and publicly that they did not represent anybody except themselves. The Round-Table Conference was convened to work out a Constitution or to recommend a Constitution for the British Parliament. It was not a small Conference. It was a Conference of very great and considerable importance. Why not have a sort of general election? He was not suggesting that was the only way of getting proper representation at the Conference, but they could do that and let the general election be fought on the issue as to what members should be elected and sent to the Round-Table Conference to discuss with the British delegates in this country and try to work out the future Constitution. (Applause.)

Mr. Joseph Nissim said they had listened to an address for which the Association should be profoundly grateful. He was in the happy position of being unable to find a single point upon which he differed from their most distinguished lecturer. He felt bound to say that there was a very considerable amount of reason in what Sir Michael O'Dwyer had put forward, and also in what Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan had said, but it must be remembered that in the sphere of Government there were two important departments: one was deliberative and the other executive. In the executive sphere it would be disastrous to India above all countries if there was any weakening of the arm of Government. The truth underlying their remarks was in that direction—namely, that the executive arm of Government in India must remain strong. They must have strong men to take part in the executive administration in India. It was at that point that he begged to differ from Sir Michael O'Dwyer's view. In the deliberative sphere they did not stand to lose anything if they moulded the Constitution in the provinces and in the centre in such a manner as more truly to reflect the opinion of what was best in India aided by what was best in England. Surely Sir Michael O'Dwyer and those friends who thought all the way with him could not deny that in the system of Constitutional Government which they had in India there were defects. They could not deny that these instruments of Government were not quite up-to-date. It was an improvement of that sphere that they were all working hard to effect. It was a problem that was capable of solution and should not be shirked; it was a problem of adjustment in the Constitutional sphere. Certainly if the adjustment was so made as to pitchfork into power people who would let down India, people who were enemies of the British connection, then so far as it did that the Constitution would fail and would be a defective one. But there was no reason to suppose that it should fail or that it will be defective.

The criticism that Mr. Pratt had made with regard to Lord Willingdon not interviewing Mr. Gandhi was really a criticism on a small point of detail in a situation when Lord Willingdon and his Cabinet were in a position to know that India was faced by a conspiracy which was moving fast, which was weakening the authority of Government on the North-West Frontier, in Bengal and in the Upper Provinces; they had ample information. His answer to Mr. Pratt was that Mr. Gandhi had been in close consultation with the Viceroy of India and with the Round-Table Conference here for weeks and months, and very little was to be gained by inviting his co-operation on a matter of executive administration. Lord Willingdon gave him the same invitation which Lord Irwin had done, and which the Prime Minister had done—invited him to discuss with them Constitutional problems which he was then bent upon solving. They said to Gandhi: "We will keep aside the question of administration; that is not your sphere." He ventured to think that there was nothing in the record of Mr. Gandhi which would justify his being brought into the day-to-day administration and government of India at a time of crisis such as that with which Lord Willingdon was engaged.

With reference to their young Indian friend Mr. Angadi, he agreed with him up to a point that Congress was the spokesman of educated India, and Government did defer to its advice in many ways; but the point came when Congress proclaimed civil disobedience and was bent upon it. It had proclaimed it not once but twice, and there was no alternative before that most sympathetic of all Viceroys, that most knowledgeable of all Viceroys, Lord Willingdon, and before the National Government here, but to act as they did with the results that they had seen. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: My lords, ladies and gentlemen, if variety of opinion is the test of the success of a Conference, I think this Conference has been highly successful.

Perhaps I may be allowed to say a word first of all by offering my tribute of admiration to the paper that Lord Zetland has read, both with regard to its substance and its form. (Applause.) Now I should like to try and defend if I can the unfortunate Round-Table Conference on two grounds. I speak with some hesitation because Sir Michael O'Dwyer has told us that politicians certainly ought not to be there, but only Indian administrators. As a politician at that Conference, I rather apologize for my own existence. Two charges, I think, have been made; one was that the Conference was not representative of India. It is a curious fact, I think, that pretty nearly all the well-known and prominent people in the political world in India were at that Conference. The attack which Mr. Angadi has made was also made by Mr. Gandhi, and the Conference nearly blew up because everybody thought that they were extremely representative and important; they thought that this criticism was one of the most unfortunate observations Mr. Gandhi made at that Conference.

Another point made by Sir Michael O'Dwyer was that the Conference settled nothing. I do not know that Conferences ever do settle very much, so that that is hardly a criticism; but it certainly did, I think, bring out in a way that no Indian Conference has done before the variety of the problems which we were faced with in India when we were trying to construct a great Federal system. Perhaps even the scepticism of Sir Michael O'Dwyer will admit that was something, that was an achievement, even if every single hole was not stopped up, and if any new device was not discovered, in the effort to fit India with its infinite variety into a Federal system. I, of course, hold that you cannot with a Conference of one hundred people settle the details of a Federal scheme. Other Federal systems have taken far more years than this Conference took months in order to deal with them. Therefore, on that score I do not think there is very much to be ashamed of in the Conference.

Another point of great difference on which I, again, speak with some hesitation was with reference to the action taken by the Viceroy in summoning Mr. Gandhi and making the agreement with him. Lord Zetland thought it was one of the highest efforts of statesmanship. Sir Michael O'Dwyer and also Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan thought it was the most disgraceful surrender to unreal forces there could possibly be. You could not have a wider difference of opinion. I desire to express an opinion slightly different from both. I may say that I have expressed it before, so that it is not hatched up as a sort of judicious mean between the two extremes. I certainly would not criticize the late Viceroy in his responsible position for trying to secure that the Congress party was represented at the Conference. But I do criticize the method by which it was done, because I think the method by which it was done did give the sort of impression, or appeared to give the sort of impression, that two equal potentates were negotiating an arrangement to be made with regard to the future of India. That went against the grain with me. I said at the time, and wrote at the time, that it did depress the Moslems, who naturally felt: here is a Hindu who is trying to settle the whole thing over our heads. Whether it was right or wrong, or whether it did or did not strengthen our moral position in the eyes of the world—and I never personally am much concerned about the eyes of the world—it was, of course, a complete failure if judged by the extent to which it was observed. From the first day that Pact was made Congress went on with its activities; it never stopped for one single moment. That agreement was never kept at all, and therefore, from that point of view, it was a failure. Consequently, although the presence of those eminent persons, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan

Mohan Malaviya, at the Conference contributed to some extremely eloquent passages in my noble friend's address, and to those rhetorical and literary effects in which he is so skilled, it had little other effect except that it showed that these gentlemen were quite irreconcilable, and were determined not to give the slightest assistance to the Conference. It showed that Mr. Gandhi is a past-master at uttering most violent sentiments in the quietest and most monotonous tones, and I am bound to say he was followed very closely by no less a master than the Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu herself. We certainly got no assistance in the form of any constructive suggestion from Mr. Gandhi. Probably he felt acutely that he had not increased his reputation at the Conference.

Lord Zetland has traced with great skill and accuracy the effort which was made by the Government here and by many of the Indian delegates to bring about an agreement on the minorities questions. It has been brought home to us that the nearer you get to the establishment of a modern Constitution and the nearer you are to removal of the strong and neutral ruler, the more insistent all the different elements in the community will become on safeguarding their own position. Perhaps that is very natural. That historic second Conference Lord Zetland has described started in September and went on into December. At one time it was supposed to be on the very edge of agreement. A journalist came to me and said: "What do you think? Are they going to come to an agreement?" I said: "I will stake my reputation as a prophet on this: You may be sure that the nearer that they appear to be to agreement, the further they really are from it." My prophecy is shown to have been absolutely correct. So things have gone on.

I am a little disturbed by the suggestion which was made by Mr. MacDonald himself at the end of the Conference—namely, that in the last resort the British Government might have to settle the minorities question. I do not believe you can in that way settle the minorities question. You can, of course, impose to a certain extent a scheme upon the rival communities, but I cannot see that any imposed scheme of that kind is likely to bring peace between the communities. In addition to that, I think it almost absurd that such a scheme should be imposed unless those who can speak for the two great communities say beforehand that they will accept that decision, whatever it may be. If it is merely a decision or a judgment to be given by the Prime Minister of this country, then it is useless. What is the value of it? In my opinion, whatever the decision may be, it would probably be rejected not by one, but by both the communities. The capacity of the two great communities to reach a compromise is a test of the possibility of responsible government in India. If you are going to have a settlement imposed from outside and if they cannot make an arrangement among themselves, what is the likelihood of their being able in the wear and tear of day-to-day political life to live in harmonious relations with one another? My own view is against an imposed settlement, and I would do everything to throw upon the communities themselves the full responsibilities of settling it themselves. I do not assert, of course, that the British

Government should not mediate between them, or should not make every effort to bring the parties together. I hope it will hesitate very long before it will stand up and say: "I am going to enforce a plan of settlement and declare, for instance, how seats are to be distributed in the Punjab or in Bengal, and so on." The bearing of this question on the relationship between the two communities, and the possibility of their carrying on with success Central and Provincial self-government, is obvious, but it has another effect on the working of the Indian Federal system. One objection to an imposed settlement is that the duties to be laid upon the Viceroy—reserved powers, powers with regard to legislation and finance, protection of minorities, and so on—would amount almost to the establishment of double government in India, and would put too great a burden on anybody, however strong the man might be, who was going to be selected as Viceroy in the future. It is quite clear that the greater the dissatisfaction with any settlement imposed on the communities, the more severe will be the duties thrown upon the Viceroy in protecting those minorities. Therefore this matter is not only one of the relationship between the two communities; it is a test of the success or the possibility of a Federal system coming into fruitful and active life.

Then with regard to the Princes. The Princes naturally swayed backwards and forwards—as I see the position—as to whether they should enter the Federation or not. Perhaps they are not quite so enthusiastic about it as they were in the first blush when it was accepted at the opening of the first Round-Table Conference, because we are trying to reconcile the surrender of certain powers by these Princes to a Federal Government, with the maintenance at the same time of their full control of their own affairs, and also maintenance of their existing relations with the British Government. I have here a copy of a speech recently sent to me, and to many other people, by the Maharaja of Bikaner, containing the conditions on which alone the States would enter into Confederation. The Maharaja of Bikaner was really one of the protagonists of the new movement in the Conference itself, and the speech is remarkable from the fact that it represents, I understand, the settled views of the Princes or their attitude to Federation. The reservations are set down as a connected whole, as the minimum condition on which the States will enter Federation. I think that shows that the problem is still a very complex one, and although I believe we have settled a great many things at the Conference, still perhaps as many more await decision. I do not believe myself that these huge problems can be settled very rapidly. I think they require long discussion in order that public opinion, both in States and provinces, may have time to realize all the implications of the Federal plan. It would be a mistake to rush a scheme too suddenly upon India in this matter. Government is quite wisely working out details through the different Committees which have been set up. I think we have to content ourselves at present with what is called the double policy: first the policy of maintaining order which Sir Michael O'Dwyer said is so extremely necessary; secondly, Government must pursue, in view of the innumerable pledges we have given on the subject, the task of trying to work out if possible, with the assistance of the provinces and the Princes, a Federal system for India. (Applause.)

The Lecturer: My lords, ladies and gentlemen, it is now so late that I do not propose to make the attempt to reconcile the different views which have been expressed here this afternoon. What I set out to do was to give you a colourless and purely historical account of what has happened at the Indian Round-Table Conference during the past two years. I seem to have excited a considerable amount of feeling, both on the one side and the other, and I am all the more convinced of the soundness of the very tentative expression of opinion that I gave in my own paper by this fact, that what I have said seems to have displeased Mr. Pratt only one degree less than it has displeased Sir Michael O'Dwyer. My opinions, therefore, have the merit, so far as I can see, of having displeased the protagonists at the two extremes. In other words, I seem to have been sailing on a fairly even keel in admittedly difficult and troubled waters.

Mr. Nissim was good enough to say that there was nothing in my paper with which he did not agree. He is probably the only person who is in that frame of mind, so that I should like to express my gratitude to him for having thought as I have thought.

It is much too late now to deal with the various arguments which have been put forward on the one side and on the other, and I am not going to do it. However, I should like to tell Mr. Pratt that I still maintain that Mr. Gandhi is a man of unstable temperament, and if Mr. Pratt will be good enough to read a small book written by Mr. Gandhi, probably twelve or fifteen years ago, called "Indian Home Rule," in which Mr. Gandhi's philosophy on life is set forth, I think Mr. Pratt will come to the same conclusion as I have—namely, that Mr. Gandhi's temperament is extremely unstable.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for having listened so kindly to what I have said.

INDIAN FINANCE AND THE FEDERAL PLAN

By Sir Arthur McWatters, c.i.e.

The title of my address this afternoon assumes that a solution of the Indian Constitutional problem is to be looked for on federal lines. The two Conferences in London remained steadfast to this point of view, and it has been reaffirmed recently by the Chamber of Princes in India. It is true that the acceptance of it by the Princes is subject to various conditions which raise issues outside the financial sphere; but I wish today to examine from the financial aspect only, so far as it can be isolated, the underlying implications of this plan, the main problems which in fact have to be solved if the roughly sketched design of a Federation for India is to be translated into reality.

There is little scope here for the picturesque characterization which enlivened Lord Zetland's account last month of the Second Round-Table Conference. The subject does not lend itself to light treatment if the obstacles are not to be shied at or avoided. There is sometimes a tendency to regard the financial arrangements of the new Constitution as something in the nature of an ornament which can be superimposed upon any building or adjusted to any framework. At the first Round-Table Conference itself the problems of finance were not discussed until late and were on the whole less adequately treated than other aspects of Constitutional reform. There is some need, then, to emphasize that finance is fundamental, that it is an essential part of the framework itself to which the building must conform if it is to stand at all. A good deal of progress, however, has been made since the first Round-Table Conference, and the latest phase is the publication of the report of the Committee which was charged with the more detailed examination of the financial issues.

SAFEGUARDING LIMITATIONS

I begin with some general observations which apply not solely to a federal system, but to any policy of devolution of financial responsibility. The basis on which all discussion since the First Round-Table Conference has proceeded is that financial responsibility is to be transferred from His Majesty's Government to the Governments in India subject to some limitations during a period of transition, subject, that is, to what are usually described as "financial safeguards," which have been defined so far less in detail than in terms of the objects to be aimed at. When those details are published, I trust that those with whom the decision rests will scrutinize them as pragmatists, considering carefully whether they will work in practice. There will have to be no ambiguity as to the machinery which is to be employed and the sanctions which are to be relied on if the safeguards have to become operative. If the duty of enforcing them is to rest upon the shoulders of the Governor-General, we must know what support he is to have in the way of personnel and how he is to obtain his information and expert guidance.

I wish to call attention particularly to three points:

First, the difficulty of obtaining sufficient agreement on the Indian side to measures which involve a limitation of financial responsibility, even temporarily. I am not referring here merely to extreme political opinion in India, but to the objections felt by those of more moderate views, which you will find voiced freely at the Round-Table Conference if you refer to the detailed proceedings and not merely to the final reports, and to the recent Resolutions of such bodies as the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, which is an organization fully representative of the Indian business world, and on which prominent members of the Round-Table Conference are represented. This attitude on the Indian side cannot be ignored because, if the period after the introduction of the new Constitution is to be one of continued agitation against its checks and safeguards, then it will be difficult to avoid a series of constitutional crises, and the effect upon the stability of the Constitution and the credit of India will be serious. The success of the policy can in fact be assured only if it attracts to itself all that is best in the political life of India and if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of co-operation. It will depend, in short, wholly upon the quality of the new Indian Government.

Secondly, while great Constitutional changes can never be free altogether from financial risk, and therefore in any event credit requires to be carefully nursed through the period of change, the dangers are increased ten-fold by the precarious financial outlook of the whole world today. It is not a time when risks, which might be carried in calmer weather, can be taken.

Finally, we cannot forget the special obligations which rest on India as a result of her connection with Great Britain. She has had the use of British money and men, and the obligations remain in the form of the sterling debt on the one hand and the pensions of those who have served her on the other. There is one point here which requires to be borne in mind—namely, that no invested funds exist to secure Indian pensions, nor the large sums due for payment from Provident Funds and Family Pension Funds, though the latter are almost wholly, and the former largely, built up by contributions from the Officers themselves during their period of service. India is not in any way peculiar in this respect, but it imposes a special duty on Great Britain to secure that India's credit is not impaired; for though there may exist no formal guarantee, there does exist, and there has been admitted to exist, a moral responsibility.

FINANCIAL CLAIMS OF THE STATES

We have now to ask ourselves whether the introduction of the federal idea will give to the new Constitution just that *quality* which is required, and, on the financial side in particular, whether it will add substantial strength. From certain points of view it is obvious that it does add strength. It brings into the field large and powerful interests which are known to be loyal to the Crown and friendly to the British connection, which may be relied upon to resist extreme views, and which will provide a variety of administrative experience native to the soil. On the other hand it introduces on the financial side various complications, and my main purpose this afternoon is to subject this aspect of the question to closer scrutiny.

Before the first Round-Table Conference met, claims for financial readjustment had been more and more strongly pressed from the side of the States. There were two reasons for this. First, the imminence of Constitutional changes of a sweeping character, which were likely to increase the independence of the Government of India, was in itself a stimulus to the States to have their claims for financial readjustment considered by His Majesty's Government before the latter allowed powers to pass out of their hands; and secondly, the progressive increase in the indirect taxation imposed by the Government of India would in any case have made the raising of these issues inevitable.

The most important class of claims indeed rested upon the contention that indirect taxation was being levied to an ever-increasing extent from the States' peoples for the benefit of British Indian revenues through Customs duties, the salt monopoly, and the important excises imposed upon such objects of universal consumption as kerosene and petrol. Some of the States themselves rely upon import duties as an important source of revenue, and their powers of taxation were therefore impaired by the increase in the duties imposed by British India. In the earlier days when the general level of Customs duties upon imports was 5 per cent., it was not so serious a matter, but when the general level was progressively raised to its present figure of 25 per cent. and when in addition there are many special duties at higher rates, besides a large group of purely protective duties, it becomes a very serious matter indeed, both in principle and in its practical effects.

But the claims of the States extended further than this. They desired to reopen the whole question of the contributions which they make in varying degree, both in money and in kind, to the Government of India under their various sanads, treaties, and engagements. In addition, when the search for claims gathered momentum, others were rapidly added, including, for instance, a claim to a share in the profits of the Government of India's currency and note issue, since the British Indian currency circulates through the greater part of the States' territory, and to some share in postal revenues. The position of the Indian Railways traversing State territory was also brought into the arena of discussion. The total bill which the States were prepared to present to British India was in the neighbourhood of 16 crores (£12 millions) a year.

Moreover, apart from claims of a general character, there are a number of claims of a special class, affecting either individual States or groups of States, of which the most important are the claims of the maritime States in Kathiawar. This question is exceedingly complicated owing to the varying treaty rights of different States, of which Bhavnagar is a special example, and to their varying capacity for port development, exemplified particularly by the State of H.H. the Jam Sahib. It is clear that the Customs revenue of British India would be threatened if large quantities of dutiable goods entered British India as it were through a back door, unless some satisfactory arrangement could be come to with the Maritime States. Negotiations have continued for the last twenty years or more without success, and the Government of India found it necessary to draw a land Customs line across the frontier of Kathiawar. This land Customs line, though for a period removed, was some years ago reimposed and is still in force.

A claim of a different character again arises from the opium policy of the Government of India. As is well known, the export of opium from India to the East—principally to China—yielded at one time a large revenue, and an important part of this opium was grown in Indian State territory. Some years before the war the export of opium to China was discontinued. A few years ago the Government of India went even further and decided to prohibit the export of opium altogether, except for medicinal purposes, within a period of ten years, the end of which is rapidly approaching. As a result of these measures the Malwa States, some of which are small States relying to a great extent upon opium as a source of revenue, have had their resources seriously curtailed through a policy decided upon and carried out, not by themselves, but by the British Indian Government.

This list of claims is not exhaustive, but it is sufficient to show what a difficult situation had arisen before the First Round-Table Conference met. The Government of India themselves appointed a special committee to make an attempt to value the States' claims on the one side and the "Imperial liabilities," which might fairly be set against them, on the other. The report of this committee is a mine of information, but the impression which it can hardly fail to leave is that any approach to a solution of these difficulties by way of claims and counter-claims is hopeless. Some States will have a surplus, others a deficit on the account; some of the bases of calculation, particularly the incidence of indirect taxation, are highly conjectural; and who, for instance, can assess the money value to the States of the defence of the N.W. Frontier?

The change made by the first Round-Table Conference was a veritable revolution. With federation envisaged as the goal, the States no longer appeared in the attitude of hungry claimants, but as prospective partners. The problem became one of determining the scope of federation, the definition of federal subjects, and on the financial side the estimation of the resources available for the federal Government and its relations with the units of the Federation. The difficulties which are presented by this new line of approach are of a different kind and it would be idle to pretend that they are small. They are, however, on the financial side primarily of a budgetary character.

When the First Round-Table Conference dissolved it was still not altogether clear whether there should be two groups of subjects dealt with by the Central Government, a Federal group and a British Indian group, with two distinct budgets discussed and voted upon separately by representatives of the two parts. But the work done in India last summer and the later discussions at the Second Round-Table Conference have eliminated this alternative, which would hardly have been workable. The position is now generally accepted that there should be a single Federal Executive and Legislature with a single budget.

DELIMITATION OF SUBJECTS AND PRE-FEDERATION CHARGES

Two questions at once present themselves: first, the delimitation of subjects so as to exclude, so far as possible, a purely British

Indian group; and secondly, the assessment of existing liabilities, if any, which can be considered purely British Indian. The first of these problems raises the general question, how far the States will be willing to share in those activities which the Government of India has hitherto undertaken in the interests of British India as a whole. These cover a wide range throughout the alphabet, from Agricultural research through the Geological and Meteorological Departments to Zoology, but in most instances there should be little difficulty in getting them accepted as Federal. A few may present greater difficulty, especially where the States already have organizations of their own for similar purposes. From the budgetary point of view it is clearly desirable to leave as small a residue as possible of subjects of purely British Indian concern—preferably none at all.

The second of the problems mentioned, that of British Indian liabilities, will be simplified if we can accept as a general principle that at least from the financial point of view, all subjects classified as Federal will be taken over by the Federation with their assets and their liabilities as they stand. Thus, the main commercial activities of Government, the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs, would be taken over as going concerns, together with their liabilities in the form of the allocated debt of those Departments and the pensionary and provident fund charges of the officers who are serving or have served in them. As regards debt, the Federation would be responsible, not only for interest payments, but for the corresponding share of the provision for redemption of the debt. But even if this principle were accepted there would still remain matters for settlement. All the existing debt is not allocated to particular Departments, and after we have isolated the Railway debt and that of other business Departments and the debt incurred for New Delhi (which the Federation would presumably take over with the capital), there would still remain a residue, not large but appreciable, which represents the debt not covered by any specific assets. In the main the existence of this debt is due to the deficits incurred in the period immediately following the war, since all unproductive debt had been wiped out by 1914, and to the special contribution of something over £100 millions which was made by India towards the war.

Another line of approach to this problem of the debt is indicated in the instructions given to the Finance Committee which has just reported. Their instructions contemplated a valuation of the assets of the Government of India in the expectation that these will be found to cover the liabilities in the form of debt, making no distinction between allocated and unallocated debt. There might in that case be no charge remaining against the British Indian side of the Federation. The committee has succeeded in satisfying themselves on a broad survey that if the Federal Government assumed responsibility for the whole of the pre-Federation debt, its obligations would be covered by the assets also taken over—a conclusion which I personally think indisputable.

Of course a detailed valuation of the Government of India's, or any Government's, assets at the present would be impracticable. Take, for instance, the Railways, whose capital expenditure represents the greater part of India's fixed debt, and on which within the last few years over £150 millions have been spent in order to provide for the extension and modernization considered necessary to carry the traffic expected. That traffic has not materialized, and the Indian railways at present, so far from contributing anything to the Central Exchequer, have been drawing heavily upon their reserves, thereby adding to the ways and means difficulties of the Government of India. The position of the Indian railways is, of course, paralleled by that of railways everywhere, and the fact that their financial results are at present unsatisfactory would certainly not justify the valuation of the railways in the light of the present. Indeed, if present conditions were to be taken as the standard, it might equally be argued that there is hardly any asset of any important enterprise anywhere in the world which is not over-valued.

The whole question seems to me a little academic, since the hard logic of facts will in any case compel the Provinces of British India for some time to come to contribute towards the Federal Government, either directly or in the form of income-tax, large sums, greatly exceeding any direct contributions by the States. The Finance Committee, in accordance with their instructions, had to adopt the scheme of direct contributions by the Provinces; but much the same result would have been obtained by allowing the Federal Government to retain the income-tax until it could be gradually surrendered. The main practical difference between the two plans is that, if economic conditions improve, income-tax may be expected to be an expanding source of revenue, and the adoption of fixed contributions would be likely in that event to be more advantageous to the Provinces.

ADJUSTMENTS BETWEEN THE PROVINCES

I pass now to two other aspects of the budgetary problem. We have to consider possible adjustments between the Provinces *inter se* and the financial relations between the Central Government and the federating units.

As regards adjustments between the Provinces *inter se*, it must be admitted that the existing settlement has not been wholly satisfactory. Several of the Provinces, particularly Bengal, have from the beginning protested that the settlement was unfair to them, and Bengal's contention was recognized by the suspension of their contribution to the Central Government. But with the total extinction some years ago of the Provincial Contributions, the disparity in the position of the different Provinces has been accentuated.

During the last two years, though every Province in turn has had to face a deficit, the position has been far more serious in some than in others. Bombay in particular has been severely handicapped by the heavy charges for interest and redemption of the loans raised for development purposes in Bombay City and for large irrigation schemes, notably the Sukkur Barrage, which cannot be expected to yield a return for a number of years. At the same time the income of Bombay and others has been reduced by the falling-off in excise revenue, which has been the object of attack both politically and on temperance grounds. Assam again is a Province dependent to an unusually large extent upon a precarious excise revenue. Most Provinces have found it necessary to make large remissions or suspensions of Land Revenue, which also has been the object of concentrated political attack. Without going into further details, I have said enough to show that every Province has its peculiar difficulties at the present time, but some much greater than others; hardly one of them is satisfied with its position relatively to the rest, while all are urgently in need of fresh money for development of education and other essential activities.

RETRENCHMENT AND TAXATION

Relief must be looked for in the first place from economies in expenditure. Every Province has in fact been actively pursuing economy, and all have joined the Government of India in enforcing percentage reductions in the pay of officials. They have, moreover, made drastic reductions in the scales of pay for new entrants to Government service, and this will ultimately be one of the most important factors in improving their financial position, though the full effect will not be felt for many years. But still further economies will inevitably have to be made. The Government of Bombay have taken the lead already by appointing a Committee, which is something more than a mere retrenchment Committee, to re-examine the whole administrative machine in the light of the new conditions.

In the second place the Provinces will have to consider the possibility of new taxation. A certain amount has been done in this direction, by increasing taxation on motor transport, enhancing stamp duties, and so on, but the sources of new taxation available to Provincial Governments are limited. There are two measures only which might yield substantial revenue—namely, the taxation of agricultural incomes and the levy of death duties. Unfortunately there would be little likelihood at present of either of these measures being accepted by a Provincial Legislature. The experience of the only Province which has tried a Succession Duties Bill has not been encouraging. It is possible, however, that in certain areas, such as Assam, which is removed from the main lines of through traffic, a terminal tax could be imposed without serious injury to trade.

THE CENTRE AND THE UNITS

There remains one final avenue open—namely, the increase of Provincial resources at the expense of the Central Government. This alternative, if feasible, might enable also the inequalities in the present position of the Provinces to be corrected by surrendering revenue to them in different proportions. It is necessary, therefore, to turn to the second aspect of the budgetary problem which I mentioned just now, the financial relations between the Central Government and the federating units, and see what prospect there is of relief from this direction. We are faced here with a fundamental question of policy, whether the residuary powers of taxation in the new Federation are to rest with the Central Government or with the units of the Federation. British India has always been highly centralized in finance, the Provinces originally depending entirely on grants from the Central Government. Even as late as the present century the system was one of periodical settlements which usually took the form of sharing certain sources of taxation, such as land revenue, in varying proportions. It was not until the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms that Provincial sources of revenue were definitely separated. The history is one of progressive decentralization, though even now the residuary powers of taxation remain with the Centre.

One group of federating units, the States, already possess full powers of taxation within their territories, so that if residuary powers of taxation remained with the Central Government *vis-à-vis* the British Indian Provinces, there would be a marked disparity in the relative powers of the two groups. A method which was suggested at the Second Round-Table Conference of avoiding this difficulty is to schedule all sources of taxation at present known or in contemplation as either Federal or Provincial. While this may solve the problem of conflicting jurisdictions, it still leaves unsolved the major problem of providing sufficient resources and sufficient elasticity of revenue for the Central Government. This, indeed, is one of the most important matters on the financial side which has to be considered.

CENTRAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The Central Government's position is more satisfactory than that of most Provinces in this respect, that it possesses a balanced Budget; but this has only been possible by imposing taxation on a scale previously undreamed of in India, by severe reductions in salaries, and by a retrenchment campaign, which has perforce curtailed the activities of many useful departments. Such measures were no doubt unavoidable, but it makes it difficult to treat either the present level of taxation or the present level of expenditure as a fair basis on which to frame plans for the future. Reduction in taxation and restoration of some, at least, of the expenditure cuts will have a claim to consideration before there is money to give away to others. Without wishing to paint too gloomy a picture it is necessary also to remember that the introduction of Reforms will not reduce, but will inevitably add to, expenditure. The creation of new Provinces on the North-West Frontier, in Sind, in Orissa, all means extra cost for headquarter establishments and for Legislatures, if for nothing else, and the new Governments and Legislatures will naturally wish to justify their existence by a progressive policy. The separation of Burma, desirable as it may be on other grounds, will mean a loss to the Government of India of at least £2 millions a year. Again, in estimating the position of the Central Government we cannot ignore the possibility of payments having to be made on account of some of the special claims of the States, to which I referred earlier.

The Central Government on its side will have immense responsibilities to carry. It will be responsible for Defence, for the maintenance of the general credit of India, and for the interest payments and redemption of the Federal debt, and to support these and other responsibilites its resources (apart from the Commercial Departments, which have no surplus revenues to contribute at the moment, and the opium revenue which in a year or two will have disappeared) are practically limited to Customs, including the excises upon petrol and kerosene, the salt monopoly, and income-tax (the latter levied in British India only). In addition there are the profits of the note issue and the interest from the Gold Standard Reserve, which have for some years past been appropriated in support of revenue.

Customs Revenue

A special element of weakness in the position is that the Federal Government will have to depend so largely upon the Customs revenue. You can measure its importance by the fact that from this one head alone the Government of India expect to realize 46¼ crores of rupees in the current year and 52⅓ crores next year. On the expenditure side the largest item, Defence, in the same two years is estimated to cost 51¾ and 46¾ crores. Broadly speaking, the Customs revenue may be said to pay for the Defence of India. But this revenue is being collected from a trade valued at scarcely more than half that of two years ago. The pitch of assessment is therefore so high as to admit of no further increase; indeed, it is probable that the Law of Diminishing Returns has already begun to operate under some heads. And apart from the general level of duties the Indian Customs revenue is precarious because it depends to so large an extent on one or two individual classes of imports.

Cotton piece-goods used to be the mainstay of the revenue; but recently for various reasons, including tariffs, political boycott, and a decline in consuming power, this has receded to a relatively minor position, and the chief place has been taken by sugar. So high was the duty on sugar raised, for purely revenue purposes, that the rates recommended last year by the Tariff Board for the protection of the sugar industry were actually no higher than the rates already in force. Behind this barrier the Indian sugar industry is likely to develop, but at the expense of the Customs revenue, though it may contribute something to the income-tax. And apart from sugar, protective duties generally, which are being increasingly adopted in India, will make it more and more unsafe to place so much reliance upon Customs.

OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE

The taxes which have shown most resilience and have been least affected by the existing depression in trade have been those which are comparatively light in incidence and spread over a vast number of taxpayers. The excise duty on kerosene is one instance; the salt duty is another. The salt duty is a good Federal tax because it is paid by all consumers in India, and should be one of the most reliable assets of the Federal Government. Unfortunately it has been made an object of political controversy, but you may form your own idea of the merits of that controversy from the following story.

Only last year the Government of the Punjab appointed a Committee to explore new sources of revenue. One of the items on which they cast their eye was the salt tax, and a Committee representative of all the leading communities in the Punjab—Muhammadan, Hindu, Sikh, and European—made the following significant recommendation:

> "We have considered a proposal to levy a surcharge on salt. The majority of us, six to one, strongly favour the imposition of a surcharge of 50 per cent. on the present salt tax, which surcharge should be paid to provincial revenues. The majority are of the decided opinion that so far as the Punjab is concerned the present salt tax is not felt by anyone, as its incidence on the poorer classes does not amount to more than a few pies per person in a year. They understand that the present tax has not been increased by the Government of India for political reasons. They consider that these reasons do not apply to the Punjab, and that a surcharge on salt, if imposed, would be widely hailed as a justifiable taxation which would cause no hardship even to the poorest classes."

Such were the views of the Punjab Committee. I may add that neither the political campaign nor the recent increase of 25 per cent. in the duty have had the slightest effect upon the security of the revenue derived from salt.

NEW TAXATION

It is unlikely, however, that without some new taxation the Federal Budget can be made to balance. Two new sources of Federal taxation only have been suggested—namely, an excise on matches and some form of taxation of tobacco. Both present complications, but the main difficulty in regard to matches—namely, the risk of factories leaving British India for State territory, if a tax were imposed, will disappear if the States enter the Federation. But even if these taxes could be successfully imposed, the revenues of the Federal Government would be very inelastic. The Federal Finance Sub-Committee of the Second Round-Table Conference contemplated that the Federal Government in return for the personal income-tax surrendered to the Provinces should for some time receive contributions from them, both these and the money payments from the States being extinguished *pari passu* according to some definite programme.

This would give the Federal Government no more, however, than it possesses already even at first, and progressively less afterwards. Indeed, the Finance Committee, taking a more realistic view of the position, have found it impossible to specify an annual rate of reduction of contributions or any definite period within which they could be extinguished. On the contrary, they realize the weakness of the Federal Government's position by providing that it should have a general power to impose surcharges for its own purposes on any tax levied by it for the benefit of the units. It will probably be necessary to include further a provision similar to that which exists in the present Constitution, which gives power to the Central Government under certain conditions to levy contributions, in case of emergency, upon the Provinces. Such contributions should, of course, be leviable upon all the units of the Federation. But whatever devices may be adopted one cannot emphasize too strongly that any estimates which can be framed now or in the near future cannot be other than provisional; the financial portion of the Constitution therefore should not be made so rigid as to be incapable of reasonable amendment.

THE RESERVE BANK

There remain one or two special matters affecting Federal finance on which I wish to say a few words. The first is with regard to the proposed Reserve Bank. The establishment of such a Bank has been recognized to be a necessary step in the programme of transfer of responsibility. In the present turmoil of world finance, with disordered currencies and embarrassed Governments, the difficulty of launching such a Bank with its new and great responsibilities, including the management of the Indian currency, is obvious. But in spite of the departure of British and Indian currency from gold, or rather because of it, the situation is definitely more hopeful than it seemed even nine months ago. One at least of the prerequisites of a Reserve Bank—namely, the strengthening of the sterling reserves—is nearer accomplishment, thanks largely to the exports of gold from India which have followed the linking of the rupee with sterling and the consequent premium on gold. It is mainly because of this and because of the firm steps taken to balance the Budget that instead of being a source of weakness, India has since September become a positive source of strength to the international position. A strong exchange has been maintained, remittances on a large scale have been made, and £15 millions of sterling debt were paid off in January. The success of the recent sterling loan is a tribute to the improvement in the position. The Reserve Bank of 1927 will, of course, require modification in more than one respect; first, as to the constitution of the Board of Directors (the rock on which the Bill foundered on the previous occasion), who will now include representatives from the whole of India and not from British India only. This wider field of choice will be valuable. Also the gold value of the rupee as stated in the Bill may require alteration. At any rate, one may hope that the old controversy about a 1s. 4d. and a 1s. 6d. rupee will have taken on a new meaning. The advocates of the 1s. 4d. rupee have already gained the substance of what they wanted by the depreciation of the rupee in terms of gold, while at the same time India's foreign liabilities (which are almost wholly in sterling) have not increased, and the change has been effected without any shock to credit such as might have followed a simple devaluation of the rupee to 1s. 4d. It is somewhat disquieting, however, that hitherto the bulk of Indian commercial opinion is unreconciled either to the policy of linking the rupee to sterling or to the export of gold from India. Resolutions condemning both these recent developments were passed as recently as March last by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce. One can only hope that the results of the present policy may have proved themselves to everyone's satisfaction before the time comes for rediscussion of currency questions. It must be remembered that such discussion must arise in connection with any Bill to establish a Reserve Bank, since the statutory value of the rupee must be stated in the Bill.

SEPARATION OF PROVINCIAL BALANCES

The second matter to which I wish to refer is the position of the Government of India as Bankers to the Provincial Governments. This has been an economical system because it enables a smaller total balance to be held if there is only one pool instead of ten. Its disadvantage is that financial responsibility is not directly enforced. As the system works at present, a Provincial Government which runs into debt draws upon the Central balance and thus imposes ways and means obligations upon the Central Government. It is true that the overdrafts are converted at the end of the financial year into loans upon which the Provincial Government has to pay interest, but there is not the immediate safeguard of a disobliging banker to intimate that the Provincial balance must be recouped or no further cheques will be honoured. With the advent into a Federation of the States, who hold their own balances, it seems inevitable that the system will have to be changed.

BORROWING POWERS

Finally, one word with regard to borrowing. Provincial Governments are at present entitled, subject to sanction by the Central Government, to raise loans in the open market on the security of their own revenues, and one or two—Bombay, the Punjab, and the United Provinces—have from time to time done so. But the more usual procedure is for them to borrow from the Central Government, and the terms on which they are allowed to borrow have been standardized in the rules of the Provincial Loans Fund. There is convenience and economy in having a single borrower. The Central Government has control over the amounts which can be borrowed having regard to the possibilities of the loan market, and is enabled to exercise a fairly strict control not only over the capital programmes of the Provincial Governments, but also over their general conduct of finance.

What is the position to be under Federation? The States will no doubt retain such right of borrowing in the open market as they possess already, but it has not been the practice of the Government of India to lend money to States. If the Federal Government is to admit them to the same privileges as are enjoyed by the British Indian Provinces, it will be, one must presume, under similar conditions. Whether any State would be willing to accept such conditions would be for the State to decide, but the privilege of borrowing from the Central Government must obviously be accompanied by a fairly extensive measure of financial control in the interests both of the Centre and of the other members of the Federation.

CONCLUSION—THE TIME ELEMENT

In conclusion, I should like to refer once more to the question which I propounded earlier, whether the advent of the States into Federation will add substantial strength to the financial fabric. The States have probably enjoyed some advantage in times like the present in having less formal methods of administration and, generally speaking, lower scales of pay. But they have suffered in the present economic upheaval in the same manner as the British Indian Provinces have suffered, and in more than one State financial difficulties are acute. It is too much to expect that they will bring at once any great accession of wealth to the common pool. Such advantage as there may be on the financial side from their adhesion will be mainly indirect. So far as the new difficulties created by federation are budgetary difficulties, there is no reason why with a reasonable return of prosperity they should not be surmounted, though the problems are intricate and their solution cannot be hurried. It will be all to the good if the eventual Federal settlement is arrived at in an economic and financial situation different from that of today. The Indian financial position is intrinsically so strong that, if the situation is properly handled, she will be able to take immediate advantage of any improvement when it comes—a position which most countries in the world might envy—but there is everything to be gained on the financial side by cautious and gradual development. Moreover—though it is outside the subject of this paper—I am far from ignoring that there are other fundamental problems which require time for their solution. After all, there is no cause for surprise or disappointment if a scheme for the federation of India cannot be worked out in every detail in a year or two. The history of other great federations has shown that their successful establishment is more often than not the work of decades rather than of years; and yet in no single one of them were the problems of the same magnitude or intricacy as those presented by India. There will only be disillusionment if we think that those problems are Gordian knots which can be cut. Their threads must be patiently unravelled.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, May 24, 1932, at which a paper, entitled "Indian Finance and the Federal Plan," was read by Sir Arthur McWatters, C.I.E., Sir Basil Blackett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir George Anderson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir John Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir George Godfrey, Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Edgar Wood, Sir James Brunyate, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Lady Blackett, Lady McWatters, the Hon. Mrs. Sydney, the Hon. Gertrude Kinnaird, Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. H. V. Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mrs. Briscoe, Mr. F. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. and Mrs. John de La Valette, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. J. F. Sale, Mr. P. B. Haigh, Mrs. Weir, Miss Curteis, Miss Cumming, Mr. H. B. Edwards, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Mr. P. K. Wattal, Mr. S. B. Roy, Mr. S. Altaf Husain, Mr W. D. Woellwarth, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. B. K. Sarkar, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. George Wilson, Mr. A. J. Forster, Mrs. Patricia Kendall, Mr. E. C. Wrench, Mrs. Ansley, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—You are here today to listen to a paper on Indian finance by my old friend, Sir Arthur McWatters. I do not think it is necessary for me to introduce Sir Arthur to this audience. He is well known to you all. I had the pleasure of working with him for many years in India in the Finance Department, and, on the subject of Indian finance, the East India Association could not have a better authority to talk to them than Sir Arthur McWatters. I have pleasure in calling upon Sir Arthur McWatters.

(The Lecturer then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure that you will all agree with me that we have had a most interesting and valuable paper read by Sir Arthur McWatters, covering an interesting subject with remarkable lucidity and remarkable brevity. It must have been a sudden and perhaps a pleasant change for Sir Arthur to come back from the placid waters of the Isis and the Cher, where he now spends his days curating the University chest, to the troubled deeps of Indian finance. The change between the two must be a startling one. He has given you a picture in a very few words of a vast problem.

In opening the discussion on the subject, I want, first of all, to draw attention to something that Sir Arthur said at the beginning. He pointed out that it is extremely important, when you are thinking of constitution-building in India or elsewhere, that finance should be given its rightful place. Finance is or ought always to be an instrument and a means to some end which is not financial. If it is in its proper place, finance is always in the position of a servant and not of a master. It would be entirely wrong that you should, first of all, come to a conclusion as to what financial arrangements you wanted to make in the new Federal India and then proceed to try to build up your Constitution in order to fit in with some preconceived financial scheme; but it is equally important that you should not err too much on the other side. Finance cannot, as Sir Arthur points out, be treated as an ornament which can be added to the structure after it is completed. It must be treated as part of the foundation work and part of the framework.

I cannot help thinking that, when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were under consideration and were drawn up, the importance of finance was somewhat underestimated. There was an attempt there to treat finance as something that you could superimpose as an ornament to a preconceived structure built up without reference to financial questions. When I got to India in 1923, I believe that I was one of the first to talk, in public, at any rate, of the problems of Federal finance which had been raised by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were not in theory Federal at all; but they did, none the less, raise problems of the relations between a Central Government and Provincial Governments of a sort that were new to India in the sense that up to that date the Provincial Governments had been emanations of the Central Government and had not been conceived of as in any form separate or independent Governments. Some of the possible results of the financial relations arising out of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were rather startling. I remember, for example, that I found a large file on the question whether we should build a new factory for producing spirits in Delhi, in order that we might get for Delhi the revenue that was going to the Punjab, owing to the fact that Delhi was importing its liquor from the Punjab. The same difficulty arose with regard to Bombay and the Central Provinces. I remember suggesting to Lord Lloyd, when he was Governor of Bombay, that if he followed out to the logical conclusion some of the steps that he was taking in regard to the relations between the Central Provinces and Bombay in the matter of excise duty on liquor, he ought to have either a ring fence round Bombay and complete tariff arrangements or lead an army to capture the strongholds of the Central Provinces where liquor was made. Those arrangements were in due course settled. Sir Arthur will remember our problems on that subject when we discussed them with the Provincial Government; but it shows the sort of difficulty into which you can get if you entirely neglect finance when building up a Constitution. Finance is fundamental and must be considered in its proper place at an early stage in the building up of any Constitution.

I would like next to go on to some questions that Sir Arthur raised at the end of his speech. Sir Arthur suggested early in his address that the advent of the States into a Federated India created some new problems in Indian finance, but would also assist in the solution on sounder lines of some of the old difficulties. I suppose that that is particularly true in regard to the question of the Reserve Bank of India. One might almost hope that the name might now be changed, and that one might call it now the Federal Bank of India and make it the first original institution of the new Federal India. The Reserve Bank of India Bill, as Sir Arthur has pointed out, foundered very largely on the question of the personnel of the directorate. The accession of the States to a Federal India would, by bringing in new administrative skill and experience and representation from a new quarter, go a long way, I think, to assist in a solution of that problem when it recurs and the Bill is again under consideration. One of the difficulties was to keep any kind of a balance between the urban interests and the agricultural interests of British India. The States will provide, I think, possibilities of a personnel in the directorate of the new Reserve Bank or the new Federal Bank, which will assist in drawing up something like an acceptable arrangement for providing the directorate of the new Bank.

Sir Arthur has pointed out that the introduction of the new Bank at the present time would involve very special difficulties, and I think that that is a consideration that we have to bear in mind in regard to the whole question of Federal finance in India. I do not think that it is going too far to say that, with the present level of prices, unless that level is materially raised, there is no reasonable prospect of any Government in India and hardly any Government in any other part of the world having a balanced Budget. We are up against a worldwide difficulty here. I am not sure that it is possible to consider the future of Indian finance and the future of the Federal financial system of India on any assumption that does not begin with the hypothesis that prices have been raised very materially above their present extraordinarily low level. It is almost inconceivable that the world can go on as it is, with prices where they are, without the sort of collapse that will bring down much more than the link between sterling and the rupee. The breaking of the link between sterling and the rupee and the finding of a given ratio for the Indian rupee will be lost in the question of a worldwide collapse of currencies. I think that this question of the rise in prices is a matter of the most extraordinary importance, which all those who are interested in India should press with special vigour. With the breaking of the link between sterling and gold last September there was a considerable rise in sterling prices and an even more significant rise in rupee prices. For the first time for several years, I think I am right in saying, there appeared to be some possibility of India's recovery from the trade depression into which she had fallen. We must remember that the catastrophic fall in prices had come with particular severity on those countries which produced mainly raw materials and foodstuffs. There was not only an absolute fall in the wholesale level of prices, but an even more disastrous fall in the relative level of agricultural prices to the prices of manufactures. The position that was created in the first few months after the departure of this country from gold was quite helpful, but the hopes of that early period seem to have been fading away, largely as the result of the big fall in gold prices which has followed since September, partly caused by sterling going off gold. The result is that in India, whereas, when the prices rose to many points above the level of September, 1931, trade was beginning to move, what has happened now is that prices here and prices in India have fallen back again and are very little above the level of last September. They are very much above the level of gold prices, because gold prices have fallen so far below last September, but sterling rupee prices are now very nearly back to the level of last September. What this means in figures can be illustrated in thousands of different ways. I have before me the figures of exports and imports on merchandise of India for the last three years. In the year 1929-30 the total exports of merchandise amounted to 318 crores, while the total imports were 239 crores. These have fallen in the year 1931-32 as to exports to 160 crores and as to imports to 126 crores. The figures are very nearly cut in half in both cases. That fall is partly due—in large measure due—to a fall in prices; but it is also due to a very large fall in volume as a result of the fall in prices, leading to a tremendous reduction in the volume of trade in general and of trade between different countries. What is happening is that as a result of this tremendous fall in prices and consequent impediments to trade, world trade is dwindling to nothing. As has been well said, we may well secure a successful balance of trade which is not adverse to any country when no country has any export or import trade at all. It will balance at zero.

This whole question seems to me to be extraordinarily important in regard to Indian finance. Sir Arthur McWatters has pointed out quite correctly that, if you take the debt of Federal India, on the one side, and the assets that would presumably be transferred to a Federal Government in India, on the other, there is probably no deficit, but more likely some surplus, on any reasonable valuation. The whole of India's debt in that sense may be said to be productive. It is, as to most of it, covered by the capital of commercial concerns—the railways, the post office, and so on—which actually bring in the revenue required to meet the interest, and the rest of it, I believe, is much more than covered by the value of assets which would be transferred as part of the machinery of Government to the new Federal Government; but I put it on the assumption that you base those assets on a reasonable basis. At the present moment you cannot value any of those assets on anything like their cost figure, because the railways are either returning a very little net profit or actually earning a loss, and, if you value them according to income, they are absurdly below the figures at which they stand in the books. The reason why they stand below is this absurd fall in wholesale prices. You must get a recovery of prices if you are to make the debt of India, internally or externally, reasonably correspond with the capacity of the Indian people to pay. That applies not only to India, but to the whole world. The only alternative, to my mind, to a big recovery in wholesale prices such as I am thinking of is the sort of operation that has been attempted to some extent in Australia, to some extent in Germany, and that was talked of in this country a year ago under the name of a national treaty, an arrangement by which simultaneously you reduce all wages and all debts, Government or otherwise. If you think of trying to carry out any such operation in India, you will agree that it would produce chaos at once. Yet I think that that is the only possible basis on which Indians can continue to pay either their internal or their external obligations, unless there is a tremendous rise in prices—a very big rise of 20 or 30 per cent. from the present figure; a return to something like the 1928-29 figure.

I make no apology for drawing special attention to this part of the subject, because I believe that we cannot usefully discuss any question of arrangements as between the Central Government and the Provinces or the Central Government and the States on a financial basis, unless you begin with the hypothesis that there will have been such a recovery in wholesale prices before the Federal Constitution has come into operation. If that rise in prices has taken place, as Sir Arthur says, the Indian financial position is intrinsically so strong that, if the situation is properly handled, she will be able to take immediate advantage of any improvement when it comes—a position which most countries in the world might envy—because India has, thanks to the careful administration of generations of Indian civil servants and of Indian administrators, always carried through an extremely cautious financial policy. It is possible that at times it might have been a little more than cautious; that a little more money spent in development might have repaid itself quickly; but there are incidents on the other side, such, for example, as the one to which Sir Arthur has drawn attention, the difficulties that Bombay is under at the present moment of meeting the interest and principal on obligations that were undertaken in a spirit of perhaps undue optimism ten years ago; so that one has to be careful when one makes a criticism about the absence of enterprise on the part of any Indian administrator. India has a very favourable financial position, provided that there is some kind of reasonable sense in the world on the subject of wholesale prices. With that rise in prices assumed, I think that one can foresee, on the basis of existing taxation, without any very heroic measures for new taxation, reasonable arrangements made for distributing the available resources between the Centre and the Provinces and the States and giving the Centre a single Budget covering the whole of India—that alone would be a considerable advance—based upon Federal institutions and Federal taxation governing the whole of India.

I admit that I am always a little in trepidation when I hear the suggestion made to hand over the income tax to the Provinces. It is true that there are many arguments both in theory and in practice for doing it; but at the same time it is important that the Indian central administration should be strong enough to face emergencies, and, if it has to rely solely on customs revenue and salt, together with such resources as may be available from its commercial enterprises, then I think that the moment that emergency came it would be inevitable that any arrangement that was made that gave the Central Government no access to direct taxation in some such form as income tax would break down in the emergency. Nevertheless, the suggestion, of course, has great merits, in that it equalises the position of the Provinces and the States in the matter of income tax and that it gives the Provinces what they have certainly lacked hitherto, some reasonably elastic form of revenue on which they can justifiably go ahead with new developments, some of which are tremendously worth following up.

I suppose that it really all comes back to this: that, if you can get the world back into a state of reason, with prices on a basis that is profitable to those whose business it is to be enterprising, there is some reasonable hope that many of the difficulties that we foresee at the moment will settle themselves, and India will be able to go ahead with her very hopeful plan of Federation on the basis of a financial scheme that is not, as at present it inevitably must be on paper, completely bankrupt.

Sir **James Brunyate** said that it was a great pleasure to him to take a personal part in thanking Sir Arthur McWatters for his extraordinarily interesting and suggestive paper. How suggestive it was could best be appreciated by those who had the fullest knowledge of the subject. Sir Arthur had chosen the task of exposition: his paper might be described as serving the purpose of an introduction to the study of the Federal Finance Committee's Report. But it could be seen from many passages in the paper that Sir Arthur could equally well have discharged the function of advice and criticism. The Federal Finance Committee's Report was unquestionably a document with a lot of sound work behind it. Every effort had been made to get at the facts and figures of Indian finance; but, expressing his own opinions only, he thought that its value was seriously prejudiced by the extraordinary decision embodied in the Terms of Reference and alluded to in the last paragraph of the Report, that the Committee which was appointed to find the facts and figures should not be allowed to draw its own conclusions from them. Those conclusions were imposed upon it. It was required to adopt a series of cut-and-dried propositions regarding questions of method and principle which had been devised some time before by the Peel Committee sitting in London without facts and figures before it.

It had also been the misfortune of the Committee that it had had to do its work, as Sir Arthur had pointed out, under utterly abnormal economic and financial conditions. The conclusions which it reached, however genuine the work behind them, could not but be speculative. It was no disparagement of the Committee's work to say that. The Chairman indeed, as he understood him, took a still broader standpoint—namely, that there must be a complete change in world conditions before there could be any confidence at all as to the financial groundwork on which a Federal system could be based. If, however, one took the Committee's figures, one would find that the Central Government, since it had managed to balance its Budget, even under existing conditions, might reasonably hope to have a surplus after some degree of world recovery had taken place. The Provinces generally were in deficit now and would remain in deficit. The Central Government must, therefore, help the Provinces. They would find on the Committee's figures that at the outset of Federation, or within a few years later, postulating a moderate degree of recovery in world conditions, the Federal Government—or "the Government of India," to use a neutral term—could spare for the Provinces certainly not more than half the income tax, and that, if that could be done, both the Federal Government and the Provinces would start on an even keel with fair prospects ahead. That was as far as the Committee's findings of fact carried them.

The key proposition in the Committee's Report was that you should go further than the facts and work to the complete transfer of income tax to the Provinces. The Chairman had already touched on that subject and indicated only a moderate degree of content with that proposition. He (the speaker) felt a very high degree of discontent. He thought that on general broad grounds it was not to be thought of that the future Federal Government of three hundred and fifty millions of people in India was likely to be able to dispense permanently with such a tax as income tax. But if this was too *a priori* a way of treating the matter, let them look at the figures which the Committee had been expressly set up to find. They would find, as he had said, that there was no probability of its being possible to dispense with income tax completely. Equally, if they looked at purely fiscal considerations, which Sir Arthur had brought very clearly before them, it was manifestly unsafe for a protectionist Government to rely so predominantly on the Customs head without having the income tax to supplement it.

Lastly, there was a point which he had not seen previously mentioned in any of the published discussions, and which seemed to be a point of substance and to have an important bearing on the question of the co-operation of the Indian States. He would put it in this way: that the yield of the income tax is the primary security for the service of the Pre-Federation debt. This would easily be appreciated if they imagined the Indian States refusing, as they were admittedly entitled to refuse, to share in the responsibility for the Pre-Federation debt, which was a purely British Indian obligation. In that event it would be necessary, in addition to the Federal Budget, in which the jointly contributed revenue such as customs and salt would come, to have also a special British Indian Budget. It would be very unfortunate, of course, but if the States refused to share the debt, that is what would happen. There would have to be a separate Central Budget to provide for the service of the purely British Indian debt and certain other expenditure from purely British Indian sources of revenue. He could not go into the details of that matter, but it was a clear and readily established point that, if you had to have that separate Budget, you could not possibly dispense with income tax; you could not solely depend on odds and ends, like the capricious profits on currency or the surplus railway revenue which had recently sunk to nothing. These would not be sufficient in amount or stable enough to rely upon. So far as he could estimate, they could not think of carrying on that separate Indian Budget without reserving permanently to the Central Government of India at least half the income tax.

By not assuming responsibility for the debt, therefore, the Indian States would have this advantage: There would be a separate antecedent British

Indian responsibility for the debt, secured primarily by the revenue from income tax. Only an actual or prospective default could raise the question of *All*-India coming to the rescue of British India; that is, of the taxes, such as customs and salt, to which the States also contributed, being called in aid of the purely British Indian revenues. It was only by assuming that the Indian States would agree to surrender this advantageous position that the idea of transferring the whole of the income tax to the Provinces could enter into practical politics at all. Why should the States agree? Only because they had not realised what were the implications of what was proposed to them.

This was the real crux of the debt question, and not the interesting but academic point of whether the unproductive debt was covered by assets. If the debt question was faced, he thought that it would be seen that the only fair basis on which the States could be asked to share responsibility—and it was most desirable that they should do—was that the Government of India should in any case retain the share of the income tax which it would have to retain if this co-operation were refused. He knew very well that it was considered anomalous that an income tax raised wholly in British India should be made a Federal head of revenue; but it was an exactly parallel anomaly that a British Indian debt should be made a Federal liability. The two anomalies were intimately connected. You could reject them both or you could embody them both in your system. You could not, in logic or fairness to the States, reject the one and acquiesce in the other.

Professor J. Coatman said that he would like to express his admiration of the paper to which they had listened. Sir Arthur had shown not only the main features of the principles involved in that very vast subject, but also a good deal of the actual working of the financial machinery both present and the machinery which would have to be built for the federation. In view of the comprehensive character of the paper, all that he could do was to add rather a few general remarks. The infinite practical difficulty of the problem of devising a system of Federal finance for India was brought home to him very strongly as he sat through all the meetings of the Peel Committee in the Round-Table Conference last year. Reading the Percy Report, it seemed to him that really all the practical difficulties were still ahead of them. All that had been done so far had been to acquire a very useful body of knowledge and to clear their minds as to some, at any rate, of the principles. He could assure Sir James Brunyate that the question of whether the Pre-Federal debt was covered by assets or not was very far from being an academic question; in fact, a good deal of the discussion in the Peel Committee had turned on that very point, and certain of the new elements of the Federation had made it quite clear that they were not inclined to take responsibility for any Pre-Federation debt that was not covered by assets.

Sir Arthur had very rightly, in his concluding remarks and generally throughout the paper, laid great stress on the need for caution, because what they were surveying in this subject was not a field or a series of static bodies; it was a flux. The Report of the Percy Committee, again quite rightly, showed the extreme undesirability of being dogmatic on any one of the elements of the future Federal finances of India. Sir Arthur had shown them the immense importance of customs in the future revenues of the Federation. He for one regarded the whole future of Indian fiscal policy as very doubtful, because already in the Assembly from time to time a very strong divergence of opinion between Protectionist Provinces and Free Trade Provinces of India had developed, and he was sure that once India got an autonomous Government, one of the first real divisions between political parties would be on that very question of Free Trade and Protection.

He thought that he need not mention the entirely artificial state of feeling with regard to the salt taxes, which made the future of that also very doubtful.

He would like to say one more thing: the fundamental structure of the Federal Constitution, which was not yet settled, was going to have a very important bearing on the subject of Federal finance. By that he meant that one of the crucial points in Hindu-Muslim differences with regard to the future Constitution in India rested in the status to be given to the constituent Provinces. The Muslims wanted the Provinces to be as fully autonomous as the States in the United States of America or Australia or the Cantons in Switzerland. If they had their way, a good deal of what Sir Arthur had been telling the meeting about in his paper might have to be changed. For example, the Provinces, if they assumed autonomy of that description, would have the last word in what sort of contributions they would pay, and, if it came to the Federal Government, as Sir Arthur had said, in times of emergency demanding contributions from the Provinces, they might or might not get them. The history of Federal income tax in the United States of America and in Switzerland illustrated quite clearly what he meant.

He drew the attention of the meeting to this because it did seem to him that the most valuable part of Sir Arthur's paper was the full reasons which he had given for extreme caution and of solving nothing by force—unravelling the Gordian knot rather than cutting it.

The Lecturer, in replying to the discussion, said: I have no intention at this late hour of detaining you for more than a few minutes; but I should like to say, in the first place, Mr. Chairman, how very much I value the fact of being associated with you again in the field of Indian finance and how grateful I am to you for having come here this afternoon, more particularly because, after listening to your remarks, I think that they put in a very clear, and I might almost say dramatic, manner what I regard as the most important aspect of this whole question—that is, that until world conditions improve we must proceed with caution; you, sir, correlated this particularly with the vital question of price-level, which makes it much more intelligible to us all. We have to build slowly, I think, and it may be several years or it may be a longer time—who knows?—but until the Governments of India are in a position, in a recovering world, at least to balance their Budgets, I do not see much prospect of fundamental improvement. At the same time, I personally remain a firm optimist regarding the position of India financially. There are few countries in the world so strongly placed as India. It is a country where the wealth is recreated yearly from the soil. It is a country where you have an intelligent and hard-working people. It is a country where, given proper management, there is reason to suppose that it will recover more quickly from the present depression than almost any other country. At the same time, everyone who has spoken this afternoon has illustrated in their own different way what I tried to make the basis of my paper—that is, the need for cautious and gradual development. If that is kept in view I see no reason why anyone should be disappointed or depressed because immediate results may be difficult to obtain. We have to build slowly, and I think that, if we do so, we shall build successfully.

Sir Louis Dane said that, on behalf of himself and the meeting, he would like to thank the lecturer for enlightening them about the very extraordinary financial questions that at present existed in India. He had no hesitation in saying that Sir Arthur's paper was probably one of the very best that had ever been read to the East India Association. It put the whole of the facts of Indian finance before the meeting in such a way that any intelligent person could really get some sort of idea of what had happened in India and why they were in such great difficulties at present. Possibly he was out of date. He left India in 1913, the year in which, the lecturer had informed them, all pre-existing debt charges in India had been wiped out by the value of productive assets. He thought that all civilians of his standing might be proud of that result.

Since that time things had gone from bad to worse. It might not be the fault of the administrators who succeeded; but he did think they were a little rash, in the same way as people in this country had been. They had made wholesale increases in the salary of Government servants in India without correlating them to the prices of food grains, and that was one cause of the embarrassments of the Government of India. They had a very good object-lesson before them. There was a fixed land revenue in India, upon which the Government of India so much depended, which was related to the price of food grains, and the greatest care had been taken to see that that relation was kept intact. If they had done something of the same kind in connection with increased salaries it would have been a very good thing. Probably three-quarters of the salaries in India, down to the lower grades of officials, were affected by the price of food grains, and it would have been possible to revise the salaries more easily, as land revenue assessments could be revised today if there was a fall in prices.

Another thing which had been brought out and which he was very pleased to see was this. For a great many years, basing his arguments on the great imports of sovereigns and bullion and old hoards of indestructible gold, he had preached upon the subject of the enormous amount of gold that there was in India. Quite recently a very distinguished banker in this country thought that he was perhaps a little over-sanguine. Since that time he had noticed that the experts had put their heads together and come to the conclusion that the hoards of gold in India must be taken to be somewhere near £600,000,000 or so, which was the figure that he had suggested. About £50,000,000 had already come home since we went off the gold standard. There was in India an enormous basis of gold which, some day or another, would be utilized to help India out of the difficulties in which she was at present.

Then they had the salt tax. Sir Arthur McWatters' story upon the subject was excellent. People here had the idea that the salt tax was a grievous imposition because it taxed one of the vital necessities of life. They did not realize that the tax was so infinitesimal that it did not affect the ordinary people of India at all. There were difficulties in the Punjab, where there were salt mines and the people's houses were built on salt. It was a technical offence that a man should gather up the salt from the ground and use it to go with his food. No one thought of interfering with that sort of thing today. As long as the Salt Law was sensibly administered in the right way there was nothing wrong with the tax, and it was an excellent source of revenue. He thought that those at the meeting might get people in this country to understand that the salt tax was not a grievous burden. Owners of large herds might feel the duty, but commercial salt was sold at an exceedingly low rate, and special arrangements were made. Save for political motives, there was nothing in the agitation against the tax.

Being a non-smoker and having lived much among Sikhs who did not smoke, he had always recommended a tax upon tobacco in India. They should tax it by an acreage rate in the same way as they taxed opium. There was no reason why they should not tax tobacco in India. Muslims even regarded tobacco as a dulling influence on agricultural energy. It would bring in an enormous amount of revenue. He hoped that a tobacco tax would be seriously considered.

He entirely agreed with Sir Arthur McWatters that, if things were managed cautiously and gradually, in the way in which Indian administration always had been conducted up to the present time, there was no reason why Indian finances should not be put in the position in which they were at one time, when they were a wonder and a source of envy to most financiers.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking the meeting on behalf of the lecturer and himself, said that he did not mean to suggest that the tremendous fall in prices and the need for their rising was a reason for delay in introducing Federal institutions and a new Constitution into India; but it seemed to be a reason for doing something quickly here and all over the world to save the whole world from collapse.

INDIA'S PLACE IN WORLD TRADE

By H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S.
(Indian Trade Commissioner)

Before I get down to the main subject of my talk, which is "India's Place in World Trade," I wish to secure, if I can, your consent to two propositions which are necessary to my treatment of the theme. One of these propositions is rather self-evident, but it is, all the same, very frequently forgotten or overlooked; the other is not at all self-evident—indeed, it is highly controversial and may not appeal to you at all—but it is nevertheless a proposition which requires constant examination and cross-examination and re-examination, so that if we do not accept it as stated, we may at any rate agree with some of the qualifications with which it may be accepted.

My first proposition, the self-evident one, is simply this. Trade is very complex. The economists try so hard to make it simple by talking of trade as if it were merely an exchange of goods and services between two countries, A and B, that we are apt sometimes to forget that the trade of any one country, if it is to be estimated at its proper worth, must be taken in its relationship with world trade—that is, with world demands and world supplies, world stocks and world prices. There is no need to allow this world aspect of trade to confuse us—indeed, it can be viewed in such a way that it really simplifies instead of complicating our problem. Each country is in direct commercial relations with every other country—some important, others obviously less important—and therefore if, for the sake of convenience, we isolate the more important lines of trade, it is only in order to inspect them for a little and then replace them carefully in their proper places in the whole picture-problem of world trade. But the sum of a country's trade is clearly of more importance than the individual items which compose it. That is the self-evident proposition.

NEW FACTORS

Now I turn to the proposition which is not so self-evident—indeed, it is highly controversial. Let me put it in this way. The pre-war order of things, in the sphere of trade, has gone and has gone for good. We are faced with an entirely new set of factors, in conditions which are new; and the new problems which result require new methods of attack and treatment in order that new solutions may be found. There I have stated my proposition, not very scientifically, perhaps, but I have stated it in its most extreme form of malice aforethought. I want you to turn it over in your minds. None of you, I hope, will accept it exactly as stated, because obviously it goes too far. Some of you may think that on the whole it contains a good deal of truth; others may think of the old French saying that "the more things change the more they remain the same," and may vehemently deny that it has any foundation of truth at all.

My proposition obviously goes too far, and requires some sort of qualification before it can be accepted. So let me try to restate it in a more moderate and perhaps more acceptable form. We are always tempted to measure post-war trade developments by comparison with pre-war trade conditions, as if the latter had been in some mysterious way static and fixed, and afforded a convenient yard-stick for the measurements of post-war developments. To my mind this may be convenient up to a certain point, but if we press the analogy too far we shall find ourselves led by blind alleys to false conclusions—if, indeed, a blind alley can lead anywhere! We have got to think out our modern problems as entirely new problems, demanding new care, new thoughtfulness, new methods, and therefore new solutions. I do not say that the old economic principles are not just as potent as they used to be. What I do say is that we must be extremely careful how we apply them to the new conditions which exist today. Economic principles are just as effective guides as ever they were, but if there is one thing certain in this uncertain world, it is that from new materials in new environments they will point the way to new methods and new solutions.

INDIA'S STRONG POSITION

The place of a country in the hierarchy of trade depends partly on the capacity of other countries to absorb its goods, partly on its own independence of other countries, and its capacity to meet its own most vital requirements. From both points of view India is in a strong position. She holds one absolute monopoly—namely, jute—which is commercially grown nowhere else in the world and for which no general substitute has yet been found. Some of jute's competitors, as for instance hemp, are cheaper but not so good—others, like paper or cotton, are perhaps equally good for some uses, but more expensive. But besides jute there are a number of commodities which, though not monopolies, India produces in greater abundance and more suitably than other countries. Shellac is one—goatskins, teak, mica are examples, and yet other instances could be cited. These are all essential to many industries of the Western world, but are not widely produced in the West.

Now let us take her vital requirements from abroad. So far as foodstuffs are concerned, India is independent of foreign supplies of food-grains, such as rice and wheat. She is both an exporter and an importer of fruits, vegetables, and spices and the general run of foodstuffs which are conveniently classified under the head of "provisions"—of these she imports more than she exports, but not by much. She is at present largely dependent on Java for sugar, but under the new sugar tariff she will probably sooner or later grow sufficient sugar for all her requirements. Now we come to clothing—chiefly cotton textiles. Before the war India imported annually about 3,000 million yards of cloth and produced 2,000 million for herself, half in her own mills and half by hand-looms. She now imports less than 1,000 million yards and produces 3,000 million in her own mills and between 1,000 and 2,000 million by hand-looms. So far as raw cotton is concerned she produces more than enough for her own needs. She is self-sufficient (and more) in coal and metallic ores, in oil-seeds, hides and skins, wool, rubber, and timber. Her chief requirements from abroad are in the more finished classes of manufactured goods, such as machinery, hardware, iron and steel manufactures, dyes and certain chemicals, motor-cars, railway vehicles, and railway and mill stores generally. She is short of mineral oils and must import kerosene, fuel, and lubricating oils to supplement her own production.

We are now in a position to strike some sort of balance. It really comes to this, that India is mainly dependent on the West for highly finished goods necessary to her own transport or industrial requirements in their most advanced form. For the absolute necessities of food and clothing and structural materials of the simplest classes, whether cement, iron, or timber, she is either self-sufficient or well on the road to that state. On the other hand, the West is largely dependent on India for a number of materials which it does not produce at all for itself, or does not produce in sufficient quantities for its own needs. Indeed, it is a striking feature of this trade-picture how little India's exports compete with the native production of Western countries. In this she has a distinct advantage over South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, which are also largely dependent on European and American markets, but which export much that is distinctly European in character, such as meat, dairy products, fruit, and wine. In one other respect, too, India has an advantage over her rivals in the southern hemisphere, that none of her staple exports consists of perishables requiring expensive methods of transport.

THE FUTURE

We have thus sketched in the main outlines of our picture, which shows us how India stands in relation to the world's trade. Now I wish to be a little more venturesome and to frame some sort of estimate of the future. If we have stated our premises correctly, what sort of deductions can we draw from them? It is at this point that we turn to our second proposition. What is the general trend of the world's trade and how can India best take advantage of it? Are we tending towards a return to the more or less even balance of commercial forces to which the world was so accustomed in pre-war days? Or are we tending to throw out new forms which call for new methods, new adjustments, and new solutions?

Everybody remembers how effectually in pre-war days the laws of demand and supply seemed to dominate all markets. Any increase of output of any commodity, whether of agricultural crops such as wheat and rice, of plantation products like tea or sugar or rubber, of minerals or of manufactured goods—any increase of output tended to reduce prices and so to stimulate demands which gradually increased until the excess was absorbed. It is true that equilibrium was never really attained or attainable. But it is equally true that the word "normal" had in those days a positive and practical meaning; and what it meant was simply this, that any tendency of production or stocks to increase or to decrease set in motion machinery—that is to say, counter-tendencies—which, the greater the deviation, exercised a proportionally stronger pull back towards prior conditions—I will not say "normal" conditions, for that is begging the question, but "prior" conditions. In other words, every deviation automatically brought about, sooner or later, its own readjustment.

Today the picture is very different. Today's normal is simply the abnormal, and so far from trying to get back to "prior" conditions, all countries are trying as hard as they can to escape from them towards some ideal situation only dimly visualized, a situation in which each and every country exports more than it imports, in which creditor countries receive back the sums they have lent, but not in goods or services (for that would reduce their own employment returns), nor in gold (for they already hold the bulk of the world's gold), nor in the debtors' currency for it is of no use to them—a situation, in short, in which the absence of purchasing-power discourages consumption, piles up stocks and reduces prices, while the fall of prices curtails employment and thus still further reduces purchasing-power. And so the vicious circle continues.

PURCHASING-POWER

How is India weathering the economic blizzard? As a matter of fact, there are several lessons to be learnt from India's trade which are of considerable value in the light which they throw upon world trade. India's exports, as we have already seen, consist largely of raw materials or semi-manufactures, while her imports consist chiefly of goods carried to an advanced stage of manufacture. Now one of the outstanding features of India's trade since the war has been that the prices of the agricultural and mineral products, which she exports in such large quantities, are too low relatively to the prices of the manufactures which she imports. Taking pre-war price-levels at 100, India's exports (that is to say, her staple products) stood at 140 in 1920-1921, while in the same year the average price of her staple imports was represented by the figure 237.

There is a difference here, you will see, of nearly 100 points to India's disadvantage, and she would have had to export in that year nearly twice as much in order to buy the quantities of imports to which she had been accustomed. But the capacity of the world's markets to absorb India's exports is not unlimited. The inevitable result was that in the following year, 1921-1922, India imported less from abroad, for her own purchasing-power was reduced, and also exported less, for the purchasing-power of her principal customers was also reduced. And so the dreary succession of reduced imports and exports continued, with brief and spasmodic recoveries, until the lowest point hitherto attained was reached last year.

Nevertheless, there is one bright spot in the otherwise gloomy picture. The index-numbers representing the average prices of India's staple imports and exports are certainly drawing closer together. If you examine them over a series of years you find that they draw gradually closer together and then suddenly, every three years or so, they jerk violently apart as if their approximation had gone too far. After the jerk they begin to approximate again slowly, and it is certainly a hopeful sign that last year a margin of only ten points separated them. Let us hope that this margin will disappear soon, for so long as it continues the purchasing-power on both sides—both of India and of her customers—is subject to a strain which checks the free flow of trade. This situation is not, of course, peculiar to India, but might be illustrated from the experience of other countries too. After all, the agriculturists and the manufacturers are each other's best customers, and the profits of each depend on the purchasing-power of the other.

Another feature of India's trade which has a world bearing is the gap which exists between the prices of wholesale and retail goods. Perhaps "lag" would be a better term to use in this connection than "gap." Retail prices do follow wholesale prices downwards, but only after a considerable interval. For example, when the wholesale price of tea fell, as it did in 1929 and again in 1930, it was a long time before retail prices in the United Kingdom followed suit. But the successful application of the laws of demand and supply insists that the retail consumer shall get the benefit of a fall in price, for only so will demands be quickened and only by quickened demands will the producer recover, in increased sales, the benefit which he had previously lost in lower prices. Nowadays, when the reduction of price does reach the retail purchaser, it finds his general purchasing-power reduced, so that his response to lower retail prices is nil. This tendency might be illustrated from other commodities besides tea which India sells wholesale for retail consumption in the West—for example, coffee and rice. One can only repeat in regard to it—what was very trenchantly observed by a well-known economist only a few weeks ago—that science seems to have concentrated on the methods of production of goods at the expense of their distribution. When we arrive at really scientific methods of wholesale and retail distribution we shall find that a great deal of waste is excluded from our day-to-day domestic expenditure.

I have spoken of the wide margin which exists nowadays between the prices of raw materials and of manufactures, and again of the margin between wholesale and retail prices. There are many other gaps which I could enumerate, which contribute towards the inconsistencies and disabilities of modern trade—for example, the gap between rural and urban wages, between price-levels in gold-standard countries and price-levels in sterling-standard countries, between the prices of high and low grades of the same classes of goods. There is no doubt that, under ordinary competitive conditions, these inconsistencies will ultimately adjust themselves. But the process of readjustment is painful and slow, and it is difficult to realize that readjustment is actually going on in the background when our immediate foreground is so fully occupied with the steady sagging of prices and all the misery attendant on worldwide unemployment. Let me turn now to the future and see in what direction lies the best hope of a recovery of stable conditions, for India and for world trade generally.

THE IDEAL OF STABILITY

It is at this point that certain important and obvious factors seem to stand obstinately forth, which preclude our ever going back to pre-war solutions of our difficulties. The ultimate ideal at which we aim is certainly the same as that which—elusive as it is—seems from our modern standpoint to have been so successfully achieved pre-war, namely, the ideal of stability. Then the vicissitudes and fluctuations of daily trade, serious though they were at times, and even disastrous to individuals and groups, were yet but incidents in a long stretch of orderly and progressive trade. Production and consumption seem in those days to have advanced step by step, and if either moved too far or too fast it was only for a time, until the other eventually caught it up. That ideal of stability is still before our minds' vision. But if we are to attain it, it seems likely that we must arrive by routes quite different from the broad highway of pre-war economies. Let me try to explain in a few words what seem to me to be essential differences between the general trade situation as it was then and as it is now; and if some of these differences seem to you to be psychological rather than material, please be patient and remember that the psychological is just as important in trade matters as it is in everyday human life. As the schoolboy once said, with a surprising grasp of realities: "There are some things so big that they are almost invisible."

One of these new factors is the immense size of the stocks of some primary commodities. I do not mean to say that huge stocks of cotton and wheat, coffee and sugar and rubber were unknown in Victorian and Edwardian days. Indeed they were, but in those days they were much less in evidence, more widely spread, and therefore less trenchant in their effect on demand. The truth is that the speculator of pre-war days—that much-abused benefactor of commercial humanity—was the safety-valve who provided a convenient outlet for congested stocks. It was he who plucked up courage and bought when prices were low. It was he who foretold new demands and who sold on a rising market; who thus prevented prices from falling too low, by buying when others were timid, and who made his profit by selling as prices recovered, and thus checked their too rapid rise. Nowadays the speculator scarcely exists in the old sense of the term, with the result that stocks accumulate and depress all markets. As matters stand, in June, 1932, India is fortunate in having produced a comparatively small cotton crop, so that her stocks of raw cotton, though heavy, are not immoderately so. But America is in the far worse position of having just about one year's supply of cotton in hand as the moment for harvesting another year's supply approaches. It would be untrue to say that the world has not, on many occasions pre-war, carried more than a year's supply of American cotton from one season to the next. But that carry-over was dispersed through many hands. The novelty of the present situation arises from the fact that stocks of primary products are now left upon the hands of the producer or his agents, and in many cases the burden can only be borne with State assistance. The knowledge of the existence of these stocks depresses prices, and because prices are falling the consuming interests buy from hand to mouth, stocks accumulate, and so the merry-go-round continues.

State Intervention

I spoke just now of State assistance in the carrying of stocks. That is only one of many directions in which the State interferes—with the most benevolent intentions in the world—in the course of trade. In some directions that interference is highly successful. In India, for example, in 1930, the Bengal Government advised the cultivators to grow less jute, with the result that last year's crop was about half the normal size and was reasonably adjusted to world demands. This year they have done the same, so that even if the jute-mills, which have till now been working part time, go on to full time working again, the results are not likely to be serious, for this year's crop will probably again be a light one.

But in many directions the interference of States has been little short of disastrous to world trade—particularly on the Continent. It began with post-war inflation. It proceeded with high tariffs. High tariffs encouraged subsidies on exports and all kinds of retaliatory dumping. From high tariffs and dumping emerged the quota system for restricting imports; and now the control of foreign exchanges, which leaves you free to sell to a country but successfully prevents you from getting any payments for what you sell. Creditor States should, strictly speaking, encourage imports and discourage their own exports, particularly to debtor States. But the results on their own industries would be so ruinous that they take, on the contrary, artificial measures to stimulate exports, even at the risk of restricting the debtor's capacity to repay.

The fact is that the majority of our economic troubles nowadays seem to arise from our having lost the secret of the old instinctive recovery of equilibrium. It is said in the world of medical science that we are progressing from instinctive towards conscious control of our bodily functions; and the case is cited of our powers of balance—that we tend to rely less and less on the delicate internal mechanism with which Nature has provided us and which tells us when our bodies are in correct physical balance—and to rely more and more on conscious deductions from our visual organs. And many other instances might be quoted of the gradual supersession of instinct by habits consciously acquired. Somewhat the same sort of development appears to be going on in the world of trade. Our reactions to trade stimuli seem to be growing more conscious and less instinctive. The laws of demand and supply are no less active and influential than they were. But their operation seems to be retarded by deliberate efforts to get round them. We fight hard to prevent bankrupt (or nearly bankrupt) firms from going under. We do our utmost to renew credits to debtor countries whose present capacity to pay is certainly nil. We strive to maintain wages because we know the immense hardships involved in a reduction of the standard of living. In pre-war days the debtor and the bankrupt would have been allowed to sink out of sight, and the standard of living was then in closer relation than it is now to profit-earning capacity.

Conscious Control

We seem, therefore, to have entered an era of what might be called conscious economics. And the great difficulty which arises in this transition from instinctive to conscious control of economic forces is that the knowledge required to make a success of conscious control is far greater than that required for instinctive control. On all sides we read and hear of the increasing demand for statistical information. Our crop reports have come to be extraordinarily prompt and accurate. I do not say that there are not many gaps still to be filled. But on the whole we know far better and far quicker than ever before what is going on all over the world in the production of staple crops. The same might be said of mineral and timber production. The progress of science has been enormous, and every day sees many units added to the sum total of our knowledge of economic facts and methods.

There is, therefore, much to be said on behalf of those economists who urge that our best guarantee for the successful solution of our economic problems lies in the adoption of the method known as "planning." In other words, we have definitely lost our old instinctive controls and must set ourselves to acquire that knowledge and that co-operation on which alone our new powers of conscious control can be exercised with some hope of success. We must progress to greater and greater perfection of technique, more wide and more accurate knowledge, and thus a greater sureness of touch in our control of economic forces.

Here again we are at once faced with a serious problem.

"Planning" is all very well, but the success of planning depends largely on the actions of other people over whom we have no control. This question raises issues too wide to be broached at the end of a talk which has already, perhaps, been drawn out too long. Let me suggest, however, that in future it will not suffice to do our planning on national lines. National planning must, of course, come first, but let that be only the foundation on which to build an international superstructure.

BROAD CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, then, our ideal is, as in pre-war days, stability. We can no longer hope to attain this ideal by the old instinctive economic methods, by reactions to environment as automatic as those which actuated our primitive ancestors in a state of nature. We have eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge and henceforth our control of economic laws and facts must be conscious and deliberate. The old doctrine of *laissez-faire* was good in its way, but it was cruel and wasteful, and must give way to methods planned with a closer attention to humanitarian principles. It is no use our protesting that economics are too strong for us. That sort of protest carries no conviction in the long run, for it denies to the collective spirit of mankind the power to alter consciously what it has developed instinctively. Certainly competition must remain as an inspiring and encouraging principle of economic life, but competition controlled and rendered all the more effective because it is subservient to the collective interests of humanity working co-operatively and constructively towards a common goal. To this national and international consummation India, which has already shown other world States that she can protect her own industries sanely and rationally, and is recognized by the League of Nations and the International Labour Office as one of the foremost countries of industrial and commercial importance, may be expected to contribute much from her own resources and experience.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, June 14, 1932, at which a lecture was given by Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S. Sir Walter Willson was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Maharaja Dhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., the Chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji, Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Amberson Marten, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir Ness Wadia, K.B.E., C.I.E., The Marchioness of Reading, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Mr. H. V. Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Sardar Bahadur Shiv Dev Singh Uberoi, Mr. F. A. T. Phillips, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. E. Esdaile, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. W. Rajwade, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Harris, the Hon. Emily Kinnaird, Miss Gossett, Mr. C. A. Mehta, Mr. H. B. Edwards, Mr. G. F. Folley, Mr. J. M. Holms, Mr. P. K. Wattal, Mr. P. Datta, Mrs. Watkins, Mr. A. C. Brown, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. A. Angadi, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. J. F. Sale, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mrs. Dreschfield, Mr. P. K. Seshadri Aiyangar, Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Wrench, Mr. Hayles, Mrs. Musgrave, Kunwar Jagdish Prasad, C.S.I., Mrs. Arthur Wontner, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to apologize to you for the absence of Sir Padamji Ginwala, who it was first intended should occupy the chair this afternoon. He has, however, been called away to Sweden, for which I am very sorry, because I am sure we should all have enjoyed listening to the remarks which he would have made on the subject of today's lecture; he had so much experience of India's trade while a member of the Indian Tariff Board.

(The paper was then read.)

Sir THOMAS AINSCOUGH, H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon, wrote to the Hon. Secretary:

"Will you please express my sincere regret that, owing to an important conference at the Board of Trade, I shall not be able to be present today to support my old friend and colleague Mr. Lindsay.

"I would like to say, however, that I have read with pleasure his most interesting and able paper, which should stimulate a most useful discussion. Those of us who have been in the East for the best part of our lives are rather too apt unconsciously to compare present-day economic phenomena with the conditions prevailing before the war as if those conditions represented a static condition of affairs. We are prone to overlook the fact that, while it is true basic economic laws still continue to govern human activities, we are tending, as our lecturer says, to throw out new forms which call for new methods, new adjustments, and new solutions. Mr. Lindsay, by his lucid exposition, has done a great service in helping us to clear our minds with regard to the new problems and the possible lines their solution will follow.

"One thing is certain, and it is this: In the new economic world which is shaping the position of India is assured. As the Honourable the Finance Member so truly stated in his Budget speech last March:

"'If we look around the world in the present time of difficulty we may fairly claim that there is no country in the world whose intrinsic financial position is sounder or whose ultimate prospect of economic advance in the future is more bright.'"

The CHAIRMAN: We have now had the opportunity of hearing Mr. Lindsay's most interesting paper on "India's Place in World Trade," a subject upon which he is particularly qualified to speak, from the fact that he has been a student of Indian trade for many years and is now in the position of being a high professor.

I always find it impossible to listen to Mr. Lindsay without being much impressed by his view-points. There are times when in private conversation with him I sometimes differ, but I will tell him now what I have not told him before, that when I get home and think it over in the quiet of my fireside, I often think he was much more likely to be right than I was.

In his paper today he has not taken many words to lay before us what India's position in world trade really is. The strength of that position is also brought home to us, and I fancy few of you will differ from his opinion that the future trade of India may be regarded with not only complacency but with confidence as to India's ability to maintain it to the full.

Mr. Lindsay asked us to accept two propositions. Personally, I have not the slightest difficulty in accepting the first one—namely, that trade is very complex. His second proposition I am not so well able to accept in its entirety, and possibly my little points of difference will emerge later on.

Mr. Lindsay, I think, did well to direct our attention to the change in India's position as regards cloth, a change which has been accomplished; to the changes as regards sugar, which are being accomplished; and to the position in regard to the import of manufactured goods, the change in regard to which is likely to be very much longer delayed.

When we come to Mr. Lindsay's paragraph about the future, of course we realize that we are on much more speculative grounds. Personally, I am more inclined to back the good old laws of supply and demand, to which Mr. Lindsay referred three times in his paper, than any systems of control with which I am at present acquainted. I still think that the laws of supply and demand will continue to be the governors of our commercial exchanges, as they always have been in the past.

Today we are faced with innumerable combines, cartels, pools, restrictions, and so forth. These, it seems to me, have served very well in tiding us over many periods when the actual and visible supplies appeared to be in excess of the actual and potential demands. But, on the other hand, they have very often failed, and they have frequently failed after being successful temporarily for short periods. We have to remember that such agreements are based upon the coming together of rival factions, and they only hold so long as those rival factions are in agreement. They have an inconvenient habit of collapsing at uncomfortable times, and the ever-present possibility of their collapse does much to militate against their effectiveness.

I think this is particularly the case in India. I have taken a hand, sometimes smaller, sometimes larger, in certain economic restrictions in India, but in the end we have nearly always broken up and gone back to the ancient law.

On the question of India's purchasing power, I greatly welcome Mr. Lindsay's point, of which I was not previously aware, what he calls "the one bright spot in the otherwise gloomy picture." It is indeed a pleasing aspect of the picture, his picture, painted under the title of "India's Place in World Trade," that the index numbers of the prices of India's staple imports and exports are approximating so much more closely together that the difference today is the comparatively small one of 10 per cent. Towards the end of that paragraph he quoted the remarks of a well-known economist recently, which I also read and disagreed with at the time, "that science seems to have concentrated on the methods of production of goods at the expense of their distribution."

When I was quite young in the field of commerce I remembered Lipton's famous slogan, "Direct from the tea-garden to the teapot," and I have lived long enough to see developed the wonderful scientific system by which oil comes from foreign lands in pipes, through refineries, with two connecting links in the shape of the ocean-going tank ship and the motor tank lorry for crossing the land. Oil may be said to come practically direct in pipes from the land overseas to your local village petrol supply depôt. If this is not high science in distribution I do not know what is. I am confident that large distributors give an infinity of time to this question of distribution and are only too ready to consider at all times any method by which the costs of distribution may be reduced and welcome any suggestion from scientists or others which they may find to be economically practicable.

I followed Mr. Lindsay with much approval in his ideal of stability, but, of course, this does not mean rigidity. A certain amount of flexibility is both desirable and necessary; otherwise rigidity would ultimately abolish Mr. Lindsay's friend, the speculator, for whom I was very pleased to see he found place to give his due, for without the voluntary speculator your pious manufacturer would become a compulsory speculator. Especially do I believe that to be the case in the trade of India.

I think it is now time that even your Chairman should bow to the rules of debate and draw his remarks to a close.

I have been extremely interested in Mr. Lindsay's paper, which, as one would expect from him, had the hallmark of authority running all through it. I thank him very much for his paper, and it is now open to discussion.

Sir Ernest Hotson: Mr. Lindsay's most interesting paper has opened up so many lines of thought that it is a little difficult to concentrate on one or two points. I should like to begin by congratulating him on his success in avoiding the word "rationalization." (Laughter.)

If in the old days, under the *laissez-faire* system, the labourers were unconsciously regarded as mere machines, the tendency of a prevailing school of thought today is deliberately to treat them as if they were mere machines, even to weigh their pleasures and their very vices, according as they may add to or decrease their efficiency.

I think that the wise planning, which Mr. Lindsay rightly says is now the task of statesmen, must make it one of its chief aims to secure for all working men and for all human beings conditions of life which are worthy of humanity. Yet it is difficult indeed to talk of measures which mean more expense at a time when economy is perhaps the most important thing before us, and it is harder than ever to find money for amelioration.

This makes one wonder whether, among all the good things which the British have done in India, there may be two on which history will record a verdict a little different from that which is at present accepted. One of those is the introduction of a system of civil law quite unsuited to that country. This is not as irrelevant as it might appear, because its result has been to destroy the old relationship between debtor and creditor, especially in the agricultural part of the country, and that is almost the whole of India.

The second was the introduction of the Western industrial system. That means that large numbers of men, women, and children have been dragged from the villages where they lived hard lives, no doubt, but still decent, clean lives, into the abominable squalor of the chawls in the big cities.

Mr. Lindsay's general view of Indian trade may perhaps lead to a similar conclusion. He has pointed out that India is in the lucky position of producing many classes of goods, in which she has a virtual monopoly, or at least a very strong competitive position, while her imports are comparatively few. For years past the tendency has been to support industries with tariffs and to neglect agriculture. That very great Report of Lord Linlithgow's Royal Agricultural Commission has been cast on one side and scarcely anything has been done with it. Of the many politicians who are now struggling for power in India there is perhaps not one in a hundred who has even read that Report.

We cannot now from this country dictate what the policy of India in commerce and financial matters is to be. We know that a very large section of the Bombay mercantile community has thrown in its lot with the Congress. That is not in the main because they are eager that the control of law and order should be transferred to an elected minister, but because for years past they have distrusted the British Parliament and have thought that Lancashire and the City of London weighed for more than the true interests of India.

One result is, very unfortunately at the present time, that the strong delegation which is going to Ottawa to represent India has not, as it should have, the sympathy of several large portions of the Indian mercantile community. Nevertheless, even with this limitation, we might fairly hope that that delegation will be able at Ottawa to do a very great deal to advance the interests of India, and at the same time to strengthen the ties which bind the Empire together.

And Mr. Lindsay's striking paper, coming at a time like this, should be of very great value in inducing those who have heard it, and those who read it in this country and in India, to take a wider view of all the questions of world trade in the solution of which lies the hope of a fortunate issue of the present crisis. I think we must all join with our Chairman in thanking Mr. Lindsay most heartily.

Mr. BROCK (late Editor of *Capital*, Calcutta) said: Amongst the facts which I think deserve more attention than they have hitherto received in this country, I would place the increase in the population of India as disclosed in the census taken last year. The increase, as you may remember, during the decade amounted to in excess of 30 millions.

It is very easy to refer to a figure of that sort, but extremely difficult to visualize the problems that have been brought to the fore in India by the addition of such a vast population. I see from a report just issued by the League of Nations that the number of industrial unemployed in all countries at present is in the neighbourhood of about 25 millions. On the other hand, you have had in India during a period of only ten years an increase in population of over 30 millions.

Let us ask ourselves how that population has been absorbed. Those of you who are familiar with India are aware that the population both of Calcutta and Bombay is in the neighbourhood of 1 million. That implies that if India had had to absorb those 30 odd millions by the establishment of industries of the modern type, industries like jute and cotton, it would have involved the establishment in India of 30 additional cities of the size of Calcutta and Bombay. Obviously in present conditions in India an utterly inconceivable task.

What has happened, as far as one can discover, is that the bulk of the additional population has been sustained to a very considerable extent by the resources that were provided by the relatively high prices that, prior to the present slump, were obtained for the staple Indian exports.

During the past two or three years the high prices have entirely disappeared, but the increased population remains. So far as the official figures indicate, there has certainly not been an increase in India's industrial or agricultural production in any way proportionate to the increase in her population, and the only possible inference appears to be that there has been a fall in the average income and therefore in the average standard of living.

So far as the individual cultivator is concerned, the way in which the fall in the price is acting is fairly obvious. He has certain fixed charges to meet, interest charges to the money-lender, revenue payments to Government, etc. In the case of the jute cultivator, let us say, he was able before the recent fall in the price level to meet the interest charges of the money-lender by the sale of a given quantity of jute. At present, to secure the same number of rupees, he has to sell perhaps double the quantity which formerly sufficed. The effect, so far as industry is concerned, has been that the margin of income that formerly existed amongst the rural population for the purchase of factory products, Indian or imported, has almost entirely disappeared. The export trade of India has been cut in half. The import trade has been halved concurrently.

The conclusion enforced by these and other relevant factors is that unless and until the price level is forced back to that which existed two or three years ago, there is no possibility whatever of a revival of the foreign trade of India on the scale to which we were accustomed up to the year 1928.

Sir **Umar Hayat Khan** said that they had had a very fine paper, but he did not know why one side of the question had been neglected. All the Englishmen who went to India had high salaries, and those who came back after completing their service were getting pensions which came up to an enormous amount of money. When the agriculturists had good prices for their agricultural products, they could support these highly paid Englishmen. But now either there must be less pay or something must be done in the way of obtaining better prices, otherwise this strain was bound to break the economic chain. If better prices did not come, somebody had to starve—either the top-heavy Government servants or the population. Unless there was someone strong enough to take this matter in hand, things would go to ruin.

Professor **Rushbrook Williams**: All I can do is to add my tribute to the author of the paper, not only for the stimulating way in which he has covered a very wide field, but also for the discussion which he has raised.

If from the purely outsider's point of view I have one criticism against the paper, it would be this: that whereas this analysis of world tendencies, admittedly a part of the subject covered, was both interesting and profound, the application of those tendencies to the particular circumstances of India's trade was left rather more to our imagination or to our intelligence than I, for one, as a layman was quite prepared for.

In that connection I should like to pay my tribute also to the comment made by Sir Ernest Hotson. I feel very much that if it be true—as I am sure it is—that any mixture between politics and economics is apt to be explosive, we should do our best to use what influence we in this Association have to see if we cannot disentangle those two things so far as India is concerned.

Sir Ernest has said that much of the support, particularly the commercial support, which is at the present time available for certain left-wing schools of politics in India, is so available, not because of any intrinsic interest in or attachment to those causes, but because of a fear that unless these causes are supported economic interests totally unconnected with these causes may suffer.

I do think, judging from the talks I have had myself with my friends who are in business in Bombay, Calcutta, and elsewhere, that there still exists in the minds of many Indian commercial magnates a definite suspicion that the economic policy of this country towards India is not altogether a policy framed in the interests of India herself. It does seem to me, therefore, that if we could endeavour to disentangle the political problems from the economic problems, at least one step forward would have been made.

Could not these economic problems be dealt with, not by the politicians and the Members of Parliament, but by the business men in both countries?

Could they not get together and see if they themselves cannot come to an understanding? If that could be done, I think it would be worth trying. If it is not practical politics, let us be told why. Is not the idea worth the most careful examination?

From the paper to which we have listened this afternoon, and from the discussion which we have had, we shall go away with a much clearer idea of the complexities with which the commercial relationship between this country and India is surrounded owing to the operation of these very world conditions which the lecturer has described.

Mr. JOHN DE LA VALETTE: I shall only make a very few remarks, for in regard to Indian trade I have no special competence. As all of us who read Mr. Lindsay's reports know, he takes a much wider view of the movements and interactions of trade than do most people who write such reports. In this paper he even goes further than most of us do, as a rule, when we think about the economics of trade. And we have to think about them for the simple reason that economics are nothing else than the outcome of human actions in the realm of trade.

There are many peculiar and yet human ways of acting, and they are the things which in the end shape those facts which the scientists fit into dockets and pigeon-holes, which they call economic laws. That that is so will be clear to you from this paper, where Mr. Lindsay deals with the question of recovering equilibrium by deliberate planning.

If you look at a country like America, with its vast internal scope, you will find that deliberate planning, not by a Government, but by the community as a whole, has gone a long way further than such planning has done in our parts of the world: but the result has been extraordinarily bad, because it has been fundamentally vitiated by the attempt to raise consumption to any desired production, instead of adjusting production to the extent of immediately anticipated consumption.

The fact is that in America people start by saying: "I should like to produce so many articles of a specific kind, for then I shall make such and such a profit on the turnover. As for the public, they will swallow what we can produce, for our salesmanship will make them do it." As a result, in America the production of consumers is one of the most active of industries, and partly to that its present troubles are due.

I should gather from Mr. Lindsay's statements that the general lines upon which India is developing her economic activities are, on the whole, sound—that is to say, she is going in for producing for export only those articles to produce which she is eminently fitted; in other words, she is not yet, and I hope she may not start, joining in the race to produce anything she happens to think of for the mere pleasure of competing with other people who are already making losses by doing the same thing.

If India continues on these lines, and if she continues to import those goods of a highly finished kind—for which, as a matter of fact, there is a much bigger market outside India, so that they can be produced cheaper and better outside India—then India will have a much better opportunity of producing for her own consumption those particular kinds of articles of all sorts for which she has either the whole or the bulk of the raw materials in her country, without fear of undue outside competition and without the need to stimulate artificial markets for her output. It is because America has gone away from that sound system that she is today in so sorry a predicament.

The only reason why I bring this into this discussion is that I think India ought to study that example and keep away from following a like route, which will inevitably lead her along the same vicious circle to the same bad position.

SARDAR BAHADUR SHIV DEV SINGH UBEROI: The learned paper which has been read by Mr. Lindsay, and the speeches, prompt me to present to you stray thoughts about the position of India in particular in comparison with the world. Mr. Lindsay has been very optimistic to say that the difference between India's exports and imports is only 10 per cent. He is quite right, but the position of India and of every country in these days as regards trade is very, very grave indeed.

India's position is like this: India is mostly an agricultural country. Her exports consist mostly of raw materials. It is quite correct that some of the exports are the monopoly of India, just as the learned speaker mentioned jute. Time was when the Government of India was permitted to open many more fields for the industrial agriculture in India and develop that industry by irrigation or opening the large area of forests for cultivation. But the time has come when the people of India and the Government of India must very seriously consider how far the Government will gather taxes when the volume of her exports of cotton and wheat has fallen so much.

India's labour is perhaps the cheapest in the world, but still, with all that, India, within the last two or three years, as far as wheat and cotton are concerned, has not been able to compete in prices with the other countries which have been producing these two most important commodities for mankind. It is a question for Indians to find out how far they can compete with the world's trade as far as prices are concerned. I fear, if this state of things continues for some years, it will be a hard job for the Indian agriculturists to keep going. It will be a serious problem for the Government to consider how to keep the administrative machine running.

MR. LINDSAY: There was a very similar thread running through what Mr. Brock, the Malik Sahib, and the Sardar Sahib said in regard to the Indian cultivator. There is no doubt that he is suffering very seriously from the slump in prices, which is a thing beyond the control of any one group of people or any one nation. You cannot describe it as due to overproduction, because that does not happen simultaneously in all commodities everywhere.

But surely the answer to these three is that in science you find a method of overcoming the difficulties. If you consider how much has been done in India on behalf of the cultivator; when you remember that during the last fifteen or twenty years the output of long-stapled cotton in India has been increased by 80 per cent. and the output of short-stapled cotton by only 40 per cent., you see that a good deal of money has been put into the pockets of the cultivators. The more you get science progressing in the world, the more you realize the true benefits of that blessed word "rationalization."

In the course of my lecture I tried to explain that I hoped we were getting away from the wasteful, old competitive system of *laissez-faire*, under which everybody is looked upon as the best guardian of his own interests, towards a new system under which we recognize ourselves as the guardian, not only of our own interests, but of other people's interests as well.

In fact, I suppose the highest direction of advance for the future will be towards a greater and greater individualism, in which the individual can be trusted to have the communal interests most sincerely at heart.

Sir JAMES MACKENNA moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the lecturer, after which the meeting terminated.

THE SIXTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

For the Year ended April 30, 1932

The year to which this Report relates was in some respects even more important in the annals of India than its predecessor. While, on the one hand, the work of planning a new Constitution on the basis of all-India Federation went forward, on the other hand the latter part of the year saw the unhappy renewal of civil disobedience and the adoption by Lord Willingdon's Government of resolute measures to prevent the paralysis of administration at which it aimed. The holding of the second session of the Round-Table Conference in London from September 7 to December 1, and thereafter of the Burma Round-Table Conference which extended to the middle of January, gave the Association opportunities of which it made full use to contribute to the elucidation of many of the baffling questions which are linked with the consideration of the Indian constitutional issue. The Association arranged a series of lectures by distinguished authorities, and the discussions of them by men of influence, judgment and experience will give the proceedings of the year a definite place in the literature of Indian reform.

The Round-Table Conference

This observation is particularly applicable to the first and last of the public meetings of the year. In May, Lord Zetland gave his impressions of, and conclusions regarding, the first session of the Round-Table Conference, and in April he similarly surveyed the proceedings of the second session. These two papers, with the earlier one in which the implications of the Simon Report were analyzed soon after its publication, made a valuable consecutive record of the history of the steps taken towards a new Constitution marked by high literary skill. There are in this series of papers pen pictures of some of the leading figures at the Round-Table which will not readily be forgotten.

A survey from a somewhat different standpoint was to have been given by the most eloquent of the Indian delegates, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, with Lord Reading in the chair, but he was detained in Paris by serious illness and the arrangement had to be abandoned. On various occasions, however, during the year Mr. Sastri was a welcome and honoured contributor to the discussions. Another disappointment was the inability at the last moment of H.H. the Chief of Sangli to deliver a lecture he had prepared, and which was already printed, on "The Smaller States of India"; but members of the Association had the opportunity of reading his observations in the form of an article in the *Asiatic Review*. His Highness made a generous donation to our funds of £40, thus more than meeting the expenses incurred.

Other members of the Round-Table Conference were among the lecturers of the year, and more specifically expounded the views of the communities and interests which they represented at the Conference. Thus in June Sir Hubert Carr, the leader of the European Delegation, spoke of the position of the Briton in India in relation to the constitutional changes. In October Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, the Honorary Secretary of the Moslem Delegation, set forth the views and claims of the greatest of the Indian minorities; and in November Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro, the champion of the non-Brahmin community of Southern India, expounded the aims and purposes of what is known as the Justice Movement. From the chair Lord Goschen, late Governor of Madras, bore his testimony to the value of the organization in promoting the social and economic advancement of the people.

In December Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, the Deputy Diwan of Indore, and in that capacity present at the Round-Table Conference, analyzed the position in a paper entitled "Federation in India: Will it Work?" In the following month Professor J. E. G. de Montmorency, Quain Professor of Comparative Law in the University of London, subjected the scheme propounded at the Round-Table Conference to a critical analysis from the legal standpoint, and justified the Conference as the first real attempt in the political sphere "to understand the Indian mind, its relation to the past, and its approach to the future." On this occasion important contributions were made to the proceedings by H.H. the Maharao of Kutch and by the Chairman of the meeting, the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Scott.

OTHER LECTURES

While the constitutional issue rightly occupied the dominant place, some subsidiary aspects of the changes taking place in India came under consideration. In view of certain observations made by Mr. Gandhi on missionary proselytism, the Rev. W. Paton, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, gave in June a thoughtful and broad-minded address on the place of Christian missions in the new India, when the chair was taken by Lord Lothian. In February Mr. A. D. Lindsay, the Master of Balliol, with Lord Irwin in the chair, expounded the main conclusions of the Commission on the Christian Colleges in India, over which he presided. In March the Right Hon J. H. Whitley gave the Association the advantage of hearing his conclusions in regard to the Indian industrial worker, based upon two years of study and observation as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. At all the meetings there were informing and keen, but always friendly, discussions on the questions raised. Requests from responsible quarters for copies of the papers afforded incidental testimony to their value.

Nor did the public lectures constitute the exclusive contribution of the Association to the consideration of important questions. The Council gave a Reception at Grosvenor House on October 31 to meet the Hyderabad Delegation and other members of the Round-Table Conference, and Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, in responding to the observations of the President, Lord Lamington, spoke of the relations of the Paramount Power with Hyderabad, and recalled the great influence of the East India Association on the minds of young Indians of his generation.

PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS

Though Indian affairs were in some measure overshadowed in the public mind by the political and economic crisis at home, there was no real lessening of the interest in them on the part of our members. Consideration was given by the Council towards the close of the year to the possibility of bringing members together more frequently for social intercourse and an informal exchange of views. The conclusion was reached that while more public and reported meetings might not be required, there would be much advantage in occasional private discussions of specific current Indian questions. Accordingly it was arranged that meetings should be held, open only to members or those specially invited by the Council, for the free exchange of opinions; that no record of the proceedings should be taken; and that the views expressed were not to be attributed in the press to individuals. At the first meeting, held on the eve of the Viceroy's ceremonial visit to Peshawar in April to instal the first Governor and to inaugurate the newly-formed Legislature, Sir Denys Bray, the chief authority in this country on the subject, spoke on the constitutional development in the new Governor's (Frontier) Province, and a useful discussion ensued. The meetings are held at the office of the Association monthly, except in the summer recess, from 5 to 6 p.m., usually on Thursdays. The fact that a lift has been installed at No. 3, Victoria Street makes the rooms more convenient than formerly for members to meet in this way.

MEMBERSHIP

In common with, though not to the same extent as, most societies existing for the promotion of useful public objects and dependent in the main upon the subscriptions of their members, the Association suffered from the unexampled economic depression. The increased taxation, the abandonment of the gold standard, and the call for the most rigid economy led many persons to search in what direction subscriptions might be stopped. Almost without exception resignations from the Association were accompanied by expressions of regret and an intimation that the only reason for the step was economic. Usually the hope was expressed that an early resumption of membership might be possible, and in one or two instances there has been definite intimation of the intention to rejoin next year. It is satisfactory to be able to record that the number of new members elected (61) has largely exceeded the number of resignations. Unhappily, however, the heavy loss occasioned by death, together with revision of the roll, leaves the total membership at a slightly lower figure than in 1930-31. The Council hope that members, realizing the value of our work for India, will do their best to gain new members and thus to quickly make up this small leeway—the first for a number of years past.

The obituary list includes several gentlemen who were closely identified with the work of the Association. Lord Harris, who had been a Vice-President since his return from the Governorship of Bombay a generation ago, died towards the end of the year, and we lost two most esteemed members of Council, Sir Basanta Mullick and Mr. J. A. Richey, former Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. Another valuable member who passed away was Mr. G. M. Ryan, one of the Trustees of the Association, and who had for years served as members' auditor. Nor can the death of a great Moslem statesman, Sir Muhammad Shafi, or those of such conspicuous members as Sir John Stanley, Sir Arnold White, the Hon. Miss Gertrude Kinnaird, and Mr. Eardley Norton, be passed over without mention.

THE COUNCIL

At the end of the year Sir Leslie Wilson resigned his membership of the Council on appointment to the Governorship of Queensland, and he accepted the nomination of the Council to be a Vice-President in the place of Lord Harris, one of his predecessors in the Governorship of Bombay. Lord Irwin was appointed a Vice-President on his return to this country from his Viceroyalty, thus continuing the tradition of a long line of predecessors, and H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore also accepted this position. Mr. Stanley Rice, the former Honorary Secretary of the Association, and Sir Amberson Marten were elected members of the Council at the last Annual Meeting. During the year Sir Atul Chatterjee, late High Commissioner for India, and Sir George Anderson were co-opted to the Council in succession respectively to Sir Basanta Mullick and Mr. Richey. Another co-option was that of Sir John Kerr, late Governor of Assam.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate for election to any vacancy in the Council on fifteen days' notice being given to the Honorary Secretary. The following members of Council retire by rotation:

The Maharaja Dhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
Mr. P. K. Dutt.
Mr. F. J. P. Richter.

THE CHAIRMANSHIP

Soon after the conclusion of the second session of the Round-Table Conference Sir Louis Dane repeated an intimation he had previously made to the Council of his desire to resign the chairmanship, and his intention to do so forthwith following on a serious illness which had led his medical advisers to recommend his taking more rest. Sir Louis Dane succeeded the late Lord Pentland as Chairman in January, 1925. It was with the deepest regret that the Council received this intimation, having regard to the fidelity, resourcefulness, and ability with which he has filled the office during the past seven and a half years. At the earnest request of the Council Sir Louis postponed his resignation until the Annual Meeting. Sir John Kerr was invited to succeed to the chair, and agreed to do so after his return from India, where he has been in recent months as a member of Lord Lothian's Franchise Committee. The Council elected Sir James MacKenna to be a Vice-Chairman.

In connection with these changes in the Council a revision of the Rules has been undertaken. Sir Louis Dane suggested that before his retirement the Rules should be amended for the purpose of providing for the periodic election of Chairman of Council. He pointed out that it was something of an anomaly that the President should be elected annually while the Chairman of Council was appointed without time limit. The Council concurred in this view, and recommend to the Annual General Meeting an amendment of Rule 3 to provide for the Chairman to be elected for a period of three years, but with eligibility for re-election; also that there should be two Vice-Chairmen under the same limitation in substitution of the existing Rule whereby the Council is authorized to elect "one or more Vice-Chairmen." It was also agreed that during the tenure of office the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen should not be liable to retirement by rotation as members of Council. These proposed changes were communicated to the Chairman-elect, Sir John Kerr, and met with his cordial approval.

Revision of Rules

It was found that certain consequential changes would be required in other Rules, and attention was drawn to the fact that there have been various changes in practice, such as the election of a distinct class of members known as "student members," since the Rules were last revised as long ago as the Annual Meeting in the summer of 1908. It was therefore decided to take the opportunity to examine the Rules and propose such changes as might be required to authorize existing practice, or as might in other respects be found suitable.

After due revision by the Council the Rules were carefully scrutinized by the Honorary Solicitor, Mr. A. H. Wilson, and in the form which he has recommended they are circulated in proof to members with this Report for approval at the Annual General Meeting. The alterations of substance (other than those already mentioned), as distinct from verbal or consequential changes, are few in number and are indicated below:

Rule 1: A slight revision of the statement of the methods adopted for promoting the objects of the Association.

Rule 7: An addition providing that any member of Council appointed to fill up a casual vacancy shall hold office for the remainder of the term of the member in whose vacancy he is appointed.

Rule 10: Extending the period of notice for a meeting of Council convened on requisition from three to seven days.

Rule 16: A new Rule for the election of those hitherto known as Student Members and now proposed to be described as Associate Members.

Rule 22: A provision that the Council and not the Chairman only shall take any initiative that may be required for the exclusion of any member of the Association.

Rule 25: (Chairman at meetings) to be deleted as unnecessary.

Rule 26: Provision for the Annual General Meeting to be held in June and for the accounts to be made up to the previous April 30, in accordance with long-standing practice.

FINANCE

The accounts show a balance of £298 0s. 8d. as compared with £282 7s. 10d. at the close of the previous year. The auditors, Mr. John de La Valette and Mr. T. A. H. Way, report that, "having regard to the general economic difficulties of the year, they consider the financial position of the Association to be highly satisfactory and to reflect credit on those responsible for the management of its affairs."

The Association is indebted to H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore for a generous donation of £100 (to meet the balance of cost of reconditioning the rooms and making structural alterations), together with a copy for the library of the massive new *Mysore Gazetteer* in five volumes. Donations were also received from H.H. the Chief of Sangli (as already mentioned), and the Maharaja Dhiraja of Darbhanga. As the auditors point out, such assistance is of the greatest value in enabling the Association to serve more fully the interests of India. A sum held on deposit and a balance from these donations were invested in the purchase of £250 Conversion Loan.

Sir Clement Hindley has accepted the appointment of Trustee of the invested funds in place of the late Mr. G. M. Ryan. The other Trustees are Sir Patrick Fagan and Sir Montagu Webb.

The Association was represented at the Eighteenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Leiden in September by Mr. A. L. Saunders (who read a paper on the Asoka Inscriptions), Mr. John de La Valette, and Mr. F. J. P. Richter.

The Association is the oldest of institutions existing in this country exclusively to promote the welfare of India. Its sixty-sixth year is expected to be marked by the introduction into Parliament of far-reaching legislation as to the future of India. It is therefore of the greatest public importance that we should continue to discharge our task of providing a non-party platform for the facts of the Indian situation to be examined by acknowledged authorities with candour and understanding, but without partisanship. The membership represents varied schools of thought on India, and the Council welcomes this variety as affording opportunity for the exchange of facts and opinions, and thus as a means of elucidating the truth.

The President, with the approval of Council, desires to add an expression of thanks to the Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. H. Brown, for his valued services. The recital in the Report of the many addresses given by eminent public men is in itself a proof that the Association holds a high position in the sphere of the study of Indian life and thought. This position must be attributed in great part to Mr. Brown's untiring efforts.

(*Signed*) LOUIS DANE,
Chairman of the Council.

F. H. BROWN,
Hon. Secretary.

May 24, 1932.

ANNUAL MEETING

The sixty-fifth Annual General Meeting of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, June 14, 1932. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., was in the chair, and the company included Lady Lamington, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., the Chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji, the Maharaja Dhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Amberson Marten, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Mr. H. V. Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Sardar Bahadur Shiv Dev Singh Uberoi, Mr. F. A. T. Phillips, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. E. Esdaile, Mrs. Jackson, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. E. F. Harris, the Hon. Emily Kinnaird, Mr. C. A. Mehta, Mr. J. M. Holms, Mr. P. K. Wattal, Mr. J. F. Sale, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: The Annual Report, which has been circulated to members, shows that the Association occupies an important and influential position in the shaping of opinion on current Indian problems. This influence is largely derived from the fact that we do not stand for a merely partisan presentment of Indian issues. Our membership includes the holders of a wide variety of opinions on Indian questions. You will see how varied are the opinions represented if you do no more than glance at the list of sixty-one members who have been elected during the past twelve months. To our great satisfaction that list includes a good proportion of lady members. Their influence is, I am sure, a contributory cause of the friendliness manifested at our discussions between members who may be widely separated in political opinion. Since we exist to promote the good of India, we are fulfilling our rightful function in doing what we can to bring about friendly intercourse between British and Indian as well as between various Indian sections.

In this connection social contact is important, and I only wish that our resources permitted of more frequent occasions of the kind such as will be provided on the 24th inst., when it will be our privilege to entertain His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and the captain and members of the Indian Cricket Team to an afternoon reception at Grosvenor House.

In a definite, if necessarily somewhat restricted, way we are now bringing our members together more frequently by means of the meetings held monthly at the rooms for private discussion of Indian affairs supplementing the quasi-public meetings which are recorded in our proceedings. Though only begun in the spring, these meetings have proved their value. So keen has been the desire to exchange views, and the openers of the subjects have had so much to bring forward, that the problem has been not that of sustaining interest, but of keeping the meetings within the prescribed period of an hour. We may find it necessary to begin them a little earlier in the afternoon, and suggestions to this end have been made.

There is, I am happy to tell you, a growing appreciation of the value of our printed proceedings and of the informative articles by which they are accompanied. I may quote from a tribute recently received from a distinguished member having close family association with one of the most eminent and accomplished writers ever produced by the great Indian Civil Service. He wrote to the Hon. Secretary:

> "I should like to congratulate you on the great increase in interest of the *Asiatic Review*. Almost all the articles in the April number are important, and the *Review* seems likely to become a mighty influence for a sane view of development in the East. . . . I look forward each quarter to the coming of the *Review*, and the April number was so good that I felt I must send you this note."

A no less enthusiastic tribute comes from one of the most distinguished and experienced of Indian public men, who, in a recent letter, writes that he follows with keen appreciation the papers read by so many men of distinction to the Association and the valuable criticisms to which these papers give rise. He adds:

> "You are doing remarkably well in reviving the glory of the earlier years of the Association, now nearly sixty-seven years old."

I will not detain you by reference to the losses the Association has sustained by death during the past year; but I would note that since the Report was prepared we have lost one of the most eminent of our Indian members, Sir Dorabji Tata, the founder of the Indian steel industry and the great industrialist who pursued the far-sighted ideals of his father, Jamshedji Tata, with such filial piety and success.

I must not sit down without a reference to the decision of Sir Louis Dane, reluctantly assented to by the Council, to retire on grounds of ill-health from the chairmanship of that body. For the past seven and a half years he has filled the position with great acceptance to his colleagues on the Council and to the members generally. He has given up a great deal of time and thought to the service of the Association, and he has had the satisfaction of seeing it expand in membership and influence during his term of office. We owe him a great debt for this service. (Applause.) The choice of a successor by the Council has fallen upon Sir John Kerr, who recently returned from the tour of the Franchise Committee in India. Sir James MacKenna has been appointed a Vice-Chairman, and thus a colleague of Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree. Not only as a Scotsman, but also as your President, I am happy to see the charge of the Council in such excellent hands. (Cheers.)

We are passing through difficult times, and the economic situation has left no institution quite immune. We are, however, in the happy position of having elected more members in the year than those we have lost on grounds of economic pressure. We stand for the service of India, which now occupies a very prominent place in the public mind and will soon be the subject of Parliamentary legislation. We ask for the co-operation of all who recognize that by membership they extend our influence and assist us in the promotion of the welfare of India. We should welcome any guidance as to how the new Constitution is to be brought about. Myself, I only see how one possible move can be next taken, and that is by setting up the system of autonomy in the provinces. Our Constitution here in this country has been the growth of centuries. How is it possible to set up a form of government for 350 millions of people at one move? I do not think such a thing has ever been accomplished. It must be done by gradual steps, and I trust that the Government of India and the Government of this country will see fit, as soon as they can, to set up these provincial autonomous councils, so that we shall have some experience to guide us in the future form of Federal Government in India.

With these words I beg now to call upon our friend Sir Harcourt Butler to propose the first resolution.

Sir **Harcourt Butler**: I beg to propose that the Report and Accounts be adopted. You will all have seen the Report. You, my Lord, have referred to some of the important items in it. I am sure that everyone here feels that in a difficult year a very great and conspicuous measure of success has been achieved, very largely owing to the very great interest which you, Lord Lamington, and your coadjutors have taken in the affairs of the Association.

I need not detain you with any further remarks, but I think perhaps the most important section of the Report is the last, which records the services of Mr. F. H. Brown, our most energetic and popular Secretary. (Applause.) I beg to move.

Mr. F. G. **Pratt**: It is a very pleasant and easy task to follow Sir Harcourt Butler in seconding the resolution which he has just proposed.

Nobody could read this Report without realizing that the Association is performing very well the purposes for which it exists—namely, to keep its members in the closest touch with the economic, political, and other developments of India at a time when the country is passing through a very difficult and dangerous period of transition.

As for the finances of the Association, at a time when a calamitous depression is upon us, many of us will look with pride, not unmixed with envy, at the accounts of the Association, which show a nice balance at the bank, capital assets of nearly £6,000, liabilities nil, and a good steady income from gilt-edged securities.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Revision of Rules.

Mr. **Joseph Nissim**, in moving that the Rules as revised by the Council be adopted, stated that the present Rules of the Association had been in force for about twenty-four years, and some modifications were now proposed.

The first was in Rule 3 and had been suggested by Sir Louis Dane—namely, that the Chairman and Vice-Chairman should hold office for three years instead of indefinitely, and during this period should not be liable to retirement by rotation as members of Council.

In Rule 7, dealing with casual vacancies, the following alteration was proposed: "Members so appointed shall hold office for the remainder of the term of the member in whose vacancy they are appointed."

There was a slight amendment in Rule 10, extending the period of notice for convening the Council by requisition from three days to seven.

There was a new specific rule, based upon the practice of electing as Associate Members students under twenty-five at 7s. 6d. a year without right to the supply of the *Asiatic Review*.

There was a slight amendment in Rule 22, giving the initiative to the Council, not to the Chairman, in calling upon a member to explain his conduct.

In Rule 26 the date of the Annual Meeting was altered to June instead of May in accordance with practice.

The Association was very much indebted to Mr. Wilson, the Hon. Solicitor, for having carefully examined the changes proposed by the Council. He moved the adoption of the revised Rules as printed, remarking that he had read them with care three times and considered them in every way appropriate.

The motion was seconded by Colonel W. G. Hamilton, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

Election of President.

The Chief of Ichalkaranji: I regard it as both a privilege and honour to propose the re-election of Lord Lamington as President of this Association.

Nineteen years ago, almost to the day, on the occasion of a first visit to Europe, I lectured to the Association on the subject of "What has England done for India?" On that occasion a gifted predecessor of Lord Lamington both as Governor of Bombay and as President of this Association, the late Lord Reay, was in the chair.

We in Western India are justly proud of our Presidency and of the succession of British statesmen who have been at the head of its affairs. We naturally think that the East India Association is well advised in choosing for its leadership again and again from this succession; nor do we forget in this connection that it was mainly through the instrumentality of Bombay citizens—notably Dadabhai Naoroji, India's "Grand Old Man" of later days—that the Association was established some sixty-seven years ago. Lord Lamington has the satisfaction of knowing that at no time since then has the Association played a more important and influential part than at present in elucidating Indian questions and informing public opinion thereon.

Returning to London after the lapse of some years, I rejoice to see the Association so flourishing. Lord Lamington was one of the first Governors of Bombay with whom I was brought into personal contact. After the lapse of years there he is still remembered as an able and sympathetic Governor.

He has brought into his subsequent public career in this country a constant well-judged purpose of promoting in every way he can friendly relations between the British and Indian peoples and an unwearying interest in the progress and welfare of all Asiatic countries.

I move his re-election as President in the confidence that the proposal will secure unanimous support.

Mr. Stanley Rice seconded the motion and put it to the meeting, when it was carried by acclamation.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. As I have told you before, I am quite willing to retire at the slightest hint that you think fit to have somebody else in my place. I recognize the value of a change, and though I should be sorry to vacate the office, still I quite realize that a time comes when it is better to have fresh blood in an Association of this importance.

I do believe the Association is doing increasingly valuable work from year to year. No doubt the whole question of India bulks much more largely in the minds of the public now than it did some years ago, and also I do think those who are responsible for the administration of the Association are most anxious to do their best for it. Sir Louis Dane has really done yeoman service, as well as Mr. Brown and my friend Mr. Stanley Rice.

I think this Association plays a very useful part in trying to bring about a better understanding between the people of this country and the people of India. For that reason I am very glad to hold the position of President, and I thank the kind proposer and seconder for having made the suggestion that I should continue in office, and all the members for their kind endorsement of the proposal that has been made.

Election of Members of Council.

Sir John Cumming moved—

(*a*) To confirm the co-option of Sir Atul Chatterjee, Sir George Anderson, Sir John Kerr, Sardar Bahadur Shiv Dev Singh Uberoi as members of Council; (*b*) to re-elect to the Council the Maharaja Bahadur of Burdwan, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. F. J. P. Richter; (*c*) to elect Sir John Thompson.

Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams seconded the motion, and suggested that in future it might be well on occasion to elect a Member of Parliament and so bring the Association more closely into contact with the House of Commons.

The Chairman promised that this suggestion should be considered and discussed by the Council.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Vote of Thanks to Sir Louis Dane.

The Maharaja of Burdwan moved a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir Louis Dane for his able and valuable services as Chairman of the Council during the past seven and a half years.

Sir James MacKenna, seconding the motion, observed that Sir Louis Dane's past experience, enormous tact, and great personal charm had made him an ideal Chairman of Council.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Colonel Nawab Sir UMAR HAYAT KHAN suggested that, as Sir Louis was now in much better health, he might be asked to reconsider his decision.

Sir LOUIS DANE, in replying, said they had arrived at what might be called the first halting stage in the advance of India towards democratic responsible government, and it seemed a suitable opportunity for one who represented the old order of things in India to clear out and make room for someone who had more experience of modern conditions in India.

He was very glad to think that his successor was a man of his own service who came from the other end of India.

He was leaving the Association at a time when it was very active and in a more satisfactory state than at any time for many years past. This was a great satisfaction to him, and was mainly due to the President and Honorary Secretary. The Council had recently taken steps to show its warm appreciation of the great services of the latter. He assured the meeting that he would always take the keenest interest in the Association and do all he could for it. (Cheers.)

ADMINISTRATIVE PROGRESS IN THREE INDIAN STATES

By John de La Valette

HYDERABAD

I. A Rural Enquiry*

The land, the rain, and the money-lender, these three dominate the daily life of rural communities all the world over. On the outcome of their interactions depends the degree of prosperity, nay of the cultural and general development, of the people living on the land. By it are the activities of the tax-gatherer circumscribed. Upon it the attention of governments must remain fixed and to it the careful study of scientists may, therefore, well be devoted. How profoundly the incidence of these factors affects rural life in India has been demonstrated in the valuable detailed studies which Dr. Harold Mann made of two villages in the Bombay Deccan.† In the second of these he dealt with a village which he had specially selected so as to be "typical of a large area in the Deccan" and to "represent conditions occurring over extensive areas." The outcome was distinctly disquieting, for it showed the "dry" villages in the Bombay Deccan to be in a very unsatisfactory economic condition, the remedy for which was not immediately clear, so that Dr. Mann could only end his conclusions by stating that here was a "situation which demanded the early and earnest attention of the best thought and action in the community."

It is apparently on this ground that the Government of Hyderabad State, on the suggestion of Mr. S. Kesava Iyengar, Professor of Economics at the Nizam College, decided to carry out an economic investigation into the conditions obtaining in the rural districts of the State. In 1928 a preliminary and experimental enquiry was conducted by Mr. Iyengar in eight villages, four in the Mahbubnagar district on the southern border, and four in the Nizamabad district in the centre of the State. Subsequently a more comprehensive enquiry in four other districts was undertaken. Twelve villages were, after consultation with the district officers, selected in each of the following districts—namely, Aurangabad in the extreme north-western and Raichur in the south-western corners of the State; Warangal in the south-east and Nanded in the centre of the northern border, thus covering, with the previous surveys, a substantial portion of the whole State, including that part known as Marhatwara, where the general characteristics approximate those of the Bombay Deccan. Before considering the results of these investigations it may, therefore, not be without interest to summarize the conclusions at which Dr. Mann arrived in the second of the investigations conducted by him—namely, that referring to the specially selected village of Jategaon Budruk, about 25 miles, by road, north-east of Poona, considered to be a typically "dry" village of the Bombay Deccan; that is to say, one where irrigation is very limited in amount and where the prosperity of the village therefore depends almost entirely on the annual monsoon rain. Agriculture under such conditions is bound to resolve itself into a "gamble in rain," and in this respect Dr. Mann found that only from two to four times out of every ten years was there a "good" season; in fact, during the previous twenty-four years there had only been nine such seasons. What this means will be clear when we consider his further conclusion that even an "average" year left the population "under-fed, more in debt and—with the present population and the present methods of cultivation—less able to achieve economic independence." As a result he observed a "general exit to Bombay and other large centres," usually for four to eight months in the year, although a few people settled there permanently. This outlet enabled the village to tend towards "industrialization without the development of a landless proletariat," but it brought back to it little outside prosperity. Very little money, estimated at only about Rs.450 per annum, was remitted by post and of the returned industrial workers, only one had bought land in the village.

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* *Economic Investigations in the Hyderabad State*, 1929-30, by S. Kesava Iyengar, M.A., F.R.E.S., F.M.U., with an introduction by B. Abdy Collins, C.I.E., I.C.S. Vols. I. and II., 1931; 3 vols. to follow.

† *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, by Harold H. Mann, D.SC. (Bombay, 1917), and *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village* (Study No. 2), by Harold H. Mann, D.SC., and N. V. Kanitkar, B.SC. L.Ag. (Bombay, 1921).

As the inevitable result of these economically unfavourable conditions, Dr. Mann concluded that in general there was bound to be a "deterioration of the village and loss of enterprise on the part of the people." In the particular village investigated the latter appeared, however, not to have been the case, and several instances are quoted as denoting the persistent enterprise of the people and their endeavours to take advantage of everything which would improve the output of their holdings. Nevertheless the inherent conditions condemned much of the land in the village to remain "used either on or below the margin of profitable cultivation," and the question is raised "whether it would not be better to concentrate a smaller population in a smaller area of good land and allow a large part of the stony upland to remain permanently as a source of inferior grass."* With regard to the size of the holdings, it was found that the sub-division of the land had not reached to the same point as elsewhere, but nevertheless "the bulk of the holdings in Jategaon were not at present economic even in a good year." And so we reach the gloomy final conclusion to which Dr. Mann's investigations led him: "This can only result in debt, and the debts in the present village are enormous and rapidly increasing. This increase is inevitable with the continued series of seasons which cannot possibly give a profitable return for cultivation under the present land conditions." Ultimately therefore "a large number of people have to part with their land to their financiers and leave the village. If the latter happens it will lead to the re-consolidation of the land and the old vicious circle will start again." That, then, was, according to Dr. Mann, the dismal outlook for a "typical" village in the Bombay Deccan. Well might the Government of Hyderabad be concerned to ascertain to what extent conditions within its own borders were of a similar nature. The immediate objects of the enquiry they instituted were to ascertain the sizes of agricultural holdings; the extent to which the holders cultivated their land and the conditions on which they sublet these to others; the extent to which landholders, especially those who cultivated their holdings, had been dispossessed during the last twenty-five years; the extent and exact nature of the indebtedness of holders and finally the manner in which the holders obtained their seed and disposed of their produce. The results of the detailed and careful investigations carried out by Mr. Iyengar and his assistants will be published in five volumes, four dealing with one district each and one volume providing the summaries of the districts together with a general survey of the whole. This latter volume (No. I.) and the volume dealing with the district of Nanded (No. II.) have so far been issued, the remaining three being in course of preparation. To the general survey contained in Vol. I. Mr. B. Abdy Collins, C.I.E., I.C.S., Director-General and Secretary for Commerce and Industry to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, supplies an introduction. In establishing the facts, all available sources of information have been utilized, and Mr. Iyengar and his assistants deserve commendation for the thoroughness with which they have carried out their task, and every precaution would seem to have been taken to make sure that the general impression conveyed is correct for each district. Nevertheless, Mr. Abdy Collins points out that "it is impossible to draw any certain conclusions from any one district which would apply to the whole of the Dominions,

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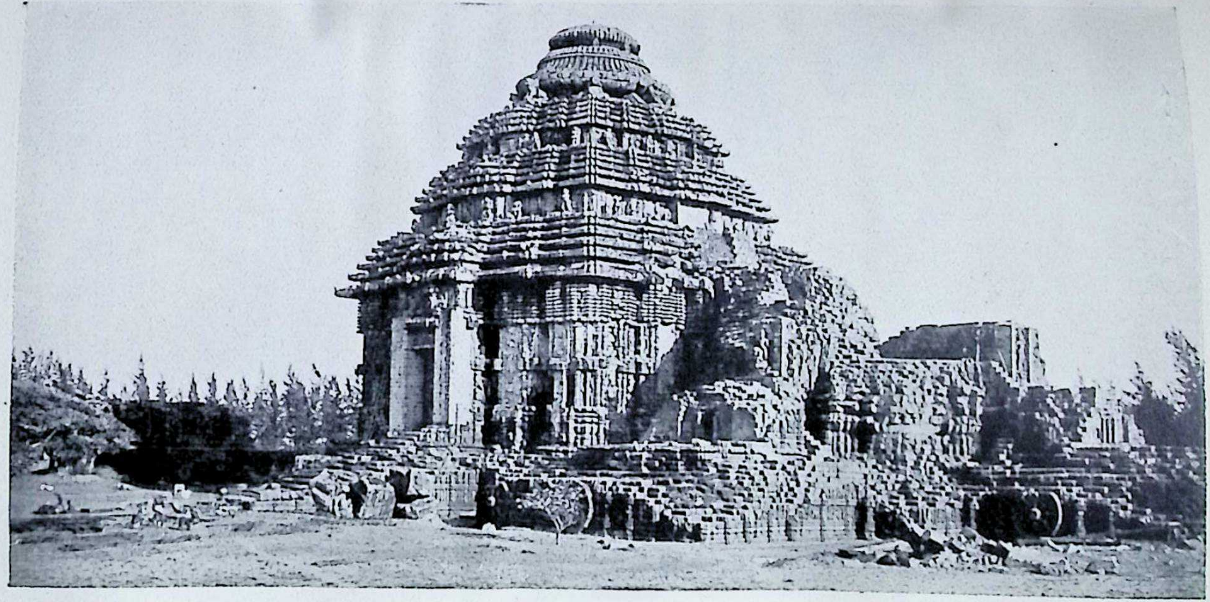
* *Loc. cit.*, p. 160.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE PORCH OF THE BLACK PAGODA, KONARAK

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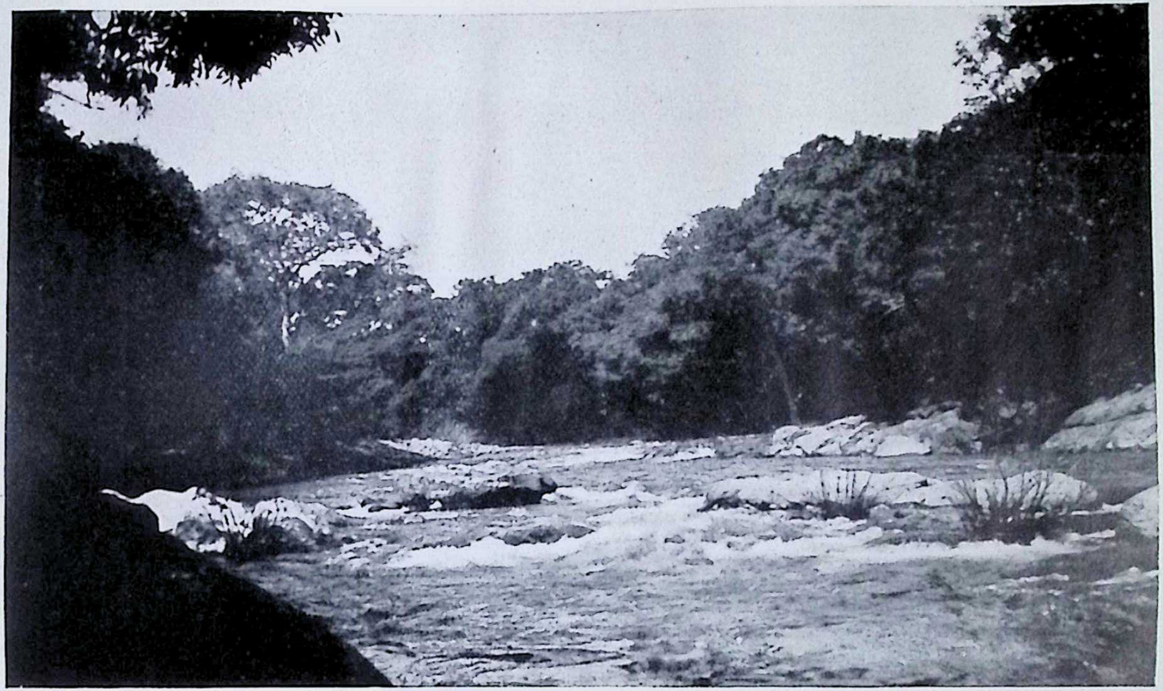

THE BHAWANI RIVER

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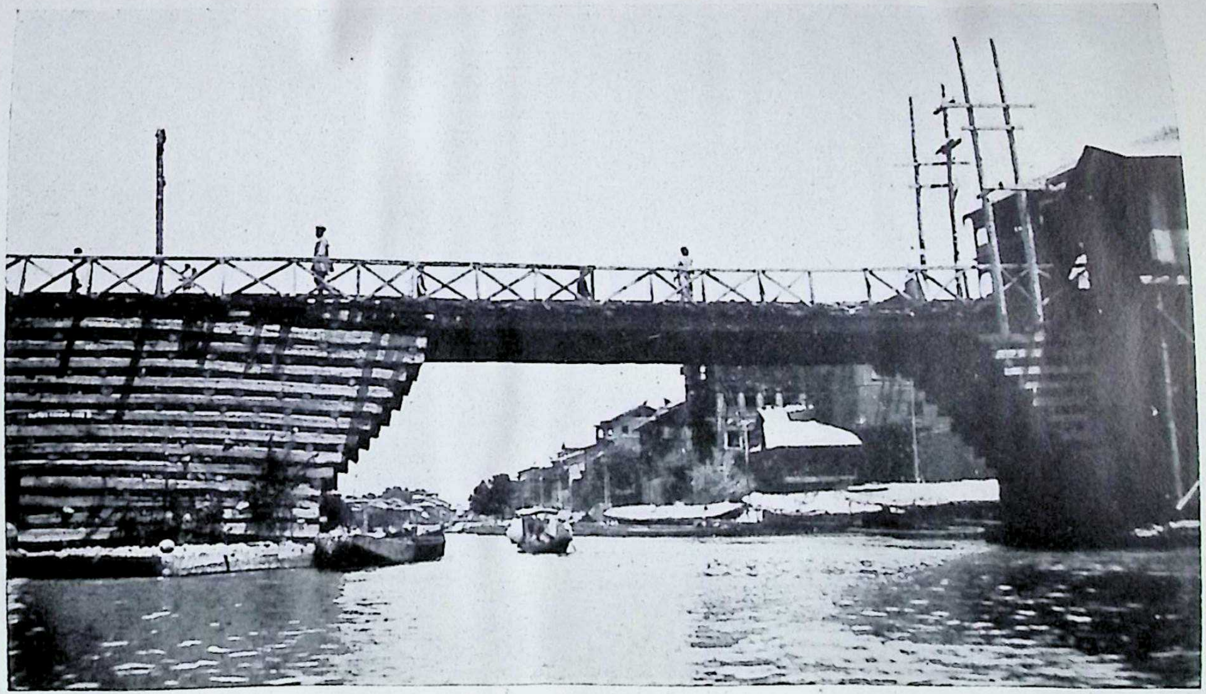

A TIMBER CANTILEVER BRIDGE, THE SECOND BRIDGE IN SRINAGAR

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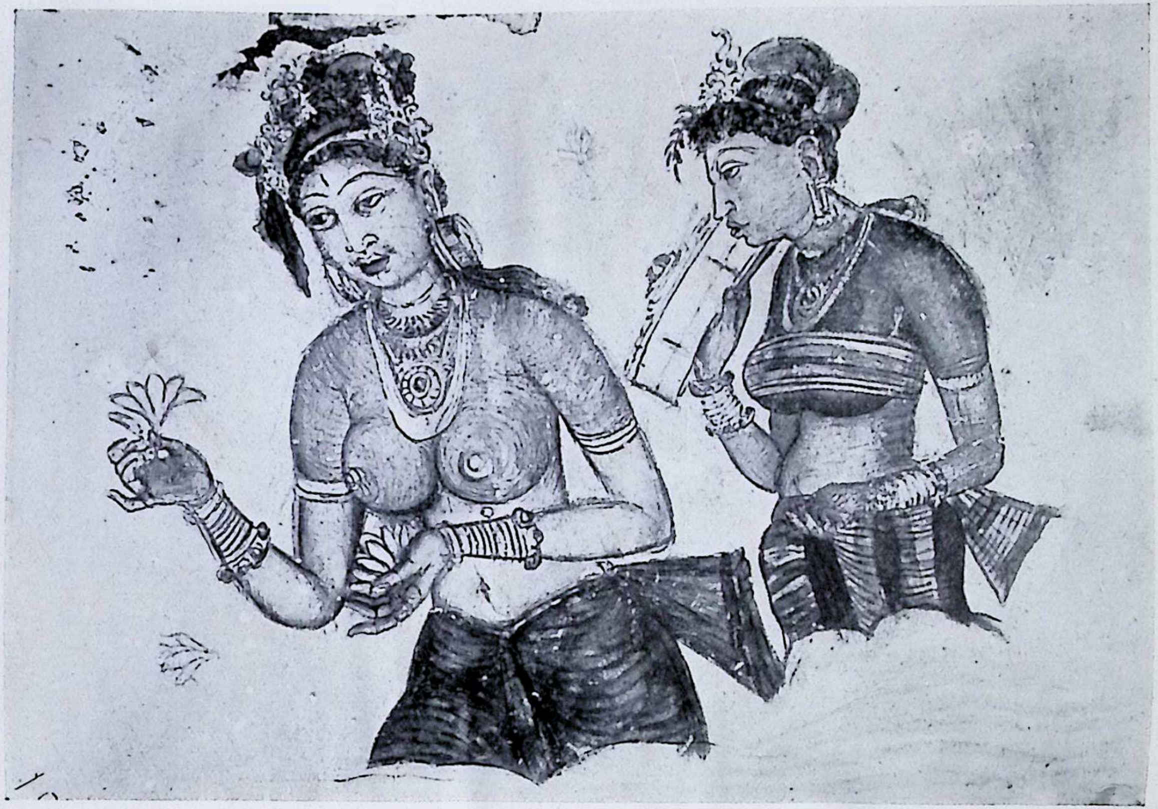

WALL-PAINTING FROM SIGIRIYA, CEYLON: ABOUT SIXTH CENTURY A.D.

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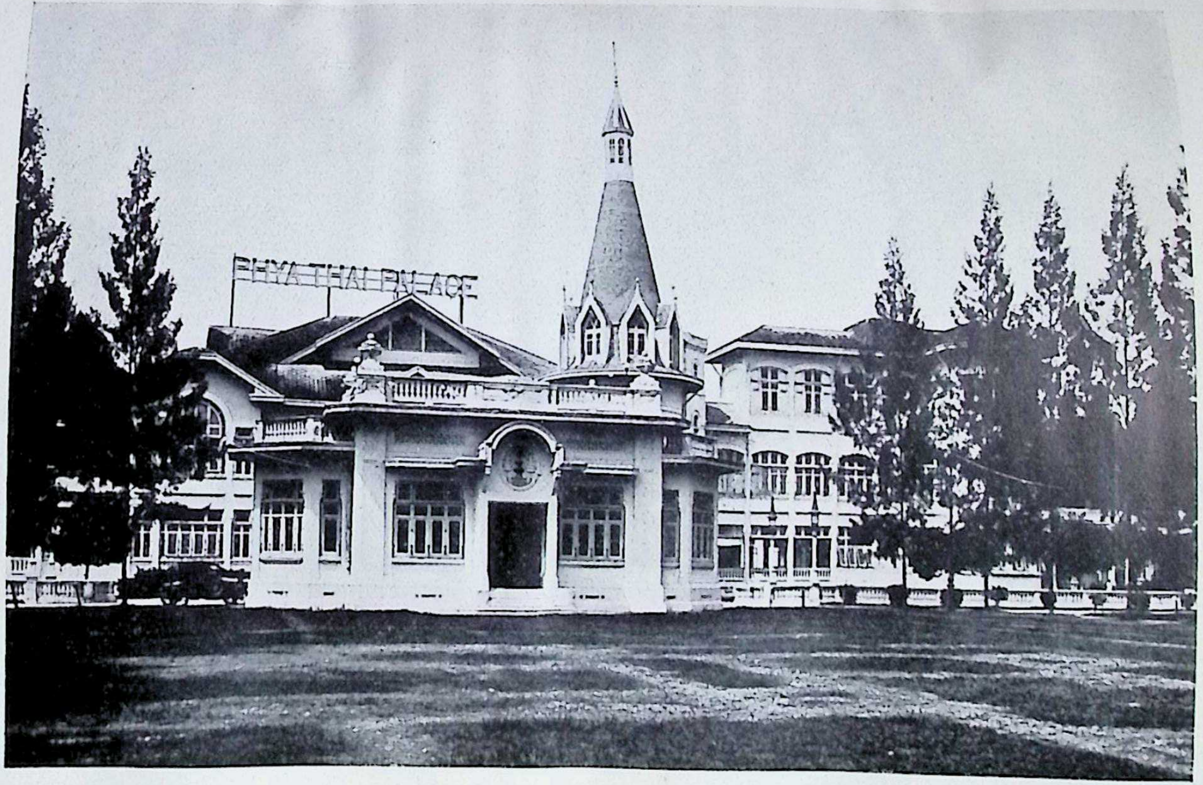
PHYA THAI PALACE

PHYA THAI PALACE HOTEL, BANGKOK (OWNED AND OPERATED BY THE ROYAL STATE RAILWAYS OF SIAM)

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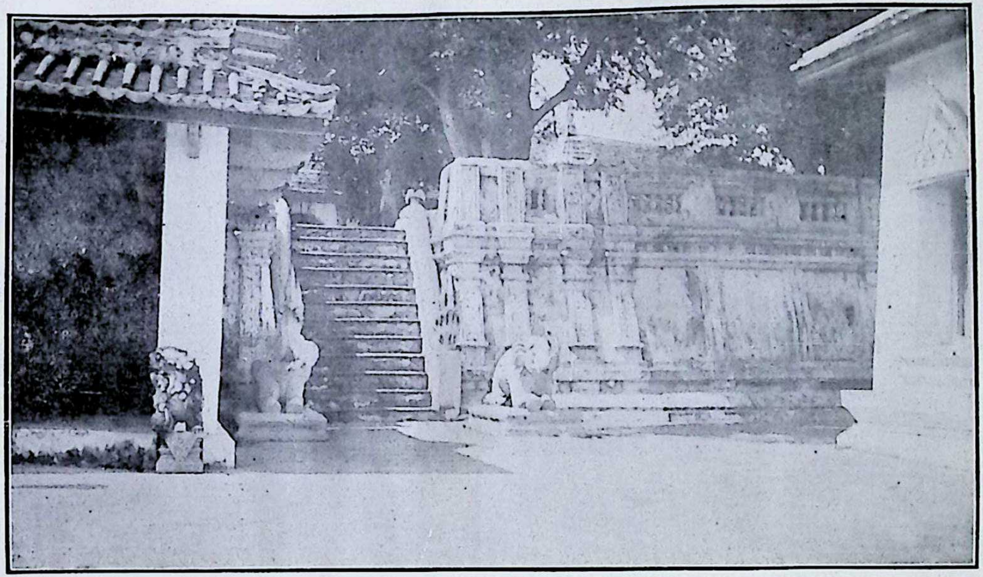

AT THE FOOT OF THE STAIRCASE IN FRONT OF THE EASTERN VIHARA, NAKON PATOM

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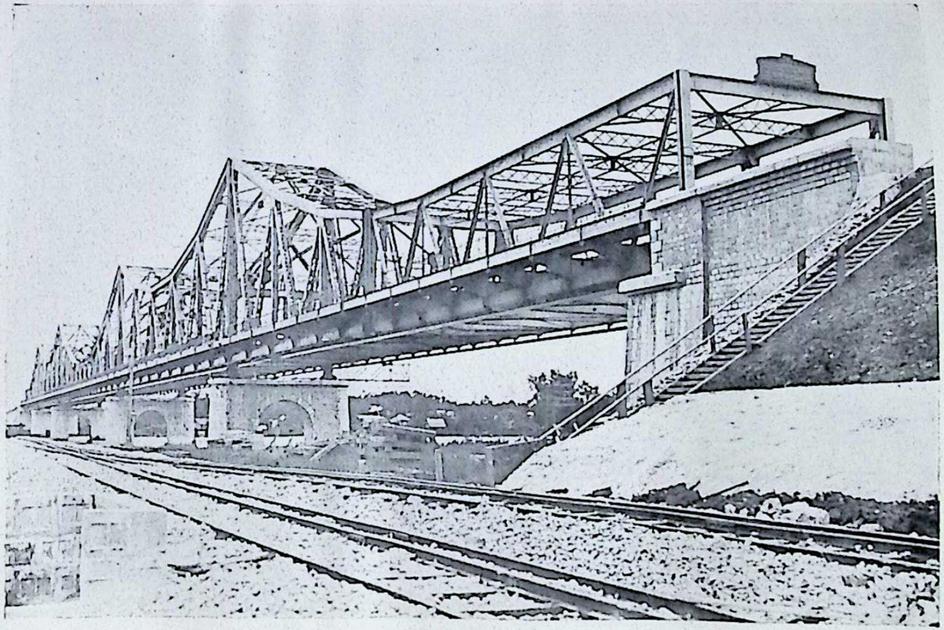

RAMA VI, BRIDGE OVER THE CHAO PHYA RIVER, BANGKOK

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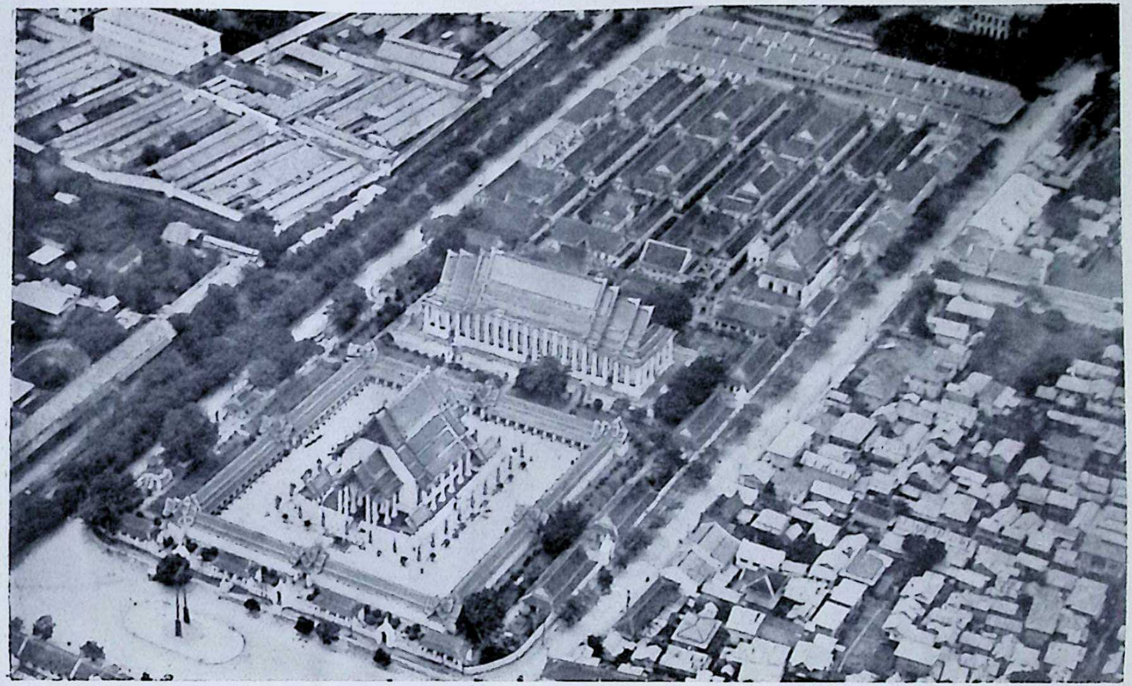

WAT SUDASNA, BANGKOK, TAKEN FROM THE AIR

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and it seems unsafe to draw conclusions from the averages of all the villages for the State as a whole." Whilst we may well grant him the benefit of this *caveat,* the student of the economic conditions in the State will probably be satisfied that the material here presented to him, even though admittedly incomplete, is, for the areas to which it applies, as exhaustive and instructive as that which any country has to show, and in advance of that available in many countries, whether in India or elsewhere.

The first point upon which one will seek for information is whether or not the average holdings are of an "economic" size. Making allowances for the big holdings of a few persons in the various districts, and differentiating between "dry" and "wet" lands, the first conclusion would appear to be that in certain parts the size of an average holding is below that which the estimates, whether of Dr. Mann or of Mr. Iyengar himself, indicate as an "economic holding." But Mr. Iyengar's enquiries show that a large number of *pattadars—i.e.,* direct holders under Government —who have insufficient land of their own, rent land from those with larger holdings and so manage to maintain themselves and their families. In fact, in many villages the number of landless labourers is so few that occupants of more land than they can cultivate with the aid of their own families often have no choice but to lease a part of their holdings to tenants. In final analysis, therefore, the conclusion appears to be warranted that "the great majority of the cultivators would have sufficient land to maintain themselves and their families at a reasonable standard of comfort, if they were tolerably free from debt and their land was unencumbered."

Families without land, either of their own or held as tenants, constitute about 30 per cent. of the total. After allowing for the skilled artisans, such as weavers, who are able to maintain themselves, the number of families obliged to earn their livelihood as agricultural labourers is about one-fifth of the total in Nanded and Warangal districts, one-fourth in Aurangabad, and only one-eighth in Raichur. As most of these belong to the "untouchable" community, "social custom exaggerates the economic disadvantages and helps to make the improvement of their condition difficult."

In regard to indebtedness, Mr. Iyengar has compiled separate statistics for land mortgage and other debt. As he points out, it is not possible to compile identical statistics for the two classes, since land mortgage debts follow the land, whereas the other debts are calculated according to the resident families, many of whom own land in other villages. For all the villages covered by the investigation the total amount of debt secured by land mortgage was only O.S. Rs.1,35,000* and the total of other debts somewhat over 5 lakhs. The amount of land hypothecated for debt is thus seen to be small. For the villages investigated in the six districts concerned the average debt per family (excluding land mortgages) varied from O.S. Rs.127 in Nizamabad to O.S. Rs.289 in Aurangabad, the other figures being respectively 171, 180, 198, and 260 O.S. rupees for Mahbubnagar, Warangal, Nanded, and Raichur. If land mortgages are included, and the number of families increased by those only involved in debts secured by land, the average total debt per family works out at 85 O.S. rupees in Mahbubnagar, 103 in Warangal, 104 in Nizamabad, 135 in Raichur, 139 in Nanded, and 150 in Aurangabad. These latter figures compare with an average total indebtedness per family in the "typical" village in the Bombay Deccan investigated by Dr. Mann of B.G. Rs.200 or about O.S. 233.† In so far as comparisons can be drawn from these figures, the situation in Hyderabad State on this very important point of the burden of debt would appear to be better than those in the adjoining districts of Bombay Presidency. With regard to the rate of interest, the general result of the Hyderabad investigation shows the maximum to be 24 per cent. per annum, which is low compared to the rates usually charged in other parts of India. Dr. Mann's figures are "from 12 to 75 per cent." with the majority of loans bearing interest at 20 per cent. per annum. Here again, therefore, the situation in Hyderabad compares favourably. The proportion of families entirely free from debt in the investigated villages is distinctly high: in Nanded there were 518 such families out of a total of 1,217; in Warangal 1,190 out of 2,203; in Aurangabad 395 out of 982; and in Raichur 366 out of 928 families. The average total indebtedness per acre is highest in Warangal—namely, Rs.12 to 13 per acre, the figure in the other three districts being between 7 and 8 rupees (O.S.). The higher figure for Warangal is attributed to the higher average value of the wet land in that district which enables higher loans per acre to be justified. The corresponding figure for Dr. Mann's "dry" village works out at 14 rupees (O.S.) per acre, so that in this respect again Hyderabad shows up well. Finally there is the question of the extent to which holders of land under Government have been dispossessed of their holdings, which was the main object of the enquiry. The only district in which transfers have taken place on a large scale is Aurangabad, where nearly 30 per cent. of the total cultivated area has passed out of the hands of the families who possessed it during the last twenty-five years. And here the rate of dispossession appears to be on the increase. Two-thirds of all the land so transferred has gone to persons who do not cultivate it themselves, and "nearly half of this area is being cultivated by the original occupants on tenancy terms which are usually harsh." In the other districts, however, the position is not bad. Although Raichur is known as a "famine area" the percentage of land transferred there during the last twenty-five years was only half that in Aurangabad, and more than two-thirds of the land so transferred went to persons who are now themselves cultivating it. In the investigated villages in Mahbubnagar and Nizamabad there was not a single case of transfer. In Nanded 5 per cent. of the dry and 6 per cent. of the garden land were, during the past twenty-five years, transferred otherwise than by ordinary sale. In Warangal only 9 per cent. of the dry but about one-quarter of the wet land passed out of the possession of its original owners, mostly to the *Deshmukhs* and other large landowners who dominate the economic life of this district. This process, whereby the desirable land in this district is gradually passing from the actual cultivator to the large landowner, who cultivates it by means of *bhagelas* or land serfs, is one of the many important matters upon which the report throws full light. The critical comment made upon it in Mr. Abdy Collins' introduction shows that it is a matter into which the Government of Hyderabad is looking closely.

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* Seven rupees of the State currency (O.S.) roughly equal six British Government rupees (B.G.)

† *Op. cit.* (Study No. 2), p. 117.

Taken generally, these reports disclose a state of affairs in the districts of Hyderabad State covered by the investigations which compares favourably with that in adjacent and other comparable areas of India. In undertaking this laborious task and carrying it to such an admirable conclusion, Mr. Iyengar and his collaborators have performed valuable work, of which Mr. Abdy Collins' introduction provides a helpful bird's eye view, whilst the provision of a full set of clear maps greatly facilitates the study of the material suppled.

II. Effects of World-Depression

How interdependent all parts of the world have grown in economic matters is forcibly brought out by the Report of the Customs Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government for the year 1340 Fasli (1930-31) which has just been issued. With its vast area, exceeding that of England (without Wales) and Scotland combined, situated in the heart of the Indian Peninsula, possessed of vast resources and having a predominantly agricultural population, it would have seemed safe to assume that, if the wave of world-depression had touched it at all, its effects would have been restricted to the comparatively limited industrial section of the population. The report in question shows that this is far from having been the case. The universal drop in the level of commodity prices and the resultant fall in the purchasing power of all peoples are shown to have impressed their mark upon the movements and the value of almost all commodities into and out of the Nizam's dominions, correspondingly depressing the Customs revenue of the State, as well as affecting the whole economic life of its people.

The fact is that Hyderabad is one of the largest producers of oil seeds in the world, almost 50 per cent. of the castor seed grown in India being produced in the dominions. Most of this is exported along with large quantities of linseed, groundnuts, and other oil seeds. The other main crop is cotton, which is largely exported raw. The world level of prices and the shrinkage in the demand for these articles could not, therefore, fail to affect the exports from Hyderabad, whilst a similar falling off in the prices and demand for dressed hides and skins had a like effect upon another important item of the State's exports. In addition, the agricultural season was unsatisfactory, the output of the principal crops being much below the normal, with the exception of wheat, which showed an increase of about 11 per cent. over the previous year. But if, as the report states, the character of the harvest ordinarily forms the main factor which determines the Customs returns, during the year under review "this subsided into comparative insignificance before the overwhelming factors which have disastrously affected the trade of the world since the last two years." In Hyderabad, the report continues, in common with the rest of India, "the prices of most agricultural commodities fell by at least 33 per cent., mainly owing to restricted overseas demand." For a time the price of *jawar* (large millet) in some tracts was as low as 35 to 40 seers,* and of wheat 16 to 18 seers, to the rupee. The suggestion that the poorer classes benefited by the low prices would not appear to be correct, "as a large proportion of the labouring population is dependent on agricultural operations, and is paid in kind." The smaller output of staple crops aggravated the situation, and to meet their normal obligations "the poorer classes had to trench on their small reserves and dispose of their gold ornaments, of which large quantities found their way to Bombay, *before* the price of gold rose appreciably." It is estimated, for instance, that in the course of some months from Gulbarga alone gold to the value of 25 lakhs of rupees, and from Nanded 3 lakhs' worth, was exported. The diminishing purchasing power of the masses within the State is reflected in the reduced imports.

By themselves these different causes which reduced the volume and value of both exports and imports would have adversely affected the State's revenue from Customs duties. But this tendency was intensified by the measures taken by the Government to ease the burden on the population as well as to assist trade and industry during their present difficulties. These measures fell under three heads. Many duties, not expressed *ad valorem*, were temporarily reduced to a considerable extent, in order to maintain an appropriate relation to the present depressed values. In other cases, with a view to developing local industries, duties were abolished altogether. Lastly, the Octroi levied on goods imported into the city of Hyderabad, Secunderabad, and Bolarum was completely abolished. In the first group of measures we find reductions in the import duties amounting to 45 per cent. on cotton, 62·5 per cent. on cotton seed, 33·3 per cent. on white and 20 on yellow *jawar* respectively, 25 per cent. on castor seed, 50 per cent. on groundnuts, and 20 per cent. on *til* (sesame). To encourage local industries the export duties on oils of all kinds, as well as on dressed and tanned hides and skins, were abolished, while the exemption from export duties formerly restricted to manufactures "made by hand or animal labour" was during the year extended to *all* manufactures, thus benefiting also the exporters of those made by machinery. Equally with a view to stimulating local industries the import duties were abolished in respect of dyes and tanning materials and of iron and steel (excluding corrugated galvanized iron sheets), brass, copper, tin, zinc, and aluminium "of all shapes," provided they were "not manufactured."

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* 2·057 lbs.

Enlightened in conception and helpful in their effect as these various measures were, they were bound to add to the causes, sufficiently serious in themselves, which tended to bring down the revenue for the year derived from Customs and the Octroi. In the aggregate this revenue was reduced from some 175,5 lakhs in the previous year to not quite 122 lakhs in that under review, a drop of 30·6 per cent. on the year, or one of 26·7 per cent. if compared with the average for the preceding five years. Of the total falling off in revenue compared with the previous year of 53,7 lakhs, some 17,7 lakhs, or about one-third, is attributed to the reduction in the value of imports and exports resulting from the general trade depression, while about 36 lakhs, or two-thirds, is accounted for by the above-mentioned special measures to aid local industries and generally relieve the situation of the people. To the total drop in revenue, reductions in or abolitions of export duties alone contributed to the extent of 29,37 lakhs, or well over half. It will thus be seen that so far as the Government had it in its power to lighten the burden which general conditions placed upon the people of Hyderabad, in common with those of the whole world, they made effective efforts towards alleviation.

Even so the reduced purchasing power of the population brought about a reduction in the aggregate value of commodities imported from 14,28 crores of rupees in the Fasli year 1339 to 9,88 crores in 1340, equal to a drop of 31·4 per cent., whilst the aggregate value of exports fell during the same period from 19,36 to 13,1 crores, or 32·3 per cent. In regard to exports, the most important decrease in duties was experienced under the heading of cotton with 25,77 lakhs of rupees, or 77·3 per cent. of the total decrease in export duties. But over three-fifths of this result was due to the reduction in the rate of duty from Rs.5 to Rs.2-12-0 per palla of three maunds.

The only appreciable increases occurred in regard to the imports of petrol, electrical goods, and cinema films. "The last two items," says the report, "represent luxury trades which have evidently not been affected by the general depression." It is a curious experience, also made elsewhere, that there are certain classes of luxury trades, both amongst those relating to popular and cheap, and to exclusive and high-priced articles, where the purchase of the superfluous continues long after that of the necessary has been pared to the bone. Cheap cinema entertainments at one end of the scale and high-grade diamonds at the other have been found to be among them. In Hyderabad electrical goods would apparently have to be included. With regard to petrol, it is interesting to find that the increased importation is ascribed to the steady expansion of motor-bus traffic. There is now in Hyderabad a network of motor-bus services which in many cases is competing with the railways. "I found," proceeds the writer of the report, "a motor-lorry carrying on hire 300 fowls, valued at Rs.168, from Sangareddi all the way to Bombay, a distance of over 400 miles." Even if the chickens from Sangareddi can vie in succulence with those reputed to come from Surrey or Bresse, it would seem an expensive mode of conveyance—unless, indeed, the lorry was in any event bound to return empty to Bombay! Nevertheless this increase in the use of commercial motor vehicles may well turn out to be of importance in the future development of Hyderabad State. At present the Customs revenue derived from rail-borne goods is almost ten times as large as that on goods conveyed by road where imports are concerned, and nearly five times as large in respect of exports. If the commercial motor vehicle succeeds in stimulating road traffic, especially in those frontier districts of the State which are not, or not adequately, supplied with railway facilities, this may well result in greater prosperity for the population and enhanced revenue for the State.

Mention should be made of the substantial falling off in the importation of gold and silver. The revenue derived from the latter commodity fell by 64 per cent. compared with the previous year, to which, however, the depreciation in value also contributed. But even gold imports decreased to the extent of 48,6 lakhs, in addition to which the number of sovereigns which were imported duty-free decreased from 74,417 to only 20,095. As these sovereigns are exclusively used for conversion into ornaments, this drop should be added to the one in dutiable gold, bringing the aggregate importation 57 lakhs below the figure for 1929-30 and 97 lakhs below that of the year 1928-29. These figures, together with the large export of gold previously referred to, says the report, "are a very fair measure of the depreciation in the purchasing power of the people during the last two years, as gold and silver mainly represent the savings of the masses."

Finally, for the consolation of those British manufacturers and exporters who may too exclusively ascribe the falling off in their trade with India to the vagaries of Congress and its adherents, it may be mentioned that there was, in Hyderabad, a decrease in revenue in respect of cotton, silk, artificial silk, woollen piece-goods, hosiery, durries, carpets, and rugs, taken together, due both to a reduction in the quantities imported and to a fall in prices, which latter in respect of both foreign and Indian piece-goods amounted to nearly 20 per cent., whilst the price of yarn dropped about 25 per cent. Another sign that part, at any rate, of the decreasing demand for piece-goods in India is due to poverty and not to ill-will will be found in the statement that out of the five weaving and spinning mills in Hyderabad State only four were able to operate during the year, and that their output was 14 per cent. less than the previous year in respect of piece-goods and 10 per cent. in regard to yarn, although in that year, too, only four mills had been working. Smaller demand for silk and a drop of 25 per cent. in prices also accounted for a falling off in revenue from that source.

Taking a broad view of the somewhat depressing details of the economic set-back which the people in Hyderabad State are evidently experiencing, some consolation may perhaps be derived from the knowledge that they share their predicament with almost the whole remainder of the civilized world (for in several of the uncivilized parts of the world people would seem to be about as comfortable as they were before). But there is one definite encouragement to be found in their own circumstances, and of that clear proof is contained in this Customs Report—namely, that the Government of Hyderabad are alive to the fundamental needs of the situation, and both ready and able to take all those measures which will afford such relief as it is within their power to give.

CIVIC UPLIFT AND WOMEN'S WELFARE IN KASHMIR

In these days when it has become the fashion to talk about rural reconstruction and village uplift, the equal urgency of urban reconstruction and civic uplift is apt to be overlooked. It is therefore not without interest to consider what has been and is being done in this respect in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, of which an interesting account is to be found in the recently published report dealing with municipal administration in that State.* All municipal committees in the State function under the provisions of the State Municipal Regulation which is based on similar Regulations in force in British India. In the capital towns of Srinagar and Jammu, the citizens of which are educationally advanced and therefore capable of knowing what steps are necessary for the good of the city, a greater measure of independence in management of civic affairs is possible than in the smaller communities. Thus of the 16 members of the municipal committee of Srinagar 8 are elected, 5 non-officials are nominated by Government, and only 3 are ex-officio members. The president, who is also the chief executive officer, is a whole-time paid servant.

Included in the committee's functions are the following activities: City lighting, water supply, drainage, and conservancy; sanitation, vaccination, and health propaganda; the supervision of markets, slaughterhouses and other public buildings and institutions, and the removal of dangerous and insanitary buildings. There is also a regular veterinary inspection of ponies and other animals that ply for hire, and the prevention of cruelty to animals is systematically fostered. The registration of births and deaths, the care of the City engineering works, and many other matters are also entrusted to the committee.

That it is not an easy task to make an old and conservative population living in an ancient town, the life of which extends over millennia rather than centuries, give up customs and modes of living which have received the sanction of time, is fully realized. Hence every effort is made to get the people to understand and appreciate the value of the various reforms which are introduced, rather than to force these upon a reluctant population. To this end lectures, illustrated by magic lantern slides, are given by health officers, health workers, and volunteers from among the people themselves on subjects such as "Healthy Living,"

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* *Municipal Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State*, 1931, by G. E. C. Wakefield.

"Personal Hygiene," "Cleanliness of Surroundings," "Origin and Prevention of Diseases," etc. Educative films on these subjects are shown and "Health and Cleanliness Processions" are organized. Finally, an active propaganda is carried on among the women, in which an annual "Baby Week" forms a popular item. This, together with a "Health Week," is made to coincide with His Highness' birthday celebrations. Not the least important feature of this "Baby Week," at which prizes are given for the healthiest baby, is that it is open to all infants, irrespective of social standing or religious considerations.

During "Health Week" the entire population of Srinagar is employed in thorough house-cleaning and general sanitary overhauling of the city, a process in which the Boy Scouts manfully assist. Dramatic performances and lectures are given with the object of impressing upon the public, especially women and children, the advantages of a cleanly life.

In this and other ways the municipalities in Kashmir strive to awaken the civic consciousness of the public in regard to health and hygiene, as well as to appeal to their humanity in respect of the treatment of animals. With every year that passes the scope of work of the municipalities increases, and as their responsibilities are still expanding it is only by such deliberate organization of civic activities as has been referred to that the civic sense among the citizens can be made to grow, so as to enable it to keep pace with the expansion of civic responsibility among their elected representatives.

But no reforms and no improvements can be permanent unless the women are reformed; for whether as wife or mother, women's influence in the family is all-powerful. And whether it be true that women in general are conservative, there can be no doubt that in Kashmir, at any rate, they are the stronghold behind which orthodoxy and superstition have fortified themselves. Attacks on this stronghold are made from various directions. The State Education Department has provided primary, middle, and high schools for girls. The Church Mission Society have their girls' schools which are doing very useful work. Women's Welfare Associations have been formed, of which the Minister-in-Charge of Municipalities is the chairman. These associations receive grants-in-aid from Their Highnesses and from the municipalities. Each association is divided into four sections, dealing respectively with matters concerning education, health, industry, and recreation. These associations are quite unofficial and have no connection with the Government of the State as such, whilst all the workers are honorary, excepting a few holding special posts, who are paid.

In Srinagar, under the auspices of the educational section of the association, a class of six girls and one teacher has grown into eight primary girls' schools and one tutorial service school for adult women which has nearly 500 pupils. This success is the more remarkable when it is borne in mind that these schools function independently of the State Education Department and education in them is imparted free. In addition to this, a normal school for women teachers and a high school for girls have lately been established by the State at the instance of the Women's Welfare Association.

The education of adult women is arranged by giving lectures with the aid of magic lantern slides and cinema films, and classes are organized for oral instruction in general knowledge and in matters of special utility to women. In order to carry education into the *homes* of women, who, in the majority of cases, cannot spare the time to visit lecture centres, volunteers are enlisted who teach women in their homes. As the success of this educational work among women depends upon giving them instruction in the vernacular, a full set of text books in Kashmiri for primary and secondary schools has been published.

A Women's League has been founded for the self-development of women and, principally as the result of its endeavours, a conference of Kashmiri Pandit women was, for the first time in the history of Kashmir, held at Srinagar, to discuss social reform. About 800 women attended. The entire management was in the hands of local women, many of whom are practically illiterate. The conference was an unqualified success.

In the Health Section, maternity and child welfare work is being vigorously carried on both educationally and on the practical side. Maternity nurses are being trained under a specially qualified midwife, and a system of stipends and prizes for good work has been inaugurated. A bathing centre has been established, to which is attached a baby centre where the health worker instructs mothers regarding clothes, feeding, and the treatment of small ailments of children. These centres are gradually being increased in numbers.

The Industrial Section aims at enabling widows and destitute women to earn their livelihood. Two centres have so far been established in Srinagar, where indigent women are taught plain sewing and embroidery. They are given wages for the work done and also provided with wool spinning work to be done at home, for which payment is also made. The embroidery work made by these women is sold not only in British India, but also in Europe, *i.a.*, by the firm of "Liberty."

In the matter of recreation, the park outside the city of Srinagar, presented by His Highness, is in daily use. It is also the centre of the activities of the Girl Guides and the Blue Birds. Much attention is paid in the schools to physical exercises and drill.

In Jammu, where welfare activities were started a year later than in Srinagar, there has been a ready response by the women, due to the fact that there are several Indian ladies in Jammu who are married to Indians who have been educated abroad and in consequence have a broader and a more advanced outlook. A very promising start has been made on lines similar to those followed in Srinagar.

In view of the prevalence of the *purdah* system among the majority of the people, such movements as these Women's Welfare Associations represent have to be conducted cautiously in India, but the results achieved in Kashmir, even in the short time that these associations have been in existence, are much beyond the expectations of those interested in this great work. They have found the women anxious to derive benefit from the opportunities for learning and for physical improvement afforded to them, and there is no doubt that they are not only benefiting in regard to their state of health and that of their children, but that the drab existence of thousands of women has been brightened.

The report would, therefore, go to show that both in their endeavours to foster a sound and growing sense of civic interest and responsibility and in those to improve the outlook and the lives of the women the Government of Kashmir is proceeding on sound lines.

TRAVANCORE: ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW RULE

To receive from an Indian State an Annual Administration Report which announces itself as the seventy-fifth of its kind, should in itself suffice to rouse in the recipient the impression of a long tradition of thoughtful administration and stir in him the curiosity to ascertain whether the events of the most recent period confirm such a vision. Still more will this be the case with the latest Travancore Report,* since it covers the last year of the Regency and therefore ushers in the period of personal rule by the present Maharaja. For the administrative year covered by this report ended in August, 1931, and it was on November 6 of that year that the young Ruler was invested with full powers. Thereby terminated the Regency during which H.H. the Maharani-Regent had guided the affairs of State in a manner which had justified Lord Irwin in saying that during Her Highness's period of Regency the highest proportion of advance in the steady progress of the State had been seen. It was on that same occasion that the then Viceroy described Travancore as "the Spice Garden of India" where live "a people happy and contented in their Arcadian surroundings, free from the fears of famine or want and from the ills which poverty so often brings in its train"; where "the security of life and property is proverbial and such that people generally prefer to travel by night."* If there is no doubt that in the latter respect the same conditions persist, how has the material progress of the State fared during a year when all parts of the world suffered from economic depression? Travancore has not escaped its effect, for, as the Dewan has stated, with the degree of economic interdependence of countries now attained, isolation is impossible and as a result the State's foreign trade has been adversely affected.† Every department of Government activity, in fact, has suffered from its repercussions. The arrears of land revenue increased and foreign trade decreased; receipts from forests and Government lands declined; there was a set-back in the excise and stamp revenues and the value of documents registered went down. The growth in the number of school-going children suffered a check and the arrears in cooperative societies accumulated. Consequently for the first time since nine years the current State revenue for the year exceeded the expenditure charged to revenue. From 247,23 lakhs of rupees in 1929-30 that revenue (excluding the sale proceeds of Government lands) fell to 227,18 lakhs in 1930-31, whilst the expenditure chargeable to revenue remained almost stationary at 239,41 lakhs compared with 240,31 lakhs in the preceding year. This shows for 1930-31 an excess of ordinary expenditure over similar revenue of 12,23 lakhs, as compared to an excess of revenue over expenditure during each of the eight previous years which averaged 13,79 lakhs per annum for that period. In addition to these items there were receipts from the sale of Government lands to an amount of 2,58 lakhs (previously 4,43 lakhs) and expenditure of a capital nature, not charged to revenue, of 14,43 lakhs, as compared with 15,91 lakhs the year before.

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* *Travancore*: *Administration Report* for 1106 M.E.

Taking a sound view of the whole situation the Government resorted to three kinds of measures: general retrenchment in all avoidable expenditure was immediately studied and enforced; a wide measure of relief from certain taxes, either by cancellation, reduction or postponement of payment, was provided and certain constructive steps for permanent assistance of enterprise were taken, among which the establishment of a Land Mortgage Bank occupies a prominent place. This bank is to be run for the present as a Government undertaking, the nucleus of the initial capital having been provided by a donation of one lakh of rupees made by His Highness the Maharaja upon the occasion of his investiture. The object of the bank is to supplement the operations under the existing Land Improvement and Agricultural Loans Regulation, and for that purpose to advance loans only for the liquidation of prior debts on land in the possession of the borrower and for the improvement of agricultural land. The rate of interest on loans has been fixed at 7½ per cent. per annum.

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* Lord Irwin's speech at the State banquet at Trivandrum on December 8, 1929.

† Address of the Dewan of Travancore to the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly on March 10, 1932.

Among the indications of the extent to which the general depression has affected Travancore, are the figures for external trade. Its total value which amounted to 21,13 crores of rupees in 1928-29 had gone down to 20,65 crores in 1929-30 and has slumped to as low as 17,31 crores for the year under review. Exports accounted for 56 and imports for 44 per cent. of this figure. The percentage of sea-borne trade again fell (from 31·6 to 28·73 per cent. of the total trade), but there was no fall in the tonnage of vessels that called at Travancore ports. In regard to the latter certain improvements were made in the pier and the storage facilities at Aleppey, the roads of which harbour were surveyed at the Travancore Government's expense by H.M.I.S. *Palinurus*, no material change in the depths being found. With regard to Cochin harbour, further progress was made by conferences between the interested parties, and the final decision of the Government of India is now being awaited.

If retrenchment has been the keynote in all the spending departments, this has not been allowed to interfere too drastically with expenditure upon the objects which contribute materially to the public welfare. Thus education with an outlay of 49,1 lakhs (previous year 42,2) still represents the greatest individual item of expenditure—namely, 23·6 per cent. of the total budget, public works coming next with 39,4 lakhs or 18·9 per cent. of the total.

The number of educational institutions in the State rose during the year by 58 and that of pupils under instruction by 7,010, thus bringing the aggregate for the latter up to some 580,000, as compared with barely 400,000 ten years ago, the intermediate period showing a steady rise each year. In addition to expanding the number of primary schools and increasing the scope of the higher education, also for women, vocational training was further facilitated by various State institutions, and special arrangements were made with the Hindu University at Benares to reserve a number of seats every year for Travancore students in the electrical engineering, industrial chemistry, mining and metallurgical courses, in consideration of which the Government of Travancore gave the University a donation of 1,25 lakhs of rupees and an annual grant of 10,000 rupees.

On public works 48,02 lakhs were spent, including 8,96 lakhs on capital account. What is described as "the phenomenal increase of motor traffic during recent years" has led to much widening of old highways and increased expenditure on maintenance, with the result that the expenditure on communications has risen from 15,74 lakhs in 1925-26 to 22,59 lakhs last year, so that it now represents well over half of the total outlay on works of all kind. One of the results is that the mileage of main roads increased during the year from 3,212 to 3,364. Protective irrigation and the Kodayan system, the most important irrigation work in the State, were further developed and maintained and progress on the Trivandrum water works scheme was continued. The Trivandrum electricity supply scheme was likewise considerably developed and the railway net in the State extended.

Another department in which expenditure increased was that concerned with medical and sanitary matters, on which 12,18 lakhs was spent as compared to 10,99 the year before, various measures to ensure public health and to counter the incidence of epidemics being taken, as the result of specially organized investigations into all the circumstances surrounding them. Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the State's activities in the medical field is the systematic organization of the *Ayurveda* Department.* The term *ayurveda* denotes one of the three systems of indigenous Indian medicine, the other two being *Sidha*, an offshoot of the former special to South India, and *Unani* which is of Greek origin and was introduced to India by the Muhammedan conquerors of the mediæval age through the medium of Arabic literature, the vehicle of *Ayurveda*—which is as old as the *vedas* themselves—being Sanskrit and that of *Sidha* Tamil. There are various methods of treatment according to ayurveda which has developed in different ways in different parts of India. In some herbal preparations are more prominent, metallic preparations being much valued in others. The *sastric* methods of treatment have also been considerably developed, while there are, in several places, experts in the curing of poison cases, eye diseases, jaundice, leprosy, rheumatism, etc. But in all methods a correct understanding of the *Tridosha* theory remains the most essential requisite for the physician. This knowledge has been preserved in certain families, among whom the *Vyskara* and *Cheeratamon* are well known in Travancore. From them many persons, irrespective of caste or creed, learnt the science and art of ayurveda, and these established themselves as medical practitioners in various places in the State.

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* The following particulars are derived from the *Ayurveda Department's Report* for the year 1106 M.E., by N. Nilakanta Pillai, Inspector-in-Charge of the Department.

The early beginnings of a Government department to supervise and develop this activity are to be found in the appointment, in 1875, of Mr. K. P. Moothatu to teach *Ashtanga Hridaya*, a course which was subsequently extended to four years, and thereafter only those who passed the "Vaidya test" at the end of it were allowed to practise as native physicians. The teaching and supervision were gradually extended, and in 1917 a comprehensive reorganization was undertaken which provided, *i.a.*, for a revision of the curricula of studies; the enlargement of the library; the increase of stipends; the appointment of a lecturer in modern anatomy, physiology, and hygiene in the Ayurveda College; the establishment of a botanical garden, of an ayurveda hospital and dispensary and of an ayurvedic pharmacy. From 1925 on the publication of ayurveda manuscripts was undertaken and a Vaidya pandit placed in charge of this work. It should be mentioned that more than twenty years ago the Ayurveda College was thrown open to students of all castes and creeds. Of the qualified "Vaidyans" trained in the college many have established practices outside the State, *i.a.*, in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and Ceylon. It would be interesting to have an unbiassed and competent opinion upon the working and effectiveness of this native medical organization, for the results claimed for it by the statistical records are excellent. Thus for the year 1930-31 the number of patients treated by the three ayurvedic hospitals and the ayurvedic vaidyasalas is given as 431,482, of whom 412,038 were reported to have been cured and 1,600 to have died, while 6,535 patients were still under treatment and 11,309 had left of their own accord. Whatever the views of the Western medical experts may be on the indigenous methods of treatment, it would seem that if such results can be substantiated, the value of these methods cannot be ignored, but deserves consideration.

There are many other matters of interest to be found in the administrative reports of this State which only considerations of space prevent us from reviewing, but a few words may be said about a certain aspect of the representative institutions in the country. The Legislative Council, upon whom the normal work of legislation devolves, was brought into existence as long ago as 1888, whilst since 1904 there has also been a Popular Assembly which affords to the people an opportunity of expressing directly to the Government their wants and wishes and their views with regard to administrative measures contemplated or introduced from time to time. It also serves the purpose of enabling the Government to learn at first hand how their actions affect the people and to secure the benefit of their suggestions. The scope and powers of these institutions have been gradually extended, and on the occasion of his investiture with full ruling powers, the present Maharaja promised to place the Popular Assembly on a statutory basis with enlarged functions and powers, a decision which is now in course of execution. As might be expected in a country where matriarchate is the rule, the representative institutions are "based upon the equality of the sexes in rights of franchise and election."* But it is interesting to find that in Travancore, as in other countries nearer home, the women do not appear to avail themselves extensively of these rights. Last year's elections for the Public Assembly were the first in which women participated, but only eleven went to the polls, whilst there was only one woman candidate and she was not returned.

To remedy this state of affairs the Government nominated five ladies to seats in the Assembly, but the fact itself shows that even in a country where the women are entrusted with extensive and important duties which they have long discharged with conspicuous ability, the utility of the paraphernalia of our much vaunted democracy is not at once overwhelmingly apparent to them.

For these, as for many other interesting facts which they contain, the administrative reports of these flourishing and progressive Indian States are well worthy of study. But "blue books" (whatever their colour) do not usually appeal to the general reader, and it seems, therefore, a pity that no attempt is made to cull from those published regularly by so many of the Indian States those facts which throw light on the human undercurrents of life in these countries, and to present them to the general public in a form which conjures up living pictures of the men and the movements that are so busily shaping these interesting communities with their vast aggregate population into the new moulds in which circumstances are gradually forcing them to fit. Not in any sense of propaganda or publicity, but as a matter of common interest to all the States, as well as to the general public in Britain, that seems a task which those responsible for managing the affairs of the Chamber of Princes might well consider.

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* Lord Irwin, *loc. cit.*

REALISTS IN CHINA

By O. M. Green

(Late Editor of the *North China Daily News*)

On March 3 the Japanese outflanked the Chinese defence at Shanghai, and the five weeks of hard fighting were over. On May 5, thanks to Sir Miles Lampson's skill in finding a formula that saved "face" on both sides, an armistice was signed. Only a week later the Japanese Government electrified the world by announcing the withdrawal of all its troops. To compensate for heavy destruction of life and property, China was left with the sympathy of the world and unexpected prestige won by the stubborn resistance of her troops, which has put new heart into her people. Once again a splendid opportunity is offered her of setting her house in order. What will she make of it?

The Japanese withdrawal was an exceedingly astute move. Everyone was convinced that they would never go without satisfaction on every point. But in securing what is virtually a neutral zone round Shanghai, and, yet more, in contriving to make an International Commission responsible for maintaining it, they scored a distinct success. The Chinese now are trying to deny the existence of a zone, but an annexe to the Armistice defines the positions in which their troops are to stay. The Japanese thus justify their constant assertion that they were drawn into a conflict at Shanghai reluctantly and quitted it at the earliest possible moment; they gain much-needed reinforcements for bandit suppression in Manchuria; and, by implication, they say to the Powers: "It is now for you to see what you can do with these troublesome people and to take the necessary steps for the stability of Shanghai, which, in fact, always was your business jointly and not ours separately."

It is obvious that the Armistice, though it has sensibly cleared the air, is no final settlement. All the old ingredients of trouble remain, unemployed students, boycotters, the Anti-Japanese and National Salvation Association, timorous judges perpetually threatened by soldiers and politicians—the Japanese invasion would never have occurred if the Chinese Courts had not been too terrified to convict the rioters charged by the municipal police—and in every province and district political organizations a law to themselves, bandits, and Communists digging deeper and deeper into the foundations of society. All this mass of combustible material must somehow be cleared away, or another conflict may flame out at any moment. Shanghai is still the danger-point. And the way to peace is made the more difficult because, while Japan insists that Manchuria and Shanghai are two separate questions, China declares that for a final settlement they must be treated as one and indivisible.

The key to the whole situation, both of peace in the Far East generally, and Manchuria in particular, lies in the internal condition of China. Had this unanswerable truth been recognized from the outset, much trouble and bloodshed might have been spared. It is quite impossible with knowledge of all facts to pass black-and-white judgments. That the Japanese had much excuse, is freely admitted by those most friendly to China. And as against the charge that the Japanese Generals took the law into their own hands, it must be remembered that, for two years before last summer's explosion, Baron Shidehara had been unweariedly seeking to conciliate the Chinese Nationalists and had reaped nothing but rudeness, pinpricks, and treaty violation. It is worth noting that, but for the quarrel with Japan, Nanking meant to abolish extraterritoriality last January, a flagrant violation of international law comparable to De Valera's repudiation of the Oath.

So much of China's maladies is due to the amazing smoke-screen which diplomacy and her own politicians have conspired to draw over them, that there can be no cure unless the facts are steadily recognized. It is, however, clear that the best Chinese leaders recognize them and are determined to do their best to set them right. The quarrel with Japan, the worst fears of which have so wonderfully failed to be realized, have given the Chinese a bad fright. They would not, of course, admit it, but the fact is apparent in many ways. Events have lent new courage and new authority to the realist faction, the men who at least two years ago had begun to realize where the root of discords lay. They have the hearty support of the business community who, as always in China's history, when things become really intolerable, appear to be rousing themselves to action. It is a significant fact that, during the Chinese postal strike in May, which was a revolt against what they declared to be political graft and depredations on the Service's pension and other funds, the Chambers of Commerce not only refused to help break the strike, but virtually forced the Government to compromise with the strikers on lines that promised to meet their grievances.

To make the picture clear, it is necessary to go back a little way. With the capture of Peking in June, 1928, China was nominally unified under the Kuomintang, in whom all authority was centred by the instrument of government adopted in the following October. (The Kuomintang are the party created by

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and bear the same relationship to Nationalism generally that the Communist Party in Russia bears to Bolshevism.) Without underrating the difficulties caused by intransigent generals all over China—"robber barons" as Dean Hewlett Johnston has truly called them—the Kuomintang grossly abused their power. They profited by the "period of political tutelage," prescribed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen for the instruction of the people in the arts of self-government, to bolster up their own omnipotence, have excluded the business classes from all share in government, rejected every attempt to have popular rights defined, and have got themselves cordially detested throughout China.

From early in 1929 General Chiang Kai-shek, supported by the most clear-sighted of the Party, began to denounce the tyranny and ineptitude of the Kuomintang. A succession of civil wars prevented any effective reform from being attempted, but, on the overthrow of the Northern Coalition in October, 1930, a People's Convention was announced for the following spring with a solemn promise that the Government should be recast on popular lines. This was the signal for open revolt by the purists, the champions of Kuomintang privilege and ascendancy. Canton broke away, declared a separate Government, and the usual "punitive expedition" against Nanking and all its works. It is a sufficient commentary on the mind of some Chinese politicians.

Except for creating new schism, the Cantonese could never have done Nanking much harm, but the conflict with Japan gave them their chance. A cry was raised against the Government's "weakness" with Japan, thousands of students invaded Nanking, beat up the Foreign Minister, wrecked Government offices and literally howled down the Government. A new administration was formed in December, nominally, it is interesting to note, on the model of our own National Government, but in which the realists were either excluded or placed under control, while the purists secured the control. On the outbreak of fighting at Shanghai, the new Government incontinently fled to Loyang (with a backdoor outlet still further to Sianfu if the Japanese should threaten to follow them into Honan), and at Loyang a part of the administration is still prudently entrenched. Meanwhile events have inevitably tended to bring the realists into power again, in fact if not in name.

Expressed in action, and even though repeatedly discomfited, the realists' efforts are worth noting. When, in April, 1930, the Northern Coalition, actively abetted by the Kuomintang purists, declared war on Nanking, General Chiang Kai-shek announced that he should not attack them, let them come and attack him if they pleased. Unluckily his northern defences in Anhui were not impregnable as he had believed, and fighting became inevitable. The People's Convention was held in May, 1931, as promised, in spite of Canton's revolt, and, although it achieved less than had been hoped, it did lay the foundations of a scheme of popular government. To the Cantonese rebellion General Chiang Kai-shek never paid much attention, but, confident that they could not get at him, spent the summer in trying to suppress Communists on the Yangtze. From the outset of the Japanese quarrel the realists were all for moderation and non-resistance which, notwithstanding the damage done to the Japanese at Shanghai, was unquestionably the right policy. Their hands were forced by the action of the Cantonese 19th Army at Shanghai, which they were wildly accused by their opponents of leaving in the lurch. Most important of all, they signed the Armistice. Only those who know the frenzy of the Chinese mob, the viciousness of political passion, the utter intoxication resulting from the successes gained against Japan, and the actual impotence of Government in China, can appreciate what resolution to brave unpopularity that means. The courage shown by Mr. Quo Tai-chi in putting his name to the Armistice, even though he had been smashed up by students the day before for daring to think of peace with the "dwarf slaves," and signed the papers in bed, is worthy of all admiration. It was a sad coincidence that Mr. Shigemitsu, the Japanese Minister, victim of a recent bomb outrage, also signed in bed, just before going on to the operating table. Surely never was an Armistice concluded under so much discouragement, yet with so much behind it that encourages.

The whole record lends substance to the statements of policy recently made from Nanking. Thus the *North China Daily News* gives much prominence to an interview with a high Government official, who emphasizes that "the keynote of the new policy will be conciliation." He defends the Kuomintang as the only organized party in China, the only barrier against complete chaos—there is certainly some justice in this view—but he admits that the strings of centralization have been drawn too tight in the past and "if certain provinces or provincial groups were inclined to adopt a particularist policy, there should be no attempt to coerce them." The Government will concentrate on internal reform in the districts over which it has undisputed control, and trust to the prosperity there produced to draw other districts into its orbit. "In short, the Government had come to the conclusion that the consolidation of the country in the political sense would be best achieved by the abandonment of any idea of using force to overcome opposition."

One is tempted to cry, "Saul among the prophets!" For at least three years Nanking's foreign friends have exhorted her to abandon her grandiose schemes of "bossing" all China, to understand that provincial opposition cannot be battered down by force, to concentrate all efforts on bringing peace and ordered government among the 170,000,000 industrious people of the rich Yangtze Valley—surely kingdom enough for any party—and now the lesson seems to have got home. If the Nanking spokesmen are sincere, and what has been said of the realists' previous efforts allows us to hope they are, then indeed a new China may arise, better than was ever dreamed of, from the ashes of Chapei and Woosung.

Moreover, the ever-spreading strength of the Communists is as great a danger as China has ever known. In recent months they have begun to spread formidably northwards, as well as south, of the Yangtze; they easily defeat, or worse still, win over the ill-equipped and ill-paid soldiers sent against them; and though the Chinese have no natural instinct for Communism, they are being driven in thousands to the Red Flag by misery, civil war, and crushing taxation.

In many opinions, Chinese as well as foreign, China will never win through to peace without help. That the Powers owe her a heavy debt can hardly be denied. Having forced open her doors and injected into her members the stimulant of Western restlessness, they have done nothing to appease the resulting fever, except (more to quiet their own consciences than with real regard for her well-being) to make her various concessions, which are equally inimical to her digestion and their own interests. Toward Nanking (as Mr. Lionel Curtis so trenchantly shows in that admirable book *The Capital Question of China*) they have shown themselves especially obtuse; having begun by recognizing its Government, they kept their Ministers 600 miles away from its walls, thus conspicuously robbing it of "face" before its opponents and depriving it of the valuable advice which a wise Minister—a Dwight Morrow, a D'Abernon, or a Walter Page—can give to the Government to which he is accredited. The time has come to make amends and the omens are not unpropitious.

To take in hand the whole of China is obviously a task beyond the power of any but the Chinese. But if Nanking will really be satisfied to concentrate first on the middle and lower Yangtze, it would be possible to lend her practical help. Something more solid is needed than the old innumerable figure-head advisers, and tact and skill in avoiding injury to China's "face" are essential if the assistance is to be effective. But the problem is not insoluble, given the right men to handle it, and, without going into details, it may be said that an idea has already been formulated by some who know China well for the restoration of ordered administration. As an inducement to a poverty-stricken world to consider it, the scheme does not involve heavy outlay in cash.

A special part of the whole problem is that of the future of Shanghai. This question is, of course, far older than the conflict with Japan and for years before it had been the subject of much anxious thought. In broad outline the question is simply this, that a once insignificant trading community has grown to be one of the greatest commercial, industrial, and financial centres of the world. The constitution which did very well for the small days of Shanghai is obviously unsuited now. A population of over a million Chinese in the foreign area naturally desires some effective share in its administration, while the Nationalists demand that, in common with all other foreign concessions, Shanghai must be surrendered to them. But "here's the respect must give us pause." Not only has Shanghai grown great through the security and rule of law afforded by foreign protection, but the continuance of these safeguards is actually of more importance to China than to foreigners. Shanghai is the backbone of her commerce and finance and the repository of vast Chinese treasure. Land values alone run to half a million sterling an acre; the Nanking Government has been kept going largely by loans which Chinese bankers were enabled to raise solely through the protection afforded them in foreign Shanghai; and any injudicious change in Shanghai's position, with China in its present anarchical state, would bring incalculable ruin on millions of Chinese, not to mention the many thousand foreigners whose whole livelihood is in Shanghai.

A resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations on February 29, and endorsed by both China and Japan, definitely looked to the calling of an international conference on Shanghai, and it is known that discussions to that end have been going on among the Powers. It is equally obvious that Shanghai cannot be left in its present uncertain state, which has already produced one holocaust and might easily produce another; and, at the same time, that the greatest care is needed to satisfy Chinese aspirations and safeguard the immense and complex interests involved. With the removal of the Japanese troops it ought to be possible to consider the whole question calmly and for Chinese and Western Powers, as reasonable men, to arrive at a fair settlement of issues so vital to all alike. The agitation of irresponsible politicians and Press against the proposed conference is as expected. There is, however, reason to believe that the best of the Nationalists and undoubtedly all the business classes are not unfavourably disposed towards it.

The question of Manchuria is too big for more than what must necessarily be a superficial notice. The declaration of independence early in March under the ex-Emperor Hsuan Tung as Chief Executive, barely two months after Japan had swept all the forces of the old administration from south and centre, naturally gave rise to the cry of "puppet Government"; and to this some colour is lent by the strenuous and costly Japanese operations against guerilla troops and bandits in north and north-east Manchuria, and the tribe of Japanese advisers in the new Government's offices. Yet there is much to suggest that the Government of Manchukuo has more independence than appears on the surface. For the Kuomintang and all their works the Manchurians have always had a peculiar loathing, and it is morally certain that the former Governor, Chang Hsueh-liang, would have been expelled before long on the plea of his "trokings wi' the evil one" in the shape of Nanking, even without the Japanese invasion. The new Government, too, contains some men of singularly high character, scholarship, and wisdom, the sort that China has lacked too long in her counsels, and such men are not incapable of keeping on good terms with the stranger in their midst, without allowing him to dictate. One thing appears certain, that while China remains in her present disordered condition Japan must remain the predominant power in Manchuria. That is an inescapable fact of physical necessity, geography, finance, and politics. But if China could set her house in order it may be believed that Manchuria, which after all is Chinese, would come back into the fold automatically, and Japan could not stop her.

Once again may it be emphasized, the keynote of all potential harmonies, of peace between China and Japan, of reunion between China and Manchuria, lies in China's hands and nowhere else. So often have the omens appeared propitious, so many wonderful chances have China's leaders been offered, only to fritter them recklessly away, that one may well hesitate to "prophesy smooth things." But at least we may look to the realists with guarded hopes, backed as they are by the whole-hearted prayers of the war-weary people.

THE INDIAN WHEAT TRADE*

By Parimal Ray, M.A., PH.D.

Since 1892-93 Indian wheat exports began to undergo a rapid decline. For over a decade from that date they reached a low water-mark, sadly in contrast with the rapidly developed trade of the previous years. During this decadent period of the wheat trade, exports, except in 1898-99, were invariably far below the average of the previous twelve or thirteen years. Not infrequently they touched a low level, reminiscent only of the days when the trade was still in its incipient stage. Sometimes, as in 1896-97, or to a lesser extent in the year following, the trade almost reached extinction. In 1900-01 it went practically out of existence. Indeed, we have to go back to the days before the Canal in order to look for as poor a record of wheat exports as actually took place in that year.

Yet the contrary should have been the case. The cutting of the great Chenab Canal in 1896 and the colonization of Lyallpur signified a far-reaching change, opening up enormous possibilities for the cultivation of wheat. What then was the cause of this stagnation and decay of the wheat trade? Did it in any way mean the fulfilment of the prophecy of evil which the opponents of the monetary change in 1893 ceaselessly expressed? The answer is emphatically in the negative. The unfortunate state of things described above was chiefly the outcome of deficient crops at home, or of abundant harvests outside, or, as sometimes was the case, of a combination of both sets of causes. Let us go a little more into detail. The progressive decline of wheat exports from 1892-93 till 1894-95 was, evidently enough, the consequence of poor, or at best average, yields in parts of India, at a time when there were unusually abundant supplies from the U.S.A. The year 1895-96 recorded a slight improvement over the previous year precisely because, while circumstances in other respects remained more or less the same, the Argentine supply was not up to the level anticipated. Again, the collapse of the trade in the succeeding year was to be accounted for by a very marked deficiency in the spring harvest of 1895, more especially because the shortage of wheat had come closely upon a poor yield of other crops in the autumn of 1895. Since the yield of 1896-97, too, happened to turn out somewhat subnormal, it was but natural that the position in 1897-98 did not show any but a very slight improvement. With an abundant domestic harvest and a shortage of supply in Europe, the trade quickly returned in 1898-99 to what was since 1881-82 its usual dimensions in all similar years. In the following year, however, it dropped once again to less than half that amount, obviously on account of shortage of domestic crops over a wide area. In 1900 the harvest again failed, and that in a more disastrous manner, and the situation culminated in a famine. It should, therefore, have caused no surprise if exports in 1901 were all but extinct. The trade was, however, quickly on its way to recovery as soon as the harvests of 1901-02 and 1902-03 turned more or less normal. But the process of recuperation after a period of distress was inevitably slow.

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* Continued from the April issue.

If seasonal conditions were thus primarily responsible for the moribund conditions of the wheat trade from 1892-93, the world-wide depression of wheat prices, caused by the rise of exports from Argentina, Russia, Roumania, and other sources of supply, was another accentuating factor. The depressing effect was especially felt on account of the emergence of the fresh source of powerful competition in the Argentine Republic. As late as 1880 that country used to import wheat, and even in 1889 and in 1892 exported no more than 23 and 470 thousand tons respectively. With a growing influx of Italian and other immigrants the land was quickly transformed from a pastoral to an agricultural stage. In 1893 it actually took rank as the third most important exporter of wheat, and on account of its comparatively lower costs of production became ever since a force to be increasingly reckoned with in the world's market of wheat.

Circumstances from 1903-04 were again quite favourable for the complete revival of our wheat trade and even of some measure of further progress. During the preceding eight years acreage under cultivation had suffered considerable restriction. It was in 1903-04 that the lost ground was once again fully recovered. Under the stimulus of propitious seasons and good harvests or, even when this was not the case, on account of fortuitous existence of strong external demand, exports in every year continued on the whole to be quite satisfactory. The only exception was the year 1908-09, when famine spread over the land on account of the disastrous monsoon of 1907, and as a consequence the internal prices rose to a point almost prohibitive of exportation. The average exports between 1903-04 and 1913-14 amounted to about 1$\frac{1}{5}$ million tons and stood much higher than the average between 1881-82 and 1891-92. The maximum of exports during the period was in 1904-05, which, with a total of about 2$\frac{1}{5}$ million tons in quantity, marked the highest point of wheat exports ever recorded in any one year. It is also satisfactory to note that, leaving aside the famine year of 1908-09, the trade, even at its minimum, did not in all these years fall far below the average of the period 1881-82 to 1892-93.

The decade before the outbreak of the war was, in fact, the period when the trade reached its zenith. Great as the progress was, the record of some other countries was even more remarkable. The rapidly developing exports from the new regions of virgin soil, Canada and Argentina, not only surpassed, but almost totally eclipsed our trade. Of the old important countries, shipments from America were steadily diminishing, but Russia and Roumania and the Argentine were expanding their exports with striking vigour. The consequence was that in the race with other countries we were more and more left behind. Thus, notwithstanding the larger size of our trade, our contribution to the world market during the pre-war decade was comparatively less important than in the eighties. In the pre-war quinquennium, when our trade was more brisk than ever, we actually ranked quite low on the list, coming behind Russia, Argentina, Canada, U.S.A., and Roumania, which stood in relation to one another exactly in the order mentioned. Australia, too, had meanwhile entered the ranks of the great exporters, and its position in the world market was only slightly less important than that of India.*

For some reason or other exports have since the beginning of the war far receded from the level reached in pre-war days. The narrative may, however, with advantage be interrupted at this point, even at the risk of some digression from our main topic, to refer to a misapprehension too often expressed from the platform and from the press. The quick development of wheat exports in past years was to many minds an unhealthy economic symptom, which was merely tantamount to growing diversion of the commodity from internal to external consumption. Or to put it in its popular version, there was less to eat in the country because more went out. There does not appear to be any evidence in support of this view. On the contrary, as far as any conclusion can be deduced from available figures, they clearly suggest a rising trend in *per capita* consumption. Statistics of crop yields are not available prior to the year 1890-91. No means therefore exists whereby we can arrive at any direct or satisfactory conclusion about the trend of *per capita* consumption in years preceding 1890-91. The course of events in subsequent years, that is, from 1890-91 onwards, is represented in the tabular form below.

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* The actual figures (in quintals) of average exports were, as we give below:

Russia, 42, 388, 698; Canada, 20, 207, 138; Roumania, 13, 362, 640; Australia, 11, 429, 726; Argentina, 24, 249, 756; U.S.A., 14, 510, 438; India, 13, 215, 997.

Five-Year Period Ended.	Average Yield. (Cwt.)	Average Export by Sea and Land. (Cwt.)	Average Import by Sea and Land. (Cwt.)	Average Nett Export. (Cwt.)	Average Available for Consumption. (Cwt.)	Average Population.	*Per Capita* Consumption. (Lbs.)
1894-1895	136,622,772	14,917,389	287,381	14,630,008	121,992,764	288,723,947	47.3
1899-1900	120,587,324	6,777,098	496,923	6,280,175	114,307,149	292,247,132	43.8
1904-1905	153,516,176	21,163,718	282,721	20,880,997	132,635,179	298,520,124	49.9
1909-1910	161,844,000	16,676,962	328,699	16,348,263	145,495,737	308,917,794	52.7
1912-1913	188,486,400	26,280,256	117,238	26,163,018	162,323,382	313,455,470	57.1

We have in the above table taken five year averages to obtain a result immune from the disturbing influences of good or bad seasons. Even yet we have not completely succeeded in eliminating the effects of weather conditions. The second average is pulled down by the predominant influence of years of scarcity and famine in which the period abounded. On the whole, however, it is quite apparent from the above that except during 1896-1900 there was, as time went on, a slow but steady and appreciable growth of *per capita* consumption of wheat.

Needless, perhaps, to add that the figures of *per capita* consumption shown above make not the slightest pretension to accuracy. It is to be borne in mind that they are based upon those relating to production, imports and exports by land and by sea, and the number of the population. Only if the basic data are all reliable and accurate can such a statement as that of the consumption per head be acceptable without reserve. In the particular case which is under present consideration such conditions are scarcely fulfilled. In the first place, the agricultural statistics employed in the table, especially for the earlier years, are far from exact. Owing to difficulties which beset collection of statistics, particularly in some of the Indian States, there always exists an appreciable margin of error in such figures. Secondly, on account of various reasons which we need not here specify, the land trade statistics are not sufficiently reliable and in some cases they actually include trade which is not really trans-frontier, but purely internal. Thirdly, computation of average population on the assumption of a uniform rate of growth of numbers throughout the inter-censal period is doubtless arbitrary. It has most obviously resulted in overstating the *per capita* consumption during the period ending 1912-13. Towards the close of the decade leading to the census of 1921 there was unusual mortality on account of an epidemic of influenza. The increase of population from 1911 to 1913, estimated on the basis of the rate of increase between the census of 1911 and that of 1921, is consequently somewhat under-rated and, for the matter of that, the *per capita* consumption figure for the period is over-estimated.

What, however, we are concerned here to show is not the quantity actually consumed or even the actual rate of the growth of consumption, but the mere fact of increase. Inaccuracy of statistical data and calculation of average population by a rough-and-ready method of interpolation may to a certain extent impair the value of strict comparison of per head consumption between one period and another, but do not certainly call into question the broad, fundamental fact of a rising trend in consumption. It may, however, be argued, and quite rightly, that it is only in certain regions that people subsist chiefly on wheaten diet, so that an estimate of per head consumption based on the total population of India is unreal and somewhat misleading. Nevertheless, it will also at once be conceded that in the absence of any evidence that the increase of population in the wheat-consuming areas has been strikingly at variance with the rate of growth of population in the country as a whole, there exists no reason to question the validity of the conclusion we have drawn.

The fact of growing wheat consumption is after all quite in consonance with what is to be expected. In India both the quality as well as the quantity of food depend upon the degree of prosperity existing among the poorer classes. With the slow elevation of the standard of living, especially in the new region of the Punjab, wheat has naturally been consumed on a more liberal scale and by a wider range of people. Darling in his book entitled *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* testifies to the increasing consumption of wheat among the thriving peasantry of the Punjab. "Maize, millets, and barley," he writes, "are still consumed in their season, but to a much less extent than before, and there are many who use nothing but wheat all the year round." Evidence, both official and non-official, widely supports this view, not merely with reference to the Punjab, but to some extent even as regards other places, where wheat is becoming increasingly popular as a staple food.

(*To be continued.*)

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN JAPAN

By HUGH BYAS

(Formerly Editor of the *Japan Advertiser*, and now Correspondent of *The Times* in Japan)

HAS Japan, after all, assimilated the Western institutions of representative government which the Constitution of 1890 conferred on her by Imperial decree? In an article contributed to the *Asiatic Review* in July, 1931, the writer, with but little hesitation, suggested that she had: "In those forty years the half-million voters have become 13,500,000; the consultative assembly has become party government. The development seems to testify to the inherent soundness of the representative principle, and it proves that the Japanese have been able to acclimatize the familiar institutions—elections, electorates, parties, and legislative chambers—in which the principle is embodied."

Most of the politically-minded Japanese of the writer's acquaintance would at that time have agreed with him. No less a constitutional authority than Prince Saionji, the Emperor's highest political adviser, may be cited in support of this view, for during the last eight years he has made a practice, whenever a Government fell, of recommending the Emperor to send for the Leader of the Opposition. But confidence that Japan had found in party government a political instrument suited to her needs and capacities has been shaken by a succession of conspicuous events. Almost any thoughtful Japanese will say today that the country's political system has fallen short of expectations. Public unsettlement is reflected in current talk about a Fascist system and in the credulity with which rumours of an impending military *coup d'état* were circulated a short time ago.

In vague but significant phraseology one hears of a "second Restoration" movement now fermenting in the minds of the younger officers. The name is too magniloquent; yet the mental unrest of the pre-Restoration period is being reproduced today. That unrest was reactionary in appearance and anti-foreign on the surface. It actually brought forth a great liberalizing movement which with incredible speed and smoothness struck off the fetters of feudalism and started Japan on her career as a modern Power. Has the liberalizing impulse spent itself? Is a phase of natural reaction beginning? Be the answer what it may, one does not talk to many Japanese today without discovering a general conviction that the party system must either be reformed or drastically changed. Younger politicians of both parties cannot help sharing those views, and groups of them are preaching the necessity of reforming the parties from within. The Japanese are not saturated as we are in party spirit. Every Japanese boy and girl is not born a little Liberal or a little Conservative. Effective public opinion, which is the opinion of a relatively small number of officials, peers, bankers, business-men, journalists and intellectuals, is essentially non-party. The whole press is non-party, a singular feature of Japanese political life which almost in itself explains the weakness of party government. This absence of a tradition of confidence in party government not only makes it easy for the exponents of novelties like Fascism to gain a hearing, but creates a possibility that the ultimate solution may be something quite different from the synthetic version of representative government which Japan for forty years has been trying to acclimatize. But it should be added at once that though Fascism is in the air, it is an emotion without a body. There is no organized movement, no programme, no conspicuous or important leader. It is merely the reverse side of disgust with party politics and uneasiness over the discovery that the politicians cannot govern in time of crisis. At present opinion is fluid; currents are flowing in different directions, for the most part blindly.

The explanation of this state of mind is simply the history of the past nine months. Since September 18, Japan has been more continuously "in the news" than at any period of her history except during the Russian War. By a curious fiction, which all sides accept though it exposes modern "democratic" diplomacy to the charge of being more hypocritical than the "old" diplomacy, neither the Manchuria nor the Shanghai affairs were "war." Be the name what it may, the affairs were serious enough. In Manchuria a new Government was set up and Japan committed to its support for an indefinite period. Shanghai was far less important—experienced and conservative Japanese, not lacking in national feeling, can already be heard calling it a blunder—but it required an expeditionary force of 70,000 men. Yet during the course of those events of crucial importance to the Japanese nation the Imperial Diet was not summoned from start to finish except for a perfunctory and belated special session of three days reluctantly called by the Government at the instance of the Privy Council in order to vote supplies.

A general election was held in the midst of the Manchuria trouble, but was so palpably unimportant that the prefectural authorities had to issue posters urging the people to vote. Popular indifference was easily explained. It was no secret that the initiative in Manchuria (and later in Shanghai) rested with the army, and the public seemed content to have it so. The part the army played can be explained by the privileges the constitution confers upon it; and the army, the main repository in a bewildered age of the old loyalty and discipline, is more trusted by the people than the politicians whom they have elected. So the whole nation saw far-reaching Imperial policies, involving present risks and future obligations of the most onerous kind, prosecuted without reference to representatives of the people. The manner in which the Cabinet was overthrown in the midst of those great events, without its fall having the slightest influence upon them, was the final evidence of the impotence of the party government system. It is worth describing as a text-book specimen of the causes which caused a Tokyo leader-writer to say in May that when next the Diet assembled it would do well to consider whether "a vote from the nation of no confidence in the parliamentary machinery" had not more urgent claims on their attention than a vote of no confidence in the Government.

At the time of its fall the Cabinet's power was outwardly unimpaired. A general election twenty-six months earlier had given it a substantial majority of the whole House. It seemed to be popular. The excitement over Manchuria had evoked some Jingo criticism of Baron Shidehara's "weak" foreign policy, but Baron Shidehara revealed no sign of weakness in his conduct of the international questions aroused by the incident, and his patriotism was as unquestionable as his diplomatic skill. An incipient movement for the formation of a super-party or bureaucratic Cabinet, supposed to be stronger than a party Cabinet, appeared among some elderly retired officials but met with little support and was quietly dropped. Suddenly Mr. Kenzo Adachi, the Home Minister, stated in a newspaper interview that he considered a coalition Cabinet necessary in the national interest. His colleagues unanimously disagreed, and Mr. Adachi professed to have abandoned the idea. A month later he revived it, with an ally in the person of Mr. F. Kuhara, an important member of the Opposition. The combination was formidable, for presumably Mr. Adachi and Mr. Kuhara between them could have mustered a majority of the elected House. The Cabinet refused to be a party to a coalition, which, as it transpired, would have meant the sacrifice of Mr. J. Inouye, the Finance Minister, and abandonment of the gold standard of which he was a tenacious defender. Mr. Adachi maintained his point of view. A determined Prime Minister, with a majority behind him, might have advised the Emperor to dismiss the Home Secretary, but Baron Wakatsuki shrunk from such a bold course. Nor did he attempt the expedient of tendering the Cabinet's resignation *en bloc* and re-forming his administration without Mr. Adachi. This method of getting rid of an unruly colleague has never been tried in Japan. The Cabinet found no way out of the difficulty except by resigning.

On Prince Saionji's advice the Emperor sent for Mr. Inukai, Leader of the Opposition, who promptly formed an administration. Next day, a Sunday, the new Government, as its first act, reimposed the embargo on the export of gold. So hastily was the step taken that it was not discovered until afterwards that the semi-official Yokohama Specie Bank had made forward sales of dollars which had to be covered by further shipments of gold. Opinions differed at the time as to whether it was expedient, or even possible, to remain on the gold standard. Local foreign bankers were of opinion that the measures taken by Mr. Inouye would have enabled Japan to remain on gold for some time longer, and would, moreover, have checked speculative dollar purchases. As it was, huge profits were made by the dollar buyers, and the Japanese press named them and estimated the amounts of their profits. The Press commented caustically and some Labour agitators demonstrated in front of private banks. But the public made no sign that it was excessively surprised or shocked, and at the election which followed soon afterwards the electors gave the Seiyukai an even larger majority than the Minseito Government which an intrigue had displaced.

The Manchurian question played no part in the overthrow of the Government and little, if any, in the election campaign. Both parties were equally patriotic. The Seiyukai (Opposition) attacked the "weak" China policy of Baron Shidehara, but a Japanese journalist, analysing the causes of their victory, commented contemptuously: "The average voter knows that this is essentially not the Seiyukai's but the army's policy and that it will remain unchanged whatever party is in power."

The significant feature of the affair is the ease with which a Cabinet with an ample majority was displaced. Presumably the Adachi-Kuhara combination was considered strong enough to disrupt that majority, but the session was still six or eight weeks distant. No steps were openly taken to test the extent of the risk; no resistance was offered, either by meeting the House and facing a vote of confidence or by advising the Emperor to dismiss Mr. Adachi. When he was subsequently obliged to resign from the party whose lease of power he had so abruptly terminated only nine henchmen followed him. When the Seiyukai formed a Cabinet Mr. Kuhara was not given a post. In the Seiyukai itself there appeared no evidence of substantial support for the coalition proposal.

Prince Saionji's "civilian" principles and his devotion to representative government cannot be questioned. For more than a decade he has been the last surviving Elder Statesman and supreme political adviser to the Throne. In recommending Prime Ministers to the Emperor he has treated the party system as the working machinery of Japanese government. The vernacular press has assumed, apparently with reason, that Prince Saionji believed that the development of party government was making his own office obsolete, and that a stage had been reached in which, as in England, the Leader of the Opposition would almost always be the next Prime Minister. In this case Prince Saionji sent for Mr. Inukai, leader of the Seiyukai. In so doing he was faithful to Parliamentary practice, but he would have been faithful to the spirit of representative government had he sent for the leader of the majority. What would have happened if Baron Wakatsuki had been commanded to form a Government? No one can say with certainty, but there is no visible reason why he should not have re-formed the old Administration with a new Home Minister. Mr. Adachi might have been able to detach from the Minseito a sufficient number of members to destroy its majority. But that is a surmise. The destruction, unresisting, of a majority Cabinet, is a concrete fact. And it did not seem to occur to anyone that open resistance, carried to the floor of the House and if necessary to the constituencies, was the correct thing to do if Parliamentary and majority government was a reality.

When manhood suffrage was granted six years ago its advocates hoped that the enlarged electorates would dismiss many of the old war-horses who owed their seats to their grip of the party machine. It was also hoped, with apparent reason, that bribery would become a practical impossibility among electorates of 50,000 voters. Both hopes have been disappointed. A succession of disgraceful brawls in the lobbies of the elected House in the 1931 session deepened the contempt felt for the Diet by those Japanese who form what I have ventured to call the effective public opinion of this country. Without attempting to define the exact degree of initiative exercised by the army in the Manchurian incident, it may at least be said that the Cabinet, even in the eyes of the man in the street, was not exercising leadership, and unity seemed frequently to be preserved by the chief civilian ministers acquiescing in what the army had done. It is true that the public was perfectly satisfied with the army's vigour. Even those Japanese who took longer views believed that Chinese provocation and procrastination had made strong measures necessary, and they hoped that when the military phase was over the civilian elements would gradually recover control of events. That hope still holds good, and doubtless it will eventually be fulfilled though the new Government has revealed so much ineptitude—in the unseemly squabbles over the Home Secretaryship and the Presidency of the South Manchuria Railway—that but little confidence in its authority remains. But the cumulative effect of military events, added to the manner in which the late Cabinet was ousted and humiliated notwithstanding its majority, has caused many Japanese to lose their faith of a year ago that the progress made in developing Parliamentary government was more than sufficient to offset the weaknesses of politicians.

Their doubts are reflected in the sudden interest in Fascism which the newspapers and magazines display. Open evidence of a search for something new is the division of the Labour movement into Social-Democratic and National-Socialist wings. The Labour movement is numerically insignificant and politically powerless, and no prominent public men have taken part in the "Nazi" movement. All one can say is that within the circle of effective public opinion, the failure of existing institutions is generally admitted, though the remedy is not yet seen. From the discontent aroused by this discovery comes the talk of a new restoration which shall do for Japan in the twentieth century what the restoration of 1868 did for the nineteenth century empire. The increasing difficulty of living, the wealth of the new capitalist class, are causing social discontent of which Japan's handful of Marxists are by no means the true representatives. Rather are these to be found among the young army officers who boast of their frugality and their loyalty and condemn the politicians. Such a phrase as "Imperial communism" can be heard. What it means may be illustrated by the remark of a staff officer that Manchuria, in its new status for which the army claims credit, must be developed for the benefit of the people and not of the capitalists. "The Japanese soldiers who shed their blood in Manchuria were the sons of poor families. The country must be developed in such a way that they will profit by it. Capitalists and politicians must not be allowed to seize rights which belong to the people of Japan," said this officer. The influence of the Russian example is obvious. One may suppose that though those loyal Japanese officers are irrevocably opposed to communism, they are impressed with the idea of a state developed by its Government ostensibly for the good of the whole people.

But though the Japanese character has a strain of violence, it is fundamentally cautious and conservative. The Japanese, moreover, whose character has been built upon the family system, have a rooted habit of taking no important step until general unity has been reached. Trained, as Brinkley wrote, "to anticipate compromise as the issue of every dispute, the Japanese carry the spirit of concession into all controversies, and thus neither in the story of the individual nor in the history of the nation can the student find many examples of that fiercely implacable assertiveness which conviction begets in an Occidental."

The ultimate outcome of the present ferment none can predict. It may pass away leaving no greater changes than some modification of the political system. The writer is inclined to anticipate a period of drift, and every additional month of peace in China and Manchuria will help the country to drift with safety. Possibly we shall see a return to the former habit of seeking Prime Ministers among eminent administrators and generals rather than among party politicians. There may be a reversion to the original idea of treating the Diet as a consultative assembly rather than as a sovereign legislature. The parties are not really parties in the English and American sense but blocs assembled around different leaders. They have coalesced into two sides because it has been found that the parties which commanded the majority in the elected House formed the Cabinet and obtained the loaves and fishes with which the leaders reward their followers. A system resembling that of the German Empire in which the Emperor appointed an Imperial Chancellor and the Chancellor made terms with the blocs would seem better suited to Japan at the present stage of her political evolution than a two-party system.

When institutions everywhere are changing under the stresses of a new age it need not surprise us that political machinery adapted from the West should have failed to meet the needs of Japan. What is essential is that she should develop a system congenial to her traditions and habits of thought and which she can work. Those who know Japan best have little fear that, given a relaxation of the strain of the past nine months, her habitual caution will prevail. The homogeneity of her people, their discipline and loyalty and devotion to the State, are great assets.

THE ETHNIC FORMATION OF THE TURKISH PEOPLE AND ITS PRESENT ROLE AMONG THE NATIONS

By A. Rustem Bey (*formerly Turkish Ambassador to the United States*) and Djelal Nouri Bey (*Deputy to the Grand National Assembly*)

The changes that have occurred in the situation, internal and external, of Turkey, with and since the conclusion of the Treaty of Lausanne, constitute, in our opinion, the most remarkable of all the revolutions produced by the World War in the condition of the different peoples of the globe. From an Empire, she has become a strictly national State, from a theo-autocratic community on the Islamic model, a lay Republic on ultra-modern lines. Breaking completely with her Oriental and Mussulman past, she has not only adopted the institutions of the West, but become thoroughly occidentalized in spirit. Instead of being the seat of chronic internal trouble, order and tranquillity reign today in her midst. Instead of being the object of the contempt and ill-treatment of the West, which spoke of her as the "Unspeakable Turk" and had practically outlawed her, she enjoys the respect and goodwill of this, the dominant and dominating section of humanity, and has been adopted by it as a member on terms of perfect equality.

She has undoubtedly become the leading Power in the Balkans. Ismet Pasha's visit to Athens, Buda-Pest, and Trieste, which had been preceded by the visits of Signor Grandi, Count Bethlen, and Mr. Venizelos to Angora, was in the nature of a triumphal progress. The ovations with which he was honoured, especially in the Greek capital, and the compliment paid to Turkey by the selection of Constantinople as the meeting place of the second Balkan conference, are among the latest manifestations testifying to Turkey's rehabilitation and her rise in the estimation of the civilized world in the brief period of seven years.

Of the imperialist ambitions harboured against her until quite recently no more is heard. What is practically the treaty of alliance (exclusively defensive) concluded between her and Italy and Greece, on the initiative of the former Power, shows that she has ceased to be considered an irremediably decadent nation destined to fall a prey sooner or later to this or that expansionist Power, and has assumed in the eyes of the civilized world the character of a factor of progress, order, and stability, and the value of an international asset to be preserved in the interest of all, while her inclusion in an international combination at the special invitation of a nation of the first rank, marks her as a country credited with the possession of an appreciable amount of power.

In other words, Turkey has obtained from the West her letters of grand naturalization, the *droit de cité*, withheld from her so far. She has been introduced into the European Concert in a much more real sense than in 1856. This has conferred on her to the extent that it exists—and it does exist in no small measure —the immunity from imperialist aggression which the members of this privileged group of nations have tacitly recognized to one another.

Apart from the importance that Turkey has acquired, thanks to her consolidation as a State, she possesses an intrinsic importance inherent in the special conditions of her existence, the two designating her for the accomplishment of a rôle of considerable significance in the international field.

Consequently, the ethnic origin and formation of the Ottoman Turks,* the characteristics and potentialities of this Mussulman people, that had come from Middle Asia and which has identified itself so completely with the West, cannot fail to interest the historian, the ethnologist and the political student.

So far, the beginnings of the Turkish race, considered in its *ensemble*, its genesis, have defied all investigations. In reality, the subject does not seem to have occupied many savants. The modern Turkish people itself has remained until quite recently indifferent to its remoter past. The immense historical material amassed in the country in the course of its existence is silent on this point. The West, which has studied the East much more seriously than the latter has studied itself, has shown the same indifference to it. Tzarist Russia is the only non-Turkish country which had given any importance to it before the war. But though a considerable amount of valuable information was collected in the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it throws no light on the origin of the Turks. It was in the course of the year 1931 only that a *Comité d'Etudes de Turcologie* was founded in Paris, of which the presidency was offered to and accepted by Mustapha Kemal, who has taken a great interest in the subject.

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* The name "Ottoman" has been officially tabooed by the Kemalist régime because of its close association with the absolutism of past history and because it was made to include the subject races of the Empire, this giving rise to regrettable confusions. This will not prevent us from using it whenever we want to make a distinction between this branch of the Turkish race and the others.

Being in its infancy, this committee has not achieved much as yet.

We ourselves are not competent to deal with this question. In this essay we will confine ourselves to the task of analyzing that phase of the ethnic history of the Ottoman Turks, which begins with their installation in Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth century and closes towards the end of the seventeenth century, and in the course of which this people assumed its definitive ethnic complexion, which is radically different from that of the time of its migration westward. Although a flood of light illuminates this chapter of the Turkish annals, it is very imperfectly known in the West. A mass of false notions are still in circulation in Europe, and even more so in America, concerning the physiological, psychological, and intellectual constitution of the Ottoman Turks. Our object here is to describe in detail the metamorphoses undergone by this people in the course of the centuries and, generally speaking, to emphasize the basic conditions of its existence. Having thus established the true facts of the case, we will define the significance of its rôle as a factor of the international equation.

The Turkish race—the term being taken in its most comprehensive meaning—has been called the Touranian by the Persians, its neighbours in Middle Asia, to distinguish it from themselves. In the mouth of the latter this denomination had a pejorative sense. The Persians, like the ancient Greeks and Romans, considered as barbarians all the peoples who did not belong to their stock. Western ethnologists prefer the designation of Uralo-Altaic, which applies to the remoter periods of the formation of the Asiatic peoples, when a more comprehensive perception can be obtained of their respective origins.

The Touranian race, as it is also called in Turkey (no importance being attached to the unfavourable meaning the Persians intended this designation to convey) is divided into four political and social groups. Commencing our enumeration from the East, the first group, which is also the most important, is that which inhabits Turkestan, a vast region situated between China (which includes a section of it) to the East, Siberia to the North, Afghanistan and Persia to the South, and the Caspian Sea to the West. Many cities famous in ancient history, today of lesser importance, such as Bukhara, Khiva, Merv, Tashkent, Yarkout and Gazna, are its principal centres of population. The second group, which is a continuation of the first, geographically speaking, is that of the Azerbeydjanis, who occupy the southern and western shores of the Caspian, a narrow stretch of non-Turkish territory dividing them into two sections, one of which is in Persia and the other in Russia. Third comes the group of the Northern Turks, as they call themselves, who settled around the estuary of the Volga and along the banks of this river far into the interior of Russia. Fourth and last is the group of Ottoman Turks, the most important of all and the only one enjoying independence, which occupies, in Asia, Anatolia in its entirety and, in Europe, Eastern Thrace with Constantinople, these two territories forming the new State known as "The Turkish Republic." To this group of independent Ottoman Turks should be added, however, the populations of the same denomination in Western Thrace, where they form the majority, in Bulgaria, in the Dobrudja (Roumania), and in the islands of the Western Mediterranean, which remained fastened to the soil of their ancestors in more or less numerous knots during the reflux of the race eastwards determined by the retaliatory onslaughts of the conquered Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbians whose arms were crowned with success in the Balkan War. Two other groups of Ottoman Turks have survived, one in Syria in the region of Aleppo, the other in Irak in the region of Mossoul. This gives a total of about 15,000,000 Ottoman Turks: 12,000,000 in the Turkish Republic and 3,000,000 scattered in the way just described.

We do not include in the Touranian race the Tartars of Russia, who also call themselves Turks, but whose connection with the Turkish mass dates back to earlier times. The Bulgars and Magyars (Hungarians), on the other hand, are authentically Touranians. But their connection with the Asiatic Turks was severed many centuries ago, radical differences of religion, language, and culture having opened a chasm between the two categories. The consciousness of community of origin has, none the less, survived among them, this giving rise in latter times to a sentimental *rapprochement* between these two peoples and the Ottoman Turks.

The four groups of Touranians all speak Turkish (Turktché), an agglutinative tongue whose mechanism is the same as that of Japanese, but with a totally different vocabulary. The Ottoman Turks, however, without introducing any modifications whatsoever into the basic formation of this language, have combined it in the most ingenious and artistic manner with Persian and Arabic, and in this way what is taken from these languages is made to dovetail with Turkish, being removable like the pieces of a set of dominoes. In fact, Turkish serves as a net whose meshes are filled in with Persian and Arabic expressions and idioms as well as rules of syntax, these adjuncts being used or not at will. Ninety per cent. of the vocabulary of this reinforced Turkish language is Persian or Arabic. In this manner Turkish has assumed the character of a totally new idiom, to which Redhouse, the great Turcologist, gave the name of Osmanli, pro-claiming it to be "the perfection of language." It is, in reality, an admirable instrument of speech. For power of expression, for elasticity, for elegance, it yields to none, while for musicality of intonation it comes, according to many linguists, second, Italian occupying the first rank. It should be noticed that Turkish, in its original form, is by itself a very remarkable product of the human mind. Its vocabulary is extremely poor. But the almost absolute regularity of its grammatical system—exceptions can be counted on the fingers of one hand—the extraordinary wealth of its verbal forms and nouns, the simplicity of its construction—its transparency, as Max Müller called it, and what we believe to be unique in the history of language— the suppression of the relative pronoun, which is absorbed in a verbal form, thus giving great simplicity and elasticity to the phrase, are among its superior merits.*

All the other Touranian groups have adopted Osmanli, but their guttural voice, which is in marked contrast with that of the Ottoman Turks, who possess a very pleasant vocal organ, especially the Constantinople variety, deprives it of its harmoniousness. On the other hand, they have not known how to put it to any literary use, whereas among the Ottoman Turks it has served to produce a considerable literature which can boast of many fine works and several masterpieces.

Another bond between the Touranian groups is religion. They all profess and practise, as a rule rigidly, the Law of the Prophet. But although a keen sense of community of origin exists between them, the Ottoman Turks on the one hand, and the Turkestanis, Northern Turks, and Azerbeydjanis on the other, have followed widely divergent routes in their respective careers. This is due to radical modifications which have taken place in the physiological, psychological, and cultural constitution of the Ottoman Turks, differentiating them from the other groups, which have retained in their entirety or in many essentials the original characteristics of the race.

The Turkestanis have preserved the Mongoloid type of features of their ancestors. The eyes are always black and somewhat slanting, the cheekbones prominent, the beard scanty and black. Black also is the hair and at the same time straight and flat, like that of the Chinese, between whom, generally speaking, and this branch of the Touranian race there is a great resemblance, this showing again in the dark olive-green colour of the skin common to both. The only physiognomic difference offered by the Turkestanis is to be found in the shape of the nose, which is not flat but Roman in appearance. On the other hand, the psychological and mental outlook of the Turkestanis has remained distinctly Asiatic and Mussulman. Their customs, their traditions, their social organization, their modes of thought and action, are essentially what they were a thousand years ago.

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* See, on this point, besides Redhouse's introduction to his Turkish grammar, the extremely flattering comments of Max Müller in his *The Science of Language*, French translation (1864), page 333.

The Northern Turks have yielded in some measure to the influences of their Russian environment, but they also reproduce in a perceptible degree, both as regards appearance and outlook, the ancestral types. In the case of the Azerbeydjanis, we get a physiognomic type which is practically that of the European, owing to the frequent intermarriage with the neighbouring Persians and Caucasians, community of religion facilitating the operation. For the rest, they have remained as distinctly Oriental and Mussulman, in feeling and mentality, as the Turkestanis.

The Ottoman Turks, on the contrary, have acquired the Indo-European type of features—if we may deal first with physiognomy—in every detail. In the case of the Azerbeydjanis, this type is frequent. In the case of the Ottoman Turks, it is constant and absolute. The Southern European cast of features predominates. But the Northern, even of the extreme Scottish and Scandinavian subdivisions, is met with frequently. In fact, all the varieties of the Indo-European type are to be found in Turkey, while no Turkish variety remains outside the circle of European shades. It is interesting to note that the Ottoman Turks never offer, even on the exact line of demarcation, at which the Touranian type might have allowed itself to be felt, anything like the distinctive characteristics offered by some Sicilians and Spaniards, whose Arab blood breaks out so unmistakably in their jet black eyes, hair and beard, and in their dark olive complexion.

It is very difficult, if not quite impossible, even for a native of the country, to tell an Ottoman Turk he meets in the street in Constantinople, or elsewhere in Turkey, from a European or a local Greek or Circassian or Albanian, especially now that the hat has been substituted for the national headgears. The Armenians and the Jews are the only individuals representing distinct races in Turkey who can be differentiated from the Turks, the former as well as the latter having preserved through the ages a type which is specifically national or, rather, racial, no doubt owing to the fact that they have remained strictly endogamous through the ages. In a word, the Ottoman Turks have become completely, absolutely Indo-European in appearance.

The next point to establish is whether the physiological transformation of the Ottoman Turks from an originally Touranian to an Indo-European entity was accompanied by an intellectual, psychological, and moral metamorphosis in the same sense. Until recent times this had not taken place.

The Law of the Prophet is a political and social as well as a religious code. In fact, the doctrine born in the burning sands of Arabia is a system of State and a civilization complete in itself. It pervades the entire existence of the Faithful in all its manifestations, even the most secret, the most private. Almost every act of the Mussulman is a religious act, in the sense that practically every act he accomplishes is regulated by the Koran or the Sunna (codified acts and utterances of the Prophet). Intensely self-centred, self-contained, and exclusive, the Mussulman peoples were further isolated from the surrounding world, especially the Christian, by the armed antagonism that sprang up between Islamism and Christianity from the first day of the advent of the former. No intellectual, no cultural, no moral contact existed between Turkey and her European neighbours, this preventing all exchange of ideas between the two categories. Proudly wrapped up in their Mussulman conception of life and traditions, the Ottoman Turks took no interest whatever in the progress of the West. That wonderful intellectual revival called the Renaissance left this people indifferent. Nor did it participate in the scientific movement dating from the middle of the eighteenth century, which led to such prodigious developments from the middle of the nineteenth century onward and revolutionized in such a decisively favourable sense the existence of the countries of the West. Its scientific equipment was what it had inherited from the Arabs, its co-religionists, fixed at the point it had attained when, struck by sudden palsy, this people which had given rise to such a brilliant civilization fell into decadence, passing the sceptre of knowledge to the Western world. In this scientific conservatism is to be found the principal cause of Turkey's eventual decadence and degradation.

This exclusiveness proceeding from the tyranny of the religious idea lasted until the accession to the throne of Selim III. (1789-1808), the first Turkish sovereign of the decadent period who realized the necessity of breaking at least some—the most irksome—of the bonds that deprived her of her freedom of action and condemned her to immobility, a condition beyond which loomed, formidable and threatening, the collapse and partition of the Empire. The reforms accomplished under the direction of the French specialists engaged by this Sultan produced the first ripple in the pool of Mussulman stagnation. But though well-meaning, Selim was timorous. Alarmed by the opposition of the clerical class and the Janissaries, who had become a sort of Prætorian Guard and were a source of endless trouble to the State, he stopped short in his beneficent work.

His immediate successors, Mahmoud II., Abdul Medjid, and Abdul Aziz, were more fortunate in their efforts to revitalize the decaying Empire, by the introduction in its midst of Western modes of thought and action. Mahmoud, the most practical and energetic of the three, tackling the evil at its root, began by suppressing the Janissaries, the principal obstacle to reform. Having entrapped them in a vast enclosure, of which the issues were guarded—10,000 men with the principal officers of the corps—he had them shot down to a man. The remedy was radical and decisive, if not elegant. Its excuse lay in the fact that no other means existed of putting an end to the terrible nuisance the Janissaries had finished by becoming. *Aux grands maux, les grands moyens.*

To Mahmoud, to Abdul Medjid, and to Abdul Aziz, or rather to that contemporary trio of great statesmen formed by Ali, Reshid, and Fouad Pashas, the true precursors of Mustapha Kemal, Turkey owes the adoption of the first extensive programme of reforms on Western lines and the definitive orientation westward of her political and social outlook. A great impetus was given to this movement by the admission of Turkey into the European Concert in 1856.

The spell was broken. From that time onward Turkey, in spite of a few reactionary manifestations, entered into ever closer contact with Europe, gradually bringing her legislation and institutions into harmony with those of the West.

To Mustapha Kemal was reserved the honour and merit of completing this work. Its initiator he was not. But he showed deep sagacity and discernment in realizing, perhaps alone among his compatriots, that his country's occidentalization corresponded to a still somewhat obscure but deep-seated disposition of the nation and that it represented the logical and necessary complement of its historical development. His great, his immortal title to the gratitude of his people and to fame is—apart from his rôle in the nationalist movement against the Treaty of Sèvres—to have decided upon the wholesale and radical reconstruction of the State and to have carried out this monumental enterprise in three or four bold strokes of genius, feeling certain that if there was danger in haste and intransigence, there was much more danger in delay and piecemeal work. All the more is he to be admired for adopting this procedure, because he was assailed on all sides by sinister prognostications.

But, the point we wish to emphasize here is that Turkey's *rapprochement* to the West preceded by many decades the advent of Mustapha Kemal. Yielding more and more to the natural attraction this world exercised on her—consanguinity and affinity contributing to this result—she had come unconsciously under the domination of its spirit. As for the Gazi, appearing on the stage for the second time in the rôle of *Deus ex Machina*—that is to say, at the psychological moment—he provided her with the political and social machinery necessary for the full expression of her earnest determination to identify herself completely with it—an immense service in its way.

Any intelligent foreigner travelling in Turkey at the present time, who has entered into closer relationship with the Turkish element than is usually the case, will realize that the occidentalization of this element is not artificial and superficial, as many people believe or pretend to believe, but that it has struck deep roots. Those interested in the progress and consolidation of the Turkish State need not apprehend any reactionary movement due to innate mass conservatism. The "Reform" has, in our opinion, come to stay. A retrogression in the sense of the old system of State and society is unthinkable. It is not only the external forms of occidentalism that Turkey has appropriated. The spirit of the West is with her.

Our conclusion is that today there is no more difference between the Turkish people and the Western peoples from the intellectual, psychological, and moral points of view, than from the physiological and physiognomic. An hour's conversation with an educated Turk will bring conviction on this subject. The general outlook on life of the modern Turk; his reactions to the surrounding world; his sense of the beautiful, the comic, the extravagant; his conception of what is right and wrong (Mussulman ethics are in any case essentially the same as Christian ethics); his modes of expression; his sources of inspiration; his ideals—all these manifestations of the human soul and mind in the Turk are essentially those of the Westerner. Such minor differences as may exist are not more marked than those which separate the English, the French, the Germans, etc., from one another.

There is no special Turkish mentality in relation to the West. Rudyard Kipling's dictum: "East is East, and West is West, And never the twain shall meet," can certainly not be applied to Turkey by reference to her relationship to the West. In her the two worlds have become twain, or, rather, the East has yielded entirely to the West. It is true that in her latter person the Western spirit found the field easily accessible to penetration, thanks to the physiological transformation she had undergone.

Great as has been the attraction exercised on Turkey by the West in general, that exercised by France has been especially powerful. She has been drawn to that country as by a magnet. It is certainly remarkable that this should be the case, when one might have rather expected that Italy—who was geographically much nearer to the Ottoman Empire, was, in fact, bounded by it for centuries in the north-western corner of the Balkans, and who had founded numerous colonies along the shores of the Black Sea (Galata, the business quarter of Constantinople, was a Genoese settlement)—would have received precedence over France in this respect.

When after the victorious Crimean War waged by England and France against Russia in support of the Turkish cause, Turkey decided on a lengthy programme of reforms, she asked France to lend her the specialists for carrying them out. Her school system was remodelled on the French pattern. Model *lycées* were founded of which practically the entire technical and administrative staffs were French. Private French schools sprang up in all parts of the country, while French tutors and governesses were to be found frequently in the well-to-do Turkish families in preference to all other nationalities. In this fashion French became the second idiom of the country. This language is spoken and written more generally and more purely in Turkey than in any other non-French land. In the social sphere French influences have been as potent. The customs and manners prevailing today in the country are copied from the French. In pre-war times when there was more money in Turkey and nothing but love and admiration existed for France, every self-respecting Turk who could afford the expense deemed it a duty to pay a visit to the *Ville Lumière*, as he admitted Paris to be, this being in the nature of an intellectual pilgrimage which was intended to complete his education.

In a word, Turkey became the spiritual daughter of France. All her modern culture she owes to that country. The explanation of this extraordinary attraction is to be found in the veritable intellectual parentage that exists between the two peoples, this extending to character.

We do not intend to enter here into a detailed description of the mental and psychological characteristics of the Turkish people, which would be somewhat outside our subject. We would lay stress on one point only, because it is the principal key to the understanding of this people's tendencies and attitudes. The Turks are naturally a very intelligent race. Theirs is not a contemplative or speculative intelligence. Rather is it practical in its conceptions and operations. This explains the success with which the Turk generally goes through the struggle for life. The Turkish proverbs and sayings are full of practical wisdom. Many of them have their exact counterpart—another proof of the occidental mentality of this people—in the Western countries. The stories of Nasreddine Hodja, a half-legendary personage and a sort of Turkish Lafontaine and Rabelais rolled in one, are remarkable for their materialistic philosophy expressed in a form whose quaint and often subtle humour renders them delightful.

Among the many faculties with which nature has endowed the Turkish mind is his aptitude for the mechanical arts and sciences. But the great characteristic of the Turk's intellectual constitution is his gift of improvisation, which truly amounts to genius. This gift rendered the nation inestimable services during the World War and the Anatolian War, when the many deficiencies in the military equipment of the State were made good by the ingeniousness of the race, which invariably suggested a substitute for the real thing. The "Ersatz-King"—that is what the Turk may be called.

Unfortunately, the faculties of this people have not been cultivated as they should have been. Owing, on the one hand, to the absence of educational facilities; on the other hand, to what is one of the great defects of the race—namely, a great disinclination for study—these natural faculties, left in their raw condition, have not operated to the benefit of the country in anything like the degree they might have done. The level of instruction is very low, while individual distinction is exceedingly rare and not of a high order at that. In this age, when the destinies of the nations depend so largely on technical competence and specialization, Turkey cannot boast of a single savant, of a single expert of European fame. She possesses a fairly efficient corps of engineers, some good lawyers, and several doctors and surgeons of mark. For the rest she is, as regards practical intellectual equipment, very poor indeed. An exception has to be made in favour of the corps of officers, in whose ranks are to be found commanders of superior value, Mustapha Kemal coming first with a record of achievement at the Dardanelles and during the Anatolian War which classes him as a soldier of the highest order.

It is because it is conscious of being intelligent in a high degree that the Turkish people, become over-confident in itself, especially after its great triumph in the Anatolian War, plunged so boldly into all sorts of technical enterprises without having recourse to foreign science and experience, the result being failure in many cases. Prompted by excessive racial pride fed on its, in truth, prodigious success in the Anatolian War, it claimed complacently that its capacity for achievement (actual, not potential, wherein lies the mistake) was equal to that of the most advanced countries. This exorbitant claim, which takes no account of the fact that untutored intelligence can never take the place of knowledge and experience, in both of which it is so deficient, is or rather was until lately one of the dominant factors in its existence as a State. Fortunately, the limitations of the race have become manifest to itself in the last year or two. Thanks to the intervention of the Gazi, the fierce war waged against ignorance and prejudice has been accompanied by the employment on a much larger scale of foreign specialists and in a greater spirit of sincerity and loyalty.

On the whole, the Ottoman Turks are an estimable and lovable people. Their qualities and virtues go a long way towards redeeming their defects and vices. In the social sphere of life, the conduct of the Turk is marked by a dignity of bearing, a refinement of manner, and a delicacy of feeling that have procured him the surname of "Gentleman of the East," which clashes with that of "Unspeakable Turk" and contradicts it. The contrast between his degraded material surroundings and the nobility of his appearance and attitude is one of the anomalies of his situation. He may be compared to a *grand seigneur* in reduced circumstances, living in a ruined palace, but having preserved his aristocratic bearing and *distingué* manners of yore.

Thus, from whatever angle the Turkish people be considered—the physiological, the intellectual, the psychological, the social—today it forms an integral part of the Western family of nations.

This incorporation of the Ottoman Turks in the European system of peoples has expressed itself in interesting terms of demographic geography. Anatolia has become an ethnic annexe of Europe. This may be considered as an unconscious *revanche* of the Old Continent achieved over the Turks for the violent invasion and occupation of her south-eastern corner by them, a *revanche* of which, strange to say, the Turks themselves became also the unconscious instrument by their transformation into an Indo-European entity.

What is particularly remarkable in this metamorphosis is the process which brought it about and which is unique in the history of the world. Other Asiatic peoples, the Magyars, the Finns, and the Bulgarians, have also passed from one mould to the other. But in the case of these peoples as well the *rapprochement* and fusion were determined by close and prolonged contact between the dominant element and the elements with which it combined. The operation took place automatically, silently, in the mysterious forge of nature. In the case of the Turks, amalgamation and fusion were the resultant of the operation of such artificial agencies as legal concubinage and its concomitants, which existed separately on their own account as national institutions, having no reference whatever to demography and acting as instruments of assimilation only incidentally.

We come now to the effects of the Treaty of Lausanne on the existence of Turkey. The great, the outstanding fact, resulting from this international compact, is that the Turkish community has been transformed from a loose assemblage of heterogeneous elements, antagonistic to the dominant race and to one another and pulling in different and at times conflicting directions, into a nation in the full sense of the word. More precisely speaking, Turkey has become an organism in which the Turks, the founders of the State, have acquired an overwhelming numerical superiority, whose existence is governed by an exclusively Turkish set of ideals and whose policy is a purely Turkish policy, which it can prosecute undisturbed by internal or external opposition.

The elevation of Turkey to the rank of a nation, in the juridical and practical meaning of the word, has resulted in very great advantages for her. It has contributed largely to her consolidation as a State and strengthened enormously her position in relation to the Western Powers through the abolition of the Capitulations. Last, but not least, it has cleared the field of the obstacles that stood in the way of the progress of the country.

It was natural that being now in full possession of her freedom of action, Turkey should have sought to evolve a type of government and society conformable with the exigencies of modern life.

Owing to the partiality of the Conqueror, the author of this system, to the Greeks, all the various orthodox populations (with the exception of the Armenians, who formed a community apart) were placed at first and for several centuries afterwards under the sceptre of the Greek Patriarchate, which being called *Roum Patrikhanesi* by the Government—*Roum* being a corruption of the word Roman—offered the only suggestion of race distinction in the Empire. It was false, since it confounded with and subjected to the Greek element a variety of non-Greek elements. It was from this arbitrary grouping, however, that the notion of nationality sprang up and acquired consistency, the oppressive rule of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, the only institution in the Empire which had a sense of it, and which sought to denationalize the non-Greeks for the benefit of Hellenism, provoking violent reactions in the opposite sense, which eventually brought into active operation the national consciousness of these peoples.

The Turks were the last to develop the sense of nationality. Until recent times, a Turk, being asked what he was, would reply—we are alluding to the masses—"*Islàmim, hamd olsun*" ("I am a Mussulman, thanks be to God"). The name of Ottoman came into use after the Treaty of Paris in 1856, but as it was made to apply to the non-Mussulmans as well as to the Mussulmans it found little favour in Turkey herself.

The idea of nationality sprang up among the Turks during the rule of the Unionists, who carried on an active campaign in its favour. The West contributed largely to its development.

The Balkan War, by emphasizing national distinctions in the Peninsula, and the World War, by systematically opposing race to race, civilization to civilization, culture to culture, exasperated the feeling of nationalism all over the globe. The East joined in the ethnic clash with all the enthusiasm and ardour of the neophyte. Turkey, who had lagged a long way behind in the first instance, was now in the van.

A strange confusion of notions and terms, however, in relation to its nationality exists in the mind of the Turkish people which has to be recorded here.

Better than anybody else, Turkey knows that she has become in the course of the centuries a European entity and that practically no trace remains in her veins of her original Asiatic blood. Hundreds of memoirs and monographs are there to remind the Turk that from the beginning of the fourteenth century down to the first quarter of the nineteenth Italian, French, Spanish, German, Polish, and Roumanian elements poured into her system, continuously and to the exclusion of all Asiatic elements, and that even after that date, which coincided with the suppression of Barbary piracy, Caucasia provided the Turkish harems with tens of thousands of Circassian, Georgian, and Azbeg girls every year. A so-called Turk has only to look at himself in a mirror—any Turk will do—to see that "European" is stamped across his face in unmistakable traits. If he consults the recent past of his family he will find that his father or grandfather or great-grandfather (not to speak of his feminine ancestry) was a Greek or Albanian or Bosniak—in latter times individual conversions to Islamism were frequent—and that if his researches reached further back, he would run up against a long line of ancestors who, if not themselves "Franks," were saturated with "Frank" blood on both sides.

And yet, this product of a hundred crosses, in which his origin has been obliterated, persists in calling himself a Turk, which is admissible and even necessary to maintain the historical connection, but also a Touranian, which means that he harks back to his remoter Turkestani ancestry, whereby he falls into a formidable paradox. Nay, cases are not rare in which a Turk upbraids another Turk on account of his recent Greek or Albanian or Slav origin, overlooking the fact that there is no Turk, including himself, who is of pure Turkish descent. This attitude is not only absurd but wicked. If persisted in, it would lead to the establishment, this time in the Mussulman camp itself, of those race distinctions from which the country suffered so heavily in the past when they operated as between Mussulman and non-Mussulman, their suppression being hailed as a great blessing and triumph by the former.

Such are the curious contradictions offered by the attitude of the Turkish people towards its past in its relationship to its present.

Of course, the explanation of its stubborn attachment to the name and quality of Turk and Touranian is to be found in the great achievements of this people and of the stock to which it belongs in the past; achievements of which it is natural that it should wish to appear in the light of direct heir.

These are outstanding features of the Turkish situation at the present day.

THE INADEQUACY OF THE REWARDS OF AGRICULTURE IN TROPICAL COUNTRIES

By Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E.

(The author has been for many years Director of Industries in Madras and Mysore)

The present worldwide economic distress is in the main attributed to the appreciation of the value of gold consequent upon its misuse as a commodity. The payment of interest upon war debts, the levy of war indemnities, and the refusal of creditor nations to receive their dues in goods or services are recognized as the principal factors in the breakdown of the gold standard, and attention is consequently focussed on action to eliminate these undoubtedly potent causes of the failure of modern methods of exchange. Only by international action can remedial measures prove effective, and the difficulties of the situation are enhanced by political mistrust, which prevents, or at any rate delays, co-operation.

Never before has the human race been in a better position to provide a high standard of living for everyone. Our markets are glutted with goods both raw and manufactured, yet the great majority have to go without, and there are many millions seeking work and unable to obtain it. This has happened before in innumerable instances, but, except perhaps in the case of the disintegration of the Roman Empire, always on a limited scale and confined to a particular area. Today, owing to the vast improvement in the means of communication and the extraordinary facility with which goods can be transported, the whole world is involved in the failure of our economic system. International regulation of supplies is obviously necessary, but there is little hope of securing agreement in face of the nationalism evoked by the spirit of self-determination. Especially is this true in regard to mineral produce such as coal, iron, copper, and tin, the sources of supplies of which have been developed beyond immediate needs. Similarly, but in a different degree, there is over-production of agricultural produce, and the markets are glutted with wheat, cotton, tea, rubber, and other commodities, although more than half the world's population are living very near the margin of subsistence.

Events are drifting towards the formation of great economic groups, of which the United States is an existing example, and shortly we may hope there will be a British Empire unification of fiscal and currency policy. Other large groups may then be established, within each of which there will be a much larger measure of fiscal freedom than now prevails. This will be all to the good, but there will still remain the establishment of an international standard of value, without which there can be no satisfactory world progress. The discussions of the last nine months have only resulted in bringing home to the politicians the extremely complex nature of the problem without evolving any constructive suggestions that are likely to meet with sufficiently wide acceptance. It seems clear that any currency must be a managed currency, whether nominally it is based on gold, or gold and silver, or on a price index basis covering a wide range of commodities. Obviously, the broader the basis, the easier should it be to maintan a stable level of prices, but the greater the difficulty in obtaining agreement between the nations. It would therefore seem to be only possible in the immediate future to forego the advantages of a worldwide standard and work as best may be with group systems.

We have drifted into such a deflation of gold values that existing contractual arrangements have become unduly burdensome, and on all sides inflationary measures are advocated. It does not, however, seem to be sufficiently recognized that it is, in the main, agricultural and primary products that have abnormally depreciated. At present prices manufacturers could make satisfactory profits if they could find markets for their goods. Technological developments, rationalization schemes, and improved methods of marketing have all materially helped to ease the situation. On the other hand, the value of raw materials has fallen to such an extent that both the capital and labour engaged in producing them are very inadequately remunerated.

Possibly the ratio of labour employed outside agriculture, fishing, and mining is less than one-third of that engaged in all forms of human activity, and undoubtedly much of our present-day trouble is due to the inequality between the remuneration enjoyed by the two great groups of workers. Organized industry demands too much, and the comparatively unorganized workers on the land are unable to get enough and have no surplus available for the purchase of manufactures. The enormous increase in the last ten years in the use of artificial fertilizers, the development of irrigation, the increase in the use of mechanical aids, and the excessive application of capital to specialized products, combined with a general improvement in agricultural procedure and technique, have all contributed to produce a glut of produce which has resulted in a catastrophic fall in prices and so decreased the purchasing power of the land workers that they are unable to avail themselves of the products of organized industry. Till a more equitable adjustment is contrived between these two great groups of workers there can be no complete solution of the problems now confronting us. Protective tariffs have done much to accentuate this inequality between the rewards to labour and capital employed in industry as compared with the returns obtained by their application to the land. The civil war in America was largely a conflict on an economic issue between the protectionists of the Northern States and the free traders of the Southern States. The future of a federal India is likely to be jeopardized by similar conflicts when the ryots obtain political power and realize that the protective policy of the intelligentsia will benefit a minority at the expense of the vastly greater agricultural population. Here in Great Britain recently special measures have been taken to assist those engaged in agriculture, but the problem is not a local one, and an effective solution must be on a worldwide basis.

Now that in trade and industry the world is one unit, it is time we recognized that the well-being of the British working man, to take our own local case, depends upon the well-being of the hundreds of millions of the tropical and semi-tropical regions that are almost entirely dependent on the land. Industry is incomparably better organized than agriculture, and the chambers of commerce and trade unions have exercised undue influence over public opinion and the acts of the administration. To counter-balance these perfectly legitimate but one-sided, and in the long run short-sighted, efforts to obtain a superior position it is necessary that those who control the affairs of nations should recognize that the comparatively helpless agriculturist must be assisted to obtain a larger share than he has hitherto enjoyed of the results of his labours. He will then be able to exchange them for the products of industrial effort and thus extend the market for such goods. The doctrine of *laissez-faire* and the glorification of competition as a stimulus to progress was effective so long as the scale of operations was small and there were many competitors, but modern enterprise has reversed these conditions and thereby introduced elements of instability which have contributed greatly to the domination of financial over all other interests. Unnatural markets have been forced into existence and a burden of private debt created which has become intolerable with the appreciation of the standard of values. The future has been mortgaged recklessly and bankruptcy is actually threatened in some countries. National efforts to stave it off succeed only at the expense of the less fortunate, and may ultimately engender disruptive forces which will destroy modern civilization. Half the world has been forced off the gold standard to the detriment of the other half; Germany may attempt to denounce the financial clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and all its obligations, with results that may possibly prove catastrophic. America with boundless resources holds aloof and asks for payment in a form which sterilizes the resources of its debtors and sets up creeping paralysis, which must ultimately prove fatal.

The immediate future demands the establishment of a new standard of value for the settlement of outstanding debts and the application of principles which have allowed bankruptcy courts to operate for the relief of private debtors to the adjustment of the positions of nations involved in obligations beyond their capacity to redeem. Following on this, instead of the haphazard business of unco-ordinated private enterprise, the aggressive character of which is now checked or nullified by national tariffs, a beginning should be made to introduce an international system of regulation of production with the object of preventing waste of resources and securing a more equitable distribution of the results of human labour. Minerals and other wasting assets should be conserved in the interests of the future, and it is ethically desirable, disregarding practical issues, that they should cease to be private property, but should be held in trust by the nations possessing them, to be used with due regard to their restricted amount and the resources available elsewhere. The practice of over-production for the satisfaction of private interests should be prevented, and rigid control insisted of methods of winning, with a view to abolishing all avoidable waste. Less drastic methods will probably be found suitable for dealing with the annual yield of the soil, which must always be subject to seasonal variations beyond our control. It is hardly likely that over any lengthy period either over-production or scarcity will prevail in regard to the major staple commodities, as economic forces will adjust supply to demand comparatively rapidly, though with much loss and privation, which would be avoided if more rational methods of determining the direction of the application of capital and labour to the soil were in vogue. Advice and information are already recognized methods of helping the cultivator, and along these lines development may be expected; but his interests are still too much subordinated to those of the industrial worker. The urban dweller, by the amenities which he enjoys and by the facilities available to him for combined action, dominates the country man, and it should be the aim of administration to relieve the latter from the disabilities imposed upon him by the nature of his occupation.

The distribution of both national and international wealth has been greatly modified by the huge volume of war debts which now only represent a claim to services. The creditors mainly belong to the industrial or urban element in the community, but the toll which must be levied to discharge the interest on these obligations falls equally on town and country. As the weaker partner in production the cultivator is less able to bear the burden and his standard of living has relatively deteriorated.

A very exhaustive examination by the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture throws much light upon the problems presented by the Indian ryot, and the deduction may safely be made that in the Far East the cultivators of the soil are in an even more deplorable condition. Neither in India nor China does the political situation offer any immediate prospect of the application of remedial measures which will materially raise the standard of living of the vast population in these regions. It seems necessary that the industrial white races of the Northern Temperate Zones should take a much broader view of the world's needs and in their own interests co-operate to improve the material condition of the tropical and subtropical races. In the last century the increase in productive capacity and the improvement in the means of transport and communication has greatly augmented the wealth of the world, but in the main the increment has accrued to industrial populations. The inferior status of agriculture is the reason for the universal demand for the creation of local industries, and the establishment of tariff walls is necessary to protect them from the competition of more favourably situated manufacturers. There is no doubt that the uplift of the East and Far East has been greatly retarded by currency changes in Europe, which have seriously depreciated the value of the hoarded silver which represents no small portion of the fluid reserves of certainly one-third of the human race. The value of gold has been raised at the expense of silver, and it would now seem that the ruthless treatment of silver is bringing about its own Nemesis. The economic depression of silver-using countries is doubtless a powerful contributory factor to the state of unrest and dissatisfaction which is chronic with them, and there is little likelihood that political nostrums will result in anything but an accentuation of the present troubles.

NATION'S FOODS EXHIBITION (OLYMPIA): INDIA DAY

On Friday, May 27, being "India Day" at the Nation's Foods Exhibition, the High Commissioner for India delivered the following address:

"Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—It gives me very great pleasure to be present among you today, and I am grateful to the Committee of the Nation's Foods Exhibition for having extended to me their invitation to open the Exhibition on this day, which has been set apart as India's Day.

"At the outset let me congratulate most heartily the Greater London Council of Grocers' Associations and the Committee of this Exhibition on the organization of a most successful and interesting Exhibition. At a time when public sentiment in this country is turned in a larger measure than ever before towards the mutual advantages to be gained and conferred by purchasing home and Empire products, an exhibition such as this, illustrating as it does the vast resources of the Empire in food products, cannot fail to be of very great interest.

"I am very glad that the Trade Department of my Office are participating in this Exhibition and are showing, in the Empire Marketing Board Section, some of the articles of food which we in India send over here to you. We welcome the opportunity which our participation in this Exhibition affords us of securing the goodwill both of the retailer and of the general public. At our stall we are showing Indian tea, coffee, and rice, of which India grows and sends you some of her best. Their consumption in this country is already large, but we would like to see it extended, and in asking you to buy larger quantities we are confident that we can supply you with an article that will compare in quality and price with similar articles from any part of the world. At present this country imports large quantities of rice and coffee from non-Empire countries, and there seems to be no reason why some, at any rate, of these should not be replaced by coffee and rice from India. Similarly, in regard to tea, there is no reason why this country should buy any from sources outside the Empire. We are also showing chutneys which add flavour to most dishes of meat, curry powder, pahpahdums, Bombay duck, cigars, cheroots, lentils, and beans.

"Further, I have been greatly impressed by the growing consumption of fruit in this country, to meet which supplies are pouring in from all parts of the world, and I am glad to say that there is now a definite prospect of India making her contribution towards these supplies by sending over some of the delicious fruits which she grows in large quantities. We are showing at our stall in the Exhibition mangosteens from Burma and mangoes from Bombay. For the first time both mangosteens and mangoes are arriving in this country in sufficient numbers to be placed on the market. For the moment the consignments are experimental, but I hope that the time is not far distant when a regular trade in these luscious fruits will be in existence between India and the United Kingdom. You will be interested to know that experiments carried out in the United Kingdom with the co-operation and help of the Empire Marketing Board have shown that the Bombay mango is unusually rich in vitamins. In eating it, therefore, you will be satisfying, not only the requirements of your palate, but also taking something which has definitely a high food value.

"We are fully aware of the fact that an appeal to buy India's produce will carry greater weight if we can show that it not only pays us to sell to you, but also that it is profitable for you to buy from us. We are confident that our goods will stand competition with similar goods from other countries, both in quality and in price. In addition to this, there are sufficient reasons why you should buy from us. Just as we look upon the United Kingdom as our most favourable market—for she has been for a long time the biggest single purchaser of India's commodities—and so prize her custom, in the same way we are your best customers, for India buys more from the United Kingdom every year than any other country, either within or without the Empire. It is to our mutual benefit, therefore, to buy more from each other. If your purchases of Indian commodities increase and the flow of her exports rises in value, resulting in a return to prosperity and restoration of the purchasing power of the Indians, India will have more money to spend on those things which she cannot manufacture herself and which you, with your magnificent manufacturing industry, are in a particularly strong position to supply. Although the manufacturing industries in India such as iron and steel, matches, sugar, paper, etc., are being gradually and steadily developed, India still remains a vast agricultural country, and for many years to come will require machinery, plant, and other materials necessary for the progress of those great railway schemes, irrigation works, and hydro-electric schemes on which her future material prosperity will depend. As India's production increases with the progress of these schemes she will come to you for a businesslike and friendly market for her surplus products. Trade breeds trade, and your purchase of India's products will be the necessary and logical sequence of the purchase of railway and engineering plant by India from you. Remember, also, that in asking you to buy and sell Indian foodstuffs in larger measure we are in the peculiarly fortunate position of sending over here in the main only those food products—tea, coffee, and rice and fruits—which are in no way in competition with the products of your own farmers. They are things which you cannot grow in this country and which you require to supplement your own agricultural production, and not to supplant it.

"Finally, by extending your patronage to Indian produce you will help to raise the standard of living in a country where wages are at present low—deplorably low—and where, therefore, labour needs all the encouragement that you, as our best customer, can give it.

"Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I must thank you for your kind attention. It gives me great pleasure to declare open this Exhibition on India's Day, and I would like, if I may, to express my very best wishes to the Greater London Council of Grocers' Associations for continued success in their annual organization of this most interesting and useful Exhibition."

Mr. Kenneth C. Keymer, proposing a vote of thanks to Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, High Commissioner for India, for opening "India Day" of the above Exhibition, said:

"Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—Probably the fact that my firm has now traded with India for more than eighty-eight years has brought to me the honour of proposing today this vote of welcome to Sir B. N. Mitra. But the longer one works with India and the more knowledge one accumulates of that country, the more one realises how little one actually knows of such a vast and wonderful land. For this reason, we specially welcome Sir B. N. Mitra today, realizing that his presence here personally helps to increase the links of friendship and understanding between our two countries.

"I suppose the background of history that colours the whole of India is one of the first aspects to strike the traveller in that land. I recall a year ago travelling beyond the outskirts of India into the foothills of the Himalayas, and there after several days of arduous journeying I really felt as though I had reached the end of the earth; yet there I came across Stupas erected by Asoka more than two hundred years B.C. Asoka's vast empire in India extended away to Peshawar in the north-west and again down to the south of India. A drive round the eight cities of Delhi, several of which are now but small mounds of ruins, gives a wonderful insight into all the historical past, the conquest and the epochs that have marked the history of this land.

"But throughout all these changing times India has remained predominantly agricultural, and the agricultural workers have pursued their way in disregard as far as possible of the epochs of history. It is remarkable how in the course of one's travels some small incident may stand out above many which might be thought more impressive. I vividly recall an evening journey by train across the Punjab, with the rays of the setting sun lighting up the pleasant green, cultivated lands, and with the pairs of bullocks lazily strolling down inclined earth ramps, hauling to the surface from the wells the bulging leather bags of water to irrigate these fields. That is a picture of methods that have gone back to the beginnings of time; yet Indian agricultural operations must not be thought unprogressive. In Allahabad I visited a Government dairy farm, where careful experiments are being made and records kept to evolve Indian dairy stock that will have the milk capacity of English cows combined with the capacity of Indian beasts to withstand Indian climatic conditions. The Sukkur Barrage also will give irrigation to a land the size of Wales for cultivation. Behind all this to give perspective to one's remarks it must be remembered we are dealing with a land of over 300 million people.

"The fact that Sir B. N. Mitra is High Commissioner for this country is sufficient indication of the calibre of our opener today. India and Great Britain depend on each other's interest and co-operation, and we welcome Sir B. N. Mitra to India House for his obvious intent to foster this interest. We doubly welcome him here, assured by his presence at this opening and by his able speech, which so clearly expresses these sentiments, that India Day of the Nation's Foods Exhibition is well and truly launched. I have much pleasure in proposing to Sir B. N. Mitra a vote of thanks on behalf of us all present here today."

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HINDUISM—II

By Stanley Rice

(Author of *The Challenge of Asia*, *Life of the Maharaja of Baroda*, etc.)

We have seen that the goal of Hindu philosophy is the attainment of salvation (moksha) by various means and through various processes. The chief obstacle to this desirable consummation is ignorance, for if the Buddhist aims at subduing all desire, that desire itself springs from human limitations which are ultimately the result of ignorance, of that something that falls short of the perfect knowledge necessary for the realization of Brahman. It is here that the philosophers begin to differ. For if ignorance (avidya) is the obstacle to be removed, it behoves us to know what constitutes the perfect knowledge before we can have any clear idea about what we are striving for, just as, to use a modern instance, it behoves a runner to know whether the race is 100 yards, or a mile, or involves jumping. That, in a matter of infinitely greater importance than a race, it is the task of the philosophers, the leaders of Hindu thought and the teachers of the people, to discover, and each school believes itself, so it would seem, to have discovered the ultimate Truth, as is the way of the world in matters of religious dispute. For if the Sunni Mussalman looks upon the Shiah as a heretic, and if the Roman Church regards the Protestants as renegade apostates from the True Faith, so the orthodox Hindu believer of one school must logically class all other schools as a species of heresy, or at least must think of their adherents as blinded by error; in other words, as still subject to that ignorance which, until it disappears, makes salvation impossible. You cannot have it both ways; perfect knowledge is absolute, not relative, and if I claim to possess that perfect knowledge or to have found the way of it, it must follow that in so far as others do not agree with me, their knowledge must be imperfect. The cynic might remark that in that case it does not matter; if each man is content with his own belief and lives a virtuous life according to his lights, what difference can it make whether he belongs to this school or that? "Live and let live" must be the motto of the world, and he who would live according to his own beliefs can well afford to let others go their own way. The philosopher would reply that this takes no account of the transitory nature of the world (maya); it overlooks the transcendently important fact of eternity, and it confounds right knowing with right living—the latter being really the outcome of the former.

And just as all our ecclesiastical teaching is conditioned by the Bible, just as all Mussalman teaching is conditioned by the Koran, so all Hindu teaching is conditioned by the virtual, if not actual, inspiration of the Vedas and the Upanishads. The philosophers were thus hampered by their limitations; they were not free to roam at will over the large field of speculation, but must always return in the end to the text of the Scriptures. They were not so much founders of systems as of schools of exegesis, and each school claimed that its theory was in strict accordance with the revealed Word. This was all the more possible, because the Scriptures themselves were often vague and hence lent themselves to wide differences of interpretation, so that around and out of the books accounted sacred grew a multitudinous literature, explaining, refuting, contradicting, upholding, even as today Fundamentalists and Realists quarrel and dispute over Biblical interpretation. And this vagueness of expression persists, for quite recently opposing Pandits, each supporting himself with texts, have been found disputing over such modern matters as the question of early marriages or of Untouchables. At the same time these limitations had their uses inasmuch as the Scriptures, not being in dispute, afforded a starting point for all commentaries and led to the possibility of co-ordination.

It is very difficult to obtain any clear idea of the disputations on the átman which seem to range from complete transcendence to complete immanence. The foremost of all the systems is undoubtedly the Vedanta, and the protagonists in this arena are Sankara and Ramanuja. Sankara, who is perhaps the subtlest and most intellectual thinker in the whole range of Hindu philosophy, was a Nambudri Brahman of Malabar of the Saiva sect, and M. Grousset assigns to him the date 788-820 A.D. He was an implacable foe to Buddhism and all that it involved of heresy, and his great achievement was the establishment of the Vedanta, coupled with the final extermination of Buddhist ideas. Ramanuja, a Vaishnava Brahman of Kanchi (Conjeevaram), whose date is given approximately as 1050-1137 A.D., established the system known as Vishishtadvaita or differentiated Monism. Sankara asserted a complete monism; the supreme átman was the Unknowable, the divine Essence without form, qualities or attributes, the only ultimate Reality. The phenomenal world with its swarming life and its diversity of creatures, man differing spiritually from man as he differs physically from trees and animals, was in his view an illusion. It did not exist; in the words of M. Grousset "Le monde extérieur (littéralement le monde des 'noms et formes' [namarupa]) n'existe pas." This diversity of Nature seems to have been a stumbling block in the path of all systems which tried to reconcile it with the conception of the átman. Sankara meets this difficulty by relying upon the doctrine of Maya stretched to its uttermost. If the Atman is the sole Reality, everything else is unreal; what we see and perceive in a world of multiplicity is simply the result of ignorance (avidya), an illusion which the enlightened soul finally recognises as an illusion. Ramanuja, who as M. Grousset remarks shows a leaning towards theism and pietism, contends that such a theory is contrary to all experience. He maintains that the ultimate reality, the Brahman or Atman, is endowed with infinite qualities of a transcendent kind; the individual soul has a separate substantive existence and partakes of the nature of Brahman, but it is differentiated by the action of "adventitious limitations." We may timidly venture on an analogy and describe the Brahman as pure refined gold, while the individual soul is the gold of commerce, mixed with various alloys. The analogy is, like most analogies, imperfect, because the alloy of commerce is intended to make the gold adaptable to practical uses. On the other hand, to suggest that the individual soul is like the gold before refinement provokes the retort that the Brahman is derived from the individual, a heresy that all schools would indignantly reject. It must be understood that the analogy thus suggested is intended only to explain in more familiar language what is meant by "adventitious limitations."

It is clear that when you have conceived a Reality endowed with qualities of which in some measure the human soul partakes, when once you have set up an ideal which is different—transcendently different, it may be—in degree rather than in kind, when once you have learned that this ideal perfection is that to which man's imperfection should strive and which is, because of its likeness or even identity, attainable by man, you have reached a point from which theism, the conception of a personal God, above and apart from Man, is not far distant. That would seem to be very largely the result of Ramanuja's teaching. The abstract uncompromising idealism of Sankara is too difficult, the cold intellectualism is too remote for all but the learned. The bhakti of Chaitanya, in which philosophy lost its way in ecstatic adoration, as well as the erotico-religious poetry, which may or may not have the esoteric meaning attached to it by eclectic interpretation, would seem to be the lineal descendants of Ramanuja's philosophy. No one who has seen the processions in honour of the god or who has met enthusiastic pilgrims on their way to a celebrated shrine can doubt that modern Hinduism is both theistic and devotional.

Rama and Krishna are on the lips of thousands, almost one might say of millions, to whom the abstract idea of the átman is as inconceivable as is declared to be the objective thing itself. That is reserved for professors of philosophy, students of Sanskrit and a handful of intellectuals. This or that man may declare himself to belong to the Advaita, the Bhedabheda or the Dvaita persuasion, but the outside observer may be pardoned for shrewdly suspecting that their adherence is due less to any settled conviction of philosophic truth than to environment, heredity and education, just as in England there are many who belong to the Established Church, not because of any particular virtue in that institution, nor from conviction, but simply because it has never occurred to them to belong to anything else.

It is just because theism and pietism are today the outstanding features of Hinduism, properly so called, that the theories of Ramanuja become so important. It may therefore be as well to give the essence of his teaching in the words of M. Grousset:

"Différenciation (bheda) et non-différenciation (abheda) ne se présentent-elles pas simultanément dans l'expérience, la seconde dans l'aspect causal et générique des choses, la première dans l'aspect 'effectif' et individuel? Dans cette théorie, les âmes individuelles ne sont pas 'absolument différentes' du brahman, mais sont unies à lui par la relation de bhedábheda, dans la mesure où elles sont une partie (amça) du brahman. Leur non-différence d'avec le brahman est 'essentielle' (svabhayika), leur différence est due aux limitations adventices (aupadhika). Cette position intermédiaire permet de concilier les citations purement monistiques des upanishad ('tat tvam asi'), avec d'autres passages des mêmes textes où l'indépendance de l'âme est maintenue."

And this differentiation is explained further on, if not in the actual words of Ramanuja, at any rate in a French edition of their substance:

"Sans doute avant la création il n'y avait pas de distinction de 'noms-et-formes' (namarupa), car, pour la création du monde le brahman n'a pas besoin d'autre cause opérante que de lui même; mais à l'heure de la création, il prend la résolution, possible à lui seul, de se manifester sous la forme de choses mobiles et immobiles; conformément à cette résolution la création se produit sous forme d'une multitude innombrable d'êtres et de choses; au même instant le brahman entre au cœur des choses sous forme d'âmes vivantes (jiva)—qui ont donc pour âtman le brahman—et ainsi commence l'évolution, infinie en étendue, du monde des 'noms-et-formes.' Toutes les choses ainsi créées, bien que différentes du brahman, ont en lui leur racine et leur séjour, se meuvent par lui, vivent par lui, reposent en lui (et donc sont, à ce titre, réelles). Quant au Brahman, lui-même, c'est bien, pour Râmânuja, le Dieu des religions positives. Il est libre de toute imperfection, omniscient, tout-puissant. Tous ses désirs se réalisent d'eux-mémes. Il est la cause de toute béatitude, et sa béatitude ne peut être surpassée. Il est doué d'attributs infinis, et le concevoir à la manière çankarienne comme une substance vide de tout attribut, c'est, nous dit Râmânuja, une absurdité qui frise la folie."

I do not propose, even if I were competent, to enter into all the diversities and differences which are to be found in the various systems of Indian Philosophy. What it has taken Professor Radhakrishnan two large volumes to explain and what M. Grousset, for the most part avoiding comment of his own, has set out in upwards of 700 pages cannot be adequately treated in one or two short papers. Moreover these differences only bewilder, and in fact the more the ordinary reader tries to follow the labyrinthine arguments, the more mazed does he become. It must suffice therefore to point out in what respects two of the more prominent systems depart from the theories of Sankara on the one hand and Ramanuja on the other in this special question of the origin of the world and of the nature of the soul. This is not to ignore the existence of Vallabha and Madhava, both teachers of the Vedanta school, nor to belittle other systems. If the Vaiseshika and the Samkhya have been chosen in preference to others, it is partly because they seem, as it were, to afford some explanation of the main opposition of the two great masters of the Vedanta.

Of these two systems the Vaiseshika is the older, the date assigned to it being 250-300 A.D. The most prominent feature of it, distinguishing it from others, is the division into material and spiritual substances. This is, of course, a practical denial of the Vedantism of Sankara which, as we know, treats nothing as real save the ultimate Atman. It conflicts also with Ramanuja's theory of "bhedábheda," for it allows material things a substantive and separate existence. These material things are composed of atoms, infinitesimal, eternal and indestructible, divided into the four classes of earth, air, fire, and water. The spiritual side of the system is likewise composed of atoms and the diversities of character are, it would seem, brought about by the contact of these material and spiritual atoms. Moksha, the goal of every system, is attained by the complete divorce of the spiritual from the material. One is reminded of Paul's cry for deliverance from the "body of this death." "Tout le système," says M. Grousset, summing up, "prend ainsi, dès le début, l'aspect très net d'une ontologie pluraliste."

The Samkhya, as perhaps the most important after the Vedanta, deserves a little more elaboration. Resting like all the others on the main doctrines of Karma, of Maya, of Transmigration and of Salvation (or release), it builds upon this foundation a system which suggests that it is a more subtle development of the Vaiseshika. There are two substances, Pakriti (Nature) and Purusha (Souls), and it is by the combination of these two, the active (Purusha) and the passive (Prakriti), that the universe and with it suffering have come into being. As in the Vaiseshika, ultimate salvation is obtained by detaching the Purusha from the influence of the Prakriti. The system thus recognizes an Ultimate Reality, but in the meantime allows to the phenomenal world and to the soul of Man a qualified reality, thus again differing from the pure monism of Sankara. But the Samkhya goes further by introducing the conception of the three gunas, a conception which, M. Grousset says, is much older since it can be found in the Upanishads. In its earlier form it appears to have represented natural phenomena, Tamas, the lowest stage, being primeval darkness, Rajas, the intermediate stage, of light diffused through the atmosphere, and Sattva, the highest, light undiffused. These terms, like many others in Hindu conception, came to be applied to abstract qualities, Tamas becoming inertia and ignorance, Rajas movement or action, and Sattva purity and goodness. We may remark in passing that the idea of Heaven in Dante's Paradiso is ineffable light, a light so blinding that the very description of it almost dazzles the reader. It is by rising from the state of Tamas to that of Sattva that the soul approaches nearer to salvation and ultimately obtains it, and it is by the interplay of these qualities that the diversity of character and the existence of evil and suffering are determined. But the Bhagavadgita, while it grants full value to the Samkhya and Yoga systems and suggests adherence to monistic doctrines, ends by becoming pure theism. God is omnipotent, immanent, transcendent; God is the only Reality, and Krishna is God.

Philosophic Hinduism is thus very far from being the gross idolatry which the ignorant associate with the name of Hindu. It is the product of acute brains, as acute as those of European philosophers, and in many, if not in most respects, leading to much the same results in popular life. If there are multitudes in Europe who have never heard the names of Descartes, Spinoza, Kant, or Schopenhauer, and many thousands more to whom they are no more than names, so the disputations on the nature of the átman, on the cause and origin of things, on the differentiation of creatures are unknown to great masses of Indians and doubtless to many more the names of Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhava, and Vallabha are little more than names. The popular idea of idolatry probably arose from the confusion of esoteric Hinduism with the grosser forms of village worship. Be this as it may, the foundations of Hindu belief have had a profound influence on the people.

The Hindu philosophers have tried to solve the eternal problem of the existence of evil by announcing the doctrine of Karma; reaping is the logical consequence of sowing and a man is master of his own soul. The doctrine of transmigration would seem to be, in the main at any rate, a system of rewards and punishments, related to and following upon Karma. Maya merely carries to its ineluctable conclusion the idea, well known to every great religion, that this fleeting world is not the ultimate purpose of God nor the ultimate destiny of Man. And so we come to Moksha, which satisfies that craving of man for the ideal which—and this is special to Hinduism—can only be obtained through renunciation.

While the philosophers were thus engaged in lofty speculations as to the nature and origin of the universe, the destiny of man and the objective reality of the phenomenal world, there grew up another more homely philosophy which took the world as it was and tried to make the best of it, without troubling to inquire whether they were thus discussing a thing of no importance, non-existent, a mirage, an illusion of the subjective senses. The fables and legends of India are famous, and most famous of all the collections known as the Panchatantra and the Hitopadesa.* Mr. A. S. P. Ayyar, who has published an English version of some of these stories, brings to his task all the essential qualities except one. He is, it seems, a Sanskrit scholar, an enthusiastic admirer of the stories, and a competent observer of the state of society which they reveal. The one thing he lacks is the gift of adequate English. It is always an ungracious task to criticize the language of one who has had the courage to use a foreign tongue, and it is admittedly difficult to translate Sanskrit into tolerable English or indeed into any other modern language, but we are so accustomed to the Indian mastery of English that Mr. Ayyar can hardly be excused for falling now and again into regrettable errors of style and phrase. The most readable part of the book is the Introduction, where Mr. Ayyar has not been hampered by his text.

The main theme of the Panchatantra is well known. A certain king, finding that his sons were on the way to degenerate into good-for-nothings, cast about for someone who would instruct them in "politics and worldly wisdom," for even in those early days India apparently had an almost pathetic faith in the power of education and homilies to work miracles. He found what he wanted in the person of Vishnusarma, a Brahman, who was reputed to be "learned in all the arts and sciences" and who certainly showed his good sense and worldly wisdom in this case, for in five months by telling them stories and fables in which the characters are sometimes men and women, but more often birds, beasts, fishes, reptiles, and the animal world generally, he was able to present the three young men to their father as reformed characters, "proficient not only in politics and worldly wisdom but also in the composition of easy and graceful prose and verse." Surely, we remark in passing, it is only in India, where reflection, meditation and introspection play so great a part, that such astonishing results could have been, not only expected, but actually achieved. If the formation of character is so easy and culture can be so quickly acquired, can we wonder that India clamours for compulsory education?

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* *Panchatantra and Hitopadesa.* By A. S. P. Ayyar. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*)

The princes can hardly have been as dull and stupid as they are represented to be if they were able to derive so much profit from these stories, from which, fascinating though they are, it is not always easy to draw the moral lesson. Like the disciples who could not appreciate the Parable of the Sower, they must sometimes have wondered what their teacher was driving at. Mr. Ayyar does not seek to enlighten us; he is more concerned with the pictures of Indian life contained in the stories than with the conception of political morality which they are supposed to convey, though he does give us some of the sententious maxims with which they are plentifully sprinkled. Sometimes the tendency is decidedly what it is the fashion to call Macchiavellian. What for instance is the moral to be drawn from the main theme of the first Book of the Panchatantra, entitled "The Dividing of Friends"? Here two jackals, finding a bull which had been abandoned by his master, take him to the lion, who receives him kindly and advances him in favour and honours, until the jackals, hitherto all-powerful at Court, become alarmed for themselves. They therefore poison the bull's mind against the lion and then persuade the lion that the bull is meditating his overthrow. They thus sow the seeds of suspicion and, aided by circumstances, their plot succeeds in bringing about a fight between bull and lion with of course the inevitable result. It is evident that this story might be taken in more than one way. It teaches the potency of self-interest which does not scruple to remove by any means those who stand in its path, and in the wider sphere it may be intended to teach the princes the virtue of diplomacy, for in the international sphere it has never been considered base or vicious to try and dissolve an alliance or a coalition that threatens danger to oneself. It might by analogy and more directly suggest that it is worldly wisdom to endeavour to overthrow a rival by cunning and intrigue when he is too powerful to be removed by more direct means. Or again it might be regarded as the example of political morality which should be avoided. This last is perhaps more in accordance with modern ideas, unless it be in international affairs, and it would seem more likely that in the earlier political philosophy the other was the moral inculcated, especially as the theme of the second book, "The Acquisition of Friends," which tells of the friendship of four apparently ill-assorted creatures, and how they helped each other in difficulties is obviously intended to teach the lesson of the value of close alliances, public and private, which is enhanced when they rest upon genuine affection and are not merely *de convenance*.

On the whole we may say that the king is a man set above his fellows, but not independent of them. He listens to the advice of his counsellors, who are often wiser than he. He has high notions of justice, the administration of which is often, though not always, delegated to his judges. He has a right to luxury, but he is also the leader of his armies in battle. The story called "The Owls' Coronation" suggests first that a king who neglects the affairs of State may be deposed, and secondly that some kind of democratic election was not unknown. The birds are dissatisfied with their king, Garuda, and elect the owl, but the crow, coming in at the last moment, dissuades them and they all fly away characteristically enough with nothing done. A cynic might apply the moral to the present political situation and point to the futility of democracy in India.

But although there is much to be learnt from the Panchatantra about kings, priests and judges, we are concerned at present rather with its value as a compendium of homely philosophy. Scattered throughout its pages are aphorisms which show at once the common sense and the moral values of the period. And viewed from this standpoint the stories themselves cover a wide range. Thus it has been said that the "conception of women in the Panchatantra, as in all Sanskrit literature, is very low." Mr. Ayyar attributes this remark to "some critics," but if they have made so sweeping a statement then it is emphatically not true of the Epics. But it is doubtful whether we can really form any comprehensive idea of the Panchatantra conception of women. Chastity is as usual regarded as the highest of feminine virtues, and the unchaste wife is the subject of more than one story and of some violent remarks. But humanity is a bundle of qualities and so we find in other stories that woman shows an exasperating caprice, or a childish credulity. She can be faithful and unfaithful, wise and foolish, easily satisfied and hard to please, nagging and submissive, a contemptible virago and the honoured mistress of a man's home and mother of his children. The Panchatantra thus reflects various attributes of woman, with perhaps characteristic modifications in the standard of values, but otherwise in accordance with the scattered conceptions of woman in her various moods, to be found in all literature from Helen of Troy to the heroine of the latest novel.

But indeed the Panchatantra may be said to range over a very wide field of human virtues and frailties. It is not always that the virtuous, in the time-honoured fashion of melodrama, triumph over the wicked, nor that the wicked are caught in their own snare, and that is unfortunately in accordance with human experience whatever the Psalmist may have said. The greedy and avaricious, it is true, generally find that they have overreached themselves; the insistence on this vice and the regularity of its punishment suggest that in ancient days—one wonders whether the present time shows any improvement—this particular frailty was prevalent among all classes. But the unchaste wife does not always get what she has deserved and the cunning sometimes succeed in schemes that seem iniquitous. The weak, by taking counsel, can often by pure ingenuity rather than intellect master the strong, and pygmies united can overcome the giant. The lesson of thoughtlessness and hasty action is illustrated by the tale of the faithful mongoose who was slain after defending the infant from the snake, a story which recalls Beth Gelert and the Wolf. But among all the tales none is more cynical than that which represents man as less to be trusted than the tiger, the monkey and the snake. Can we, who are daily witnessing examples of the treachery and cruelty of man, in all the world as well as in India, boast, in Greek phrase, that we are much better than our fathers?

The Panchatantra is a mine of proverbs and illustrations all over India. Its stories, like those of the great Epics, are known in every household, and it is not surprising that the book is dedicated to the memory of one "whose constant and apt quotations" showed "the sterling commonsense and profound wisdom" which can so readily be applied "to the everyday life of even the twentieth century in general and of twentieth century India in particular." All India would endorse those sentiments.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

"The Capital Question of China." By Lionel Curtis. (*Macmillan.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* Brig.-General C. D. Bruce.)

Mr. Lionel Curtis is not the only writer who has tried to persuade readers that "China is a question of major importance which could not be further ignored without risk to the whole structure of human society."

The attempt has been made many times before by men who have spent their working lives in China and know its people, their habits of life and their ways of thought from the cradle to the grave. Such men as Sir Robert Hart, Dr. Morrison of Peking, Rev. Arthur Smith, the late "Putnam Weale," and J. O. P. Bland, to mention only a few names of the many Englishmen who have tried to interpret China to Europe, but so far with little success. Men like these have for years been thinking and saying what the author of *The Capital Question of China* now repeats when he reminds readers of the vital importance of the whole question of China's relations to the outside world.

Quite lately the eyes of Europe have been specially directed towards the Far East, but this, to a large extent, was mere curiosity urged on by the Press—not interest. Not, at least, the only kind of interest that can help China, which is a sustained, sympathetic, and well-informed knowledge of what is going on in the Far East. Of how difficult it has hitherto been to interest Europe in China we have ample evidence. There is nearly as much to uphold the plain man's theory that he cannot understand China and does not want to make the attempt. Nor need we travel far to find an example of what the plain man means. Let any reader entirely fresh to China and all its problems be asked to read Chapter XVIII. and then in the best scholastic manner give an "appreciation" of it. What can be made of that which to him is a bewildering list of outlandish sounding names? How can he begin to understand the cryptic political manœuvring of greedy war-lords? Or side references to Russia, America, and France? Or quotations from Sun Yat Sen's *San Min Chu I*? Yet Chapter XVIII. is full of interest to readers already initiated.

Mr. Curtis commences with a comparatively brief summary of China's past history from the earliest times. He has devoted three-quarters of the whole book to this. Some readers may wish the division had been otherwise and that more of the thirty-six chapters had been allotted to the statement of the author's own comments, opinions, and suggestions. In all probability it is over the last six chapters that most readers will linger longest, for it is the creative side of such a book as *The Capital Question of China* which carries the strongest appeal.

Passing on to Part II. If we may attempt to summarize Mr. Lionel Curtis' chief contents these would seem to be, in effect, that Great Britain has never attempted to do all she might have done to help China during the last half-century. "We are apt to forget," he writes, "that her (China's) present condition is directly due to our over-insistence on trading with her. Our duty in the matter is not discharged by constantly reading her lectures." But is there not another side to this statement? Everyone has, of course, a right to his own opinion, but the reader with some knowledge of China's past may well ask himself whether the late Sir John Jordan—than whom China never had a more devoted friend—would agree.

Carrying the same argument further, Mr. Curtis makes a strong point in Part II. as in (Chapter XIV.) Part I. of the evil effect, as he considers it, of retaining Foreign Embassies at Peking, instead of transferring them to Nanking. Mr. Curtis goes so far as to write thus of the quarters of the Foreign Legations in Peking: "This fortified settlement, half a mile square in extent, has become the home of a diplomatic and military society which lives a life of its own, discussing the news of events which reach it from every part of the world. . . . So attractive is the life that those who have enjoyed it sometimes find on retirement that existence elsewhere is unbearable and return to spend their old age in Peking."

Had Mr. Lionel Curtis had the misfortune to have found himself shut up in Peking at the time of the Boxer Rising he might, perhaps, have held a more lenient view as to the necessity for fortifying the Legation quarter. In one sense Foreign diplomats are bound to live a life of their own in Peking just as they would wherever the capital of China was set up. But leading the life thus described in no way prevented men like the late Sir John Jordan and the late Dr. Morrison of *The Times* from being fully acquainted with what was happening all over China. No doubt in some ways Nanking would make a better capital, under modern conditions, than Peking, and Peking has never been in favour with southern politicians from Canton. But the change of the Foreign Legations from Peking to Nanking or anywhere else would hardly have had much, if any, direct effect upon the general chaotic conditions in China.

Another point which Mr. Curtis raises and discusses refers to past and present methods of selecting Foreign Ministers or Ambassadors to the Republic of China. Writing of what he considers to be drawbacks in the position of British officials in China, "whose whole training has been in the East," the author goes on to emphasize the great need of offering advice to the Government of China by "Foreign Ministers with wide political experience." As an example of what is meant, Mr. Curtis cites the services of a well-known American diplomat. "If England," writes Mr. Curtis, "once adopted the practice of sending to China ministers drawn from the first rank of public life, and also of allowing them to speak their minds," other countries, he thinks, might follow suit. Few persons are likely to disagree, but to some readers the actual fulfilment of these suggestions, however desirable they may be, will not seem too easy of accomplishment. The comparison of the Indian official who, though not born in India, has at any rate been bred and brought up entirely on Indian tradition, is, some readers may think, hardly a fair one. In China, he will ask, has the day yet arrived when the presence of men whose chief value lies in their intimate knowledge of the country and of things Chinese is any less necessary than it has been for years past? China is, of course, changing outwardly, but readers may persuade themselves that they would prefer to see as British officials men with a thorough acquaintance with the Chinese language and having an inside knowledge of its people and customs. These things, it is well known, are only gained after years of residence and of painstaking, self-sacrificing labour.

As regards the possibility of offering friendly advice by Foreign Ministers with wide political experience in the manner Mr. Curtis suggests, no one will differ from such counsel, but is this quite as simple a matter as it sounds? Has not the attempt to offer such advice been going on for years past? Advice may be freely offered with the highest motives, but no power on earth can force its acceptance on a Government which systematically persists in disregarding it. The establishment of intimate relations with another Government elsewhere by a distinguished American politician referred to by Mr. Curtis, may not be on all fours with what could be done in China. And, probably, most readers would prefer to see continued the employment of British diplomatic methods rather than those used by America, however successful they may seem to be.

It is, of course, a mere truism to say that reciprocity in diplomatic intercourse alone can bring about the continuance of mutual friendly relations between any two nations. It has to a very great extent been the almost entire lack of any idea of reciprocity in diplomatic intercourse on the part of any Chinese Government during the last decade or so which has so fatally damaged the possibility of offering help to her toiling millions. It may be possible that the author of *The Capital Question of China* does not himself quite realize the heart-breaking conditions under which almost every Foreign Minister in China has been forced to work for many years. Granted reciprocity on the part of any Chinese Government, and fresh hopes and fresh opportunities at once would appear.

Mr. Curtis mentions as types of British officials certain well-known proconsuls, but we should ask ourselves quite frankly, would such men as Lord Cromer, Lord Curzon, or Lord Milner ever have been attracted to China as Ambassadors, advisers, or in any capacity under the conditions which have existed there for the last half-century? To-day, would statesmen like Lord Irwin, Lord Willingdon, or the Marquess of Zetland accept the task of endeavouring to rebuild China under such conditions as now exist? Once a change of heart has been brought about in China then the dawn heralded by Mr. Curtis might arise. Unfortunately, there are at present few if any signs of that change, but that is no reason whatever for relaxing the efforts of British diplomacy to bring it about.

Everyone interested in the world-wide problem of China's regeneration should read Mr. Lionel Curtis' stimulating book.

JAPAN, A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY. By G. B. Sansom. With map, illustrations and plates. (*The Cresset Press.*) 30s. net.

The publisher has given this work a most attractive appearance. The size, the type of the text, the paper, and the illustrations are all calculated to give pleasure to the book-lover. The student is, indeed, chiefly concerned about the text, and he will find that his first impression is proved by fact. There are several short histories of Japan; for instance, the one by Brinkley, which has enjoyed a wide reputation. However, Mr. Sansom's book is, of course, up-to-date, and deals with the subject more in the light of culture than any other; it is on the same lines as the late Professor R. Wilhelm's history of Chinese civilization, and again the information offered is largely based on Japanese sources. This makes the work one of research which will perhaps be more appreciated by the real student and scholar than by the lay reader. There are seven parts, all of which deserve a lengthy notice.

The first chapter opens with the prehistoric period and the question of the origin of the Japanese. It also dwells upon the importance of Chinese learning and its influence upon Japanese institutions, art and literature. The remaining chapters follow in succession the various periods of history, and the reader will never be disappointed in looking up any special branch of culture. On page 135 (chapter vii) we are reminded that the first book in Japanese, as far as is at present known, is the well-known chronicle *Kojiki*, completed in 712 A.D. The development of Chinese institutions in Japan is dealt with in chapter xi. Historical dates are given in their proper places. Religion in its various stages occupies many pages. This work will be a book of reference for many years to come. The Bibliographical note is short but to the point, but one misses the titles of the Japanese originals, from which it is largely drawn. The plates are superb, and the text illustrations are of a most varied and interesting nature. The volume is priced at the low figure of 30s., which is also commendable.

GUIDES DES COLONIES FRANÇAISES : INDOCHINE. By P. E. About. (*Paris: Société d'Editions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales.*)

In a short preface M. Blanchard de la Brosse, the well-known Colonial Administrator who is now Director of the Agence Economique de l'Indochine, explains the scope of the volumes in this new series. They are designed to offer the tourist general information of every kind and at the same time sufficient details to enable him to plan his tour intelligently. The introductory matter, which is nearly a third of the book, includes chapters on history, geography, religion, ethnology, art and natural resources. The provincial history and geography are given at the beginning of each section. In this way the traveller is constantly reminded of the background of the past. There are a plentiful supply of maps and some illustrations.

GENERAL

ORIENTAL RUGS AND CARPETS. A comprehensive study. By Arthur U. Dilley. With Maps and 79 Plates, 14 of which are coloured. (*Scribners.*) £3 3s. net.

A number of works large and small have been published on the fascinating subject of Oriental Carpets in various European languages. One has only to be reminded of the second edition of the magnificent volumes issued by the Austrian Museum and others such as the one by V. J. Robinson. But there was room for a standard volume for the man of moderate means, and this need has now been satisfied by Mr. Dilley, who has studied his subject in the East. He was therefore in a position to describe the present-day state of carpet-weaving. In Chapter XI. fibres and dyes are dealt with exhaustively. What kind of wool, what kind of sheep, or which parts of the skin are required for the use of the carpets? Similar questions are put in regard to the use of silk. What dyes are used for the colouring? These are essentials to the manufacturer as well as to the collector. In Chapter XII. we are informed of the three styles of weaving—*i.e.*, the tapestry, the Kashmir, and the rug of pile surface. Plate 70 shows weaving as practised at Teheran; 72 shows the varieties of weaving, an enlarged paper sketch of design, and boy weavers employing coloured paper sketches. In the earlier chapters Mr. Dilley takes us back to the various rulers and their connections with the rug, concluding with the year 1925. Persia's great rugs form another chapter with their division of medallion, hunting, animal, scenic and Polonaise rugs. After Persia we turn to India, Turkey, the Caucasus, Turkestan, and finally to China. A happy idea was to explain the symbolic designs in Chinese rugs. The volume abounds in historical references, chiefly from the old travellers. A representative selection of 14 coloured reproductions embellishes the book to which 66 plates in half-tone must be added. Seven sketch maps are a most welcome complement.

NOTES SUR L'AFGHANISTAN. By Maurice Fouchet. (Paris: *Maisonneuve.*) 20 fr.

The author was the first French Minister to the Court of Afghanistan, and his experiences, published after his death, are of great interest. The book commences in the form of a diary with a description of his arrival by way of the Khyber Pass. There follows a chapter on the inhabitants of the country. The second part of the book deals with history and politics, which includes a vivid character-sketch of the ex-King Amanullah. The author foresaw clearly the dangers that lay in his path. There is a good account of the French archæological mission which has done valuable exploration work, the results of which have been published, and an introduction by M. Joseph Hackin.

INDIA

MEDIÆVAL INDIA. By A. Yusuf Ali. (*Oxford Press.*) 5s. net.

(*Reviewed by* STANLEY RICE.)

When all is said and done, we know very little of the social and economic life of that period which Mr. Yusuf Ali has chosen to call the Middle Ages of India. We need not quarrel with the period he has treated—from Harsha to the death of Prithi Raj—for, as he truly remarks, history is continuous and there is no clear-cut line separating one time from another. The reign of Harsha was the last of the great efforts to establish an Indian Empire during Hindu times, and the age may compare unfavourably with that of the Guptas, but the Roman Empire is witness that progress does not always move straightforward. Mr. Yusuf Ali is a diligent student of materials at first hand and draws impartially upon Hindu drama, ancient inscriptions and carvings, the narratives of travellers, Moorish, European, and Mussulman, as well as upon the ballads of the North and other sources of information. Within the limits of four lectures there is doubtless much that he was obliged to leave unsaid, but he has managed to draw a picture, if only in outline, of the economic and social state of India in the period in question. Yet the reader is left wondering what it all amounts to. How far can we accept imaginative dramatists as trustworthy guides? Is not Bana's description of the untouchables' camp a highly coloured picture, "the image of all hells," of what was in fact very much what one can see to-day in the misery and squalor amongst the poorest and most neglected? Do the intrigues of the King carry us much further, and are not the perfumes and the jewels, the rich clothes and the rich food, only embellishments of a picture designed to represent luxury? Even Ibn Batuta, that enterprising traveller, was largely concerned with the ruler of any place where he happened to be, and especially with what was to be got out of him. Nevertheless, when one has discounted all this, there remains an impression of prosperity and civilization far ahead of what we know of Europe at the same time. Trade was flourishing; towns and public buildings were the objects of particular care; the various parts of India and its various races were drawing closer together; naked ascetics walked the land, and magic, as might be expected, was prevalent, especially in the South, but these things, the former at any rate, hardly touched the life of the people. Mr. Yusuf Ali is most interesting when he speaks of the reactions of Islam upon Hindu thought, and with a praiseworthy impartiality does full justice to the chivalry of the flower of Hindu manhood, the Rajputs.

THE ENGLISH IN INDIA: A PROBLEM OF POLITICS. By Sir John A. R. Marriott. (*Clarendon Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Sir John Marriott's book is a useful survey of some obvious factors in the problem of Indo-British relations, and may serve as an introduction to more detailed study. The story of the rise of British power in India has often been told in just such a fashion before. But there are certain features of the problem which I feel have not been adequately treated. Sir John's discussion of the historical background is disappointing; and although he recognizes that the British Empire in India is but the last of a long series, he does not submit to the necessary careful analysis the causes which have produced the ruin of previous polities, nor does he determine how far these causes are operative to-day. Generally speaking, he limits himself to telling us what happened. But in India, as elsewhere, one must know as a rule not only what happened, but why it happened.

One defect of the book is its reliance upon purely British sources, and a consequent failure to appraise the political importance of the psychology of the peoples who have been subject to British rule. In the later chapters of his discussion he lays great stress upon the tendency to Westernization in politics and education, without giving due weight to the counterbalancing factor, of reaction against an extraneous culture. Indeed, it is upon the cultural side that in my view the book is weakest, for I have been increasingly struck of late by the importance of the cultural clash which, as many observers believe, underlies and transcends the more obvious political struggle.

The problem of Indo-British relations is not one which can be solved by Britain alone. If a solution is to come, it will proceed from Indo-British co-operation. This in turn depends upon an exact appreciation, not only of British, but also of Indian, ideas upon the fundamentals of politics. There is lacking in this volume an evaluation of the political theories of India, dependent as they are upon the prevailingly communalistic organization of society. Yet how is it possible to discuss fully the problems of Indo-British relationship without taking into account such socio-political fundamentals as the caste, the village community and the joint family, in the light of their bearing upon Indian ideas of the function of the State? By omitting such considerations from his survey, the author is led apparently to assume that the only political ideas current in India are those which have been borrowed from Western sources; that the impulse to self-government is derived from democratic aspirations; and that two thousand years of pre-British theory and practice in the arts of politics have been obliterated by a century and a half of British rule. This is only half the problem. The intentions, the ideas, the achievements of the British: all these are notable and excellently presented, but they need to be considered, not *in vacuo*, but in relation to the intentions, the ideas, and the aspirations of the. Indian peoples. For only through co-operation can an issue be found.

DIE LITERATUREN INDIENS. By Dr. H. von Glasenapp. (Wildpark-Potsdam: *Athenaion*.) 30 R.M.

The present volume is a praiseworthy attempt to pass in review the whole of Indian literature in 320 large pages. In this formidable task the author has had the assistance of three Germans and Professor Banarsi Das Jain of the Oriental College, Lahore; and indeed the field of study is so vast that it would be impossible for one scholar to master such a subject. In an introductory chapter on the pioneers of Indian Studies tribute is paid to Sir Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones, and Sir Henry Colebrooke, and to Rammohan Roy, Bhau Daji, Rajendralala Mitra, and Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. The work falls into three main parts: ancient and mediæval Indian literature, the later Indo-Aryan languages, and Dravidian literature. The first of these is divided to some extent into religious sections, whilst the other two tend to follow geographical lines. The modern literary movements are well described and receive proper recognition. An additional attraction are the well-chosen illustrations of art works and portraits of leading scholars and writers. The publishers also deserve credit for the excellent presentation of the volume.

BOMBAY TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW. Eight Lectures by various authors. Ed. by C. Manshardt (Bombay: *Taraporevala Sons and Co.*) 9s.

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A VIGNETTE FROM MALABAR: THE ORDEAL OF SUCHINDRAM

By N. K. Venkateswaran

Till nearly the beginning of the nineteenth century there was no regular judicial system in Travancore. The *Karikars*, or administrative officers of *taluqs*, were collectors of revenue and judges and magistrates combined, and they meted out much law with little difficulty. The famous Colonel Munro, who was the British Resident in Travancore from 1810 to 1819, was practically the father of the State's present judicial system. His historic Regulation for the administration of justice marks the beginning of modern law in Travancore.

Before Munro's time oath and trial by ordeal were commonly employed for the settlement of disputes. In the administration of justice the *Karikars* followed Hindu law and custom according to their lights. Munro relates a curious case in which a *Karikar* had decided that a certain property was to be given to a man upon his taking a particular oath. The case came before the Resident on appeal and his assisting *pundits* averred that although the *Karikar* was right the property in question must be given to the other party since a cow had died in the house of the oath-taker within forty days of the oath. The death of the cow so soon after the oath was proof enough, to the *pundits*, that it was false. It must be remembered that at this time the killing of a cow was a capital crime in Travancore. The Regulation of Colonel Munro changed all this and an era of entirely different justice was born.

The Resident naturally wanted to abolish the system of trial by ordeal, and it was only in deference to the wish of Rani Gouri Lakshmi Bai, the ruler, that he made a provision in his Regulation permitting the use of this instrument of justice "in particular cases with the express sanction of the Dewan." Munro's remarks on trial by ordeals prevalent in the State at that time are very interesting.

"This mode of trial," says he, "is very common in Travancore and appears on some occasions to have been productive of salutary effects in restraining the excesses of a cunning, avaricious, and cruel people. But the trial by ordeal was useful in consequence only of the absence of a fixed system of justice and law, and will be discontinued entirely in a short period of time . . . a Jew complained to me of having been, in opposition to his earnest entreaties, subjected by order of a former Dewan to that mode of determining in a dispute with a person of his own religion. This poor man was obliged to put his hand into a vessel full of boiling oil and he lost his cause and very nearly the use of his hand." (Quoted in the *Travancore State Manual.*)

In some respects the most noteworthy place of trial by ordeal in Travancore was the temple of Suchindram near Cape Comorin. It is an ancient temple, probably more than a thousand years old, and is noted for its sanctity throughout Southern India. Suchindram literally is the place where Indra the god was purified. The story is that a saint laid a heavy curse on Indra for a piece of misbehaviour and that Indra was purified at this temple by its deity Lord Siva after a long period of penance and prayer. Pious people of South Travancore maintain that Indra still continues to perform *pujas* to the deity and that one could occasionally even hear the tingling bell that accompanies the worship at the witching time of night.

A Sanskrit quartette says, " Behold your eyes upon Suchindram, the world-renowned abode of God Siva, where Devendra (Indra) himself was purified. There even today, the results of human actions good or bad, however subtle, are observed on the hands of men." (Quoted in a Travancore archæological report.)

The Suchindram Ordeal was confined to the Nambutiri Brahmins of Malabar and mostly to cases of suspected adultery, where the known evidence was insufficient for conviction. The suspected person was handed over to the temple authorities by the Travancore ruler and the temple authorities in their turn subjected him to the ordeal of a boiling mixture of oil and ghee. An elaborate ritual attended by grave silence illuminated the trial, which was always conducted before the temple assembly. The crucial stage in the trial was the taking by the accused of a small metal image of a bull from a vessel of boiling ghee and oil in which it was immersed. The image of the bull was a special provision meant solely for these ordeals and is accounted for by the fact that the bull is the mount of Lord Siva, just as the Brahmini kite is the mount of Lord Vishnu. After taking the image the man went round the temple once before his experimental hand was wrapped with cloth and tied securely with a knot on which the royal seal of Travancore was impressed. Three days after, the hand under the seal was uncovered in the temple before the idol and the assembly, and were it found free from hurt the man was adjudged innocent and was acquitted. Any blister was deemed enough to affirm guilt, and in that case the unfortunate man had to remain a dishonoured outcaste for the remainder of his life. The temple records give particulars about some ordeals. It would seem that hands were less often burned than not burned. Once a Nambutiri Brahmin, the records tell, was required to perform this *kaimukkal* or "hand-dipping" against alleged adultery. Perhaps because of conscious guilt the man argued that any hand must blister if dipped in boiling liquid, irrespective of the presence or absence of crime, and that a far better ordeal would be the dipping of the hand in cold ghee, so that if it was found to have burned after the prescribed three days there could be no doubt of the presence of guilt in the case. This outwitted the pious and grave assembly, for it was a challenge to the power of the god, and they decided to take the only honourable course open to them, that is, to summon faith and courage and allow the man his argument. Accordingly the accused recovered the brazen bull from cold instead of boiling ghee, and as usual the hand was wrapped and sealed with the royal seal. Three days after, the argumentative hand was discovered, to the surprise of all, burned and blistered, and the man was condemned.

The Suchindram Ordeal gradually went out of vogue after the Regulation of Colonel Munro, but even today when anyone is charged with some bad conduct he offers, if only theoretically, to dip his hand in boiling ghee in proof of his purity.

THE SITUATION IN SIAM

By Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales

(Late of the Royal Siamese Service)

The news of the revolt in Siam came as a complete surprise to those of us in Europe who are familiar with Siamese national characteristics and institutions. It seemed incredible that this quiet and peace-loving people with their innate respect for authority could have risen against the monarchy. It is true that indications have not been lacking in the last few years that a change must sooner or later come about, but no one would have expected this sudden *coup d'état*.

The only form of government that the Siamese had ever known since they obtained their independence in the thirteenth century was absolute monarchy, which was at first mild and parental, but became more and more harsh and tyrannical after the foundation of Ayudhya in A.D. 1350. The kings imitated the luxury and pomp of their former Khmer suzerains, and the people imbibed over-developed Hindu ideas of the divinity of their rulers which led them to bear the oppression of the kings and the extortion of the officials for more than four hundred years almost without complaint. There were no powerful castes of Brahmans or Kṣatriyas to curb the power of the kings, and it was very exceptional for a monarch to give any thought to the welfare of his people.

Ayudhya was destroyed by the Burmese in A.D. 1767, and in 1782 the present capital, Bangkok, was founded by the first king of the Chakri Dynasty. But there was little change in methods of government during the reigns of the first three kings of this dynasty, for they were not in favour of admitting Western influence to Siam, and were intent on reconstructing their capital on the time-honoured model of Ayudhya. We have at least to thank them for thus preserving for posterity much of the ancient culture of the Thai race which was in danger of permanent loss after its dispersal at the sack of Ayudhya.

The introduction of Western ideas and the abolition of many of the old abuses came with the accession of King Mongkut in 1851, who made commercial treaties for the encouragement of trade with America and the chief European Powers. Himself a learned man, he saw the importance of introducing Western education, and made a beginning by placing his own children under the care of an English governess at Bangkok. One of these children was the future King Chulalongkorn, who, after his accession in 1868, introduced a series of far-reaching reforms, of which the one which endeared him most to his people was the abolition of slavery. He also abolished the crouching attitude which until then had been compulsory for all officials and subjects when in the presence of royalty. This was the outward sign of a change which from then on came about in the bearing of the officials who gradually grew into the comparatively conscientious and self-respecting class which as a whole they now are. Throughout the whole of his long reign (he died in 1910) King Chulalongkorn ruled as a true father of his people and furthered their welfare and prosperity; and his policy has been worthily followed by both of his successors, King Vajiravudh and the present King Prajadhipok.

In reorganizing the old administration in 1892, King Chulalongkorn replaced the old military and civil divisions of the Right and Left by ten chief Departments of State, the heads of which formed a Cabinet in which matters of State were debated. The Cabinet sat regularly until 1910, and its deliberations in connection with the many reforms introduced in the last years of King Chulalongkorn's reign contributed much to the advancement of the country. After 1910 the Cabinet met only to consider matters of the highest importance, but one of the first acts of King Prajadhipok on coming to the throne in 1925 was the establishment of a Supreme Council of State, formed of five of the most experienced and respected princes, over the meetings of which the King presided as Prime Minister. But it should be understood that both the Cabinet and the Supreme Council were purely advisory bodies, necessitated by the increasing complexity of a modern administration, and the King until the recent revolt was most particular as to the full recognition of his absolute power over his subjects, but this power was always wielded by modern kings of Siam solely in the best interests of their subjects. It may be added that the nature of the coronation ritual and other royal ceremonies shows that the theory of divine kingship was retained, and is probably still an integral part of the creed of the simpler up-country people.

The ultimate cause of the recent upheaval in Siam is no doubt attributable to the spread of Western education, which, as elsewhere in the East, is the cause of so much unrest. The result of this education has been the growth of a very large official class—for the educated Siamese is averse to a commercial career—and for some years the growth of such a class was highly desirable, for it was necessary to replace the old-fashioned court satellites by younger men capable of adapting themselves to the new administrative conditions. It was natural that these men would sooner or later wish for a voice in the Government, but so long as salaries were well and regularly paid, it appeared that the officials would be quite content to await such time as a measure of self-government was accorded to them, in the meantime consoling themselves with an occasional letter to the newspapers. The supply of men educated in Government schools, and even of those who had been to Europe, was already beginning to exceed the demand for officials when King Prajadhipok came to the throne, and he wisely saw that it was better to oblige these young men to seek other modes of earning a living than to allow the Government Departments to become overburdened with expensive sinecures. Thus from the very beginning of his reign the present King had to wield the axe of economy, and the discontent thus caused amongst the axed officials perhaps assisted to prepare the way for the more acute trouble resulting from the further cuts that became necessary as a result of the economic depression, by which Siam has been hit so badly.

In order to balance the Budget it became necessary not only further to cut down the strength of the various departments of State, but also to levy new taxes. It being impossible to collect an Income Tax, the Government decided to raise money by means of a Salaries Tax, which, because of its obvious unfairness and the fact that the Siamese had hitherto had little experience of direct taxation, precipitated the revolt. If the change to a limited monarchy is to be regarded as final, and if this means that representative government is to be introduced in the near future, one cannot but regard the future with some anxiety. The Siamese, unlike the Indians, have never had any experience of self-government at any period of their history and the masses are certainly quite unfitted for it Moreover, it is regrettable that the so-called People's Party, in which the highest power is now vested, seems to consist almost entirely of officers in the army and navy, who are neither the most highly educated nor the most responsible section of the population. As for the simple agricultural people of the provinces, who for the last eighty years have responded so well to a kindly paternal Government, it is difficult to help feeling that their lot in the future will be unenviable. Finally, one cannot refrain from hoping that whatever the future power that rules in the land may be, the Siamese may never forget the gratitude which they owe to the Chakri Dynasty, the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of whose founding they celebrated so wholeheartedly only a few weeks ago.

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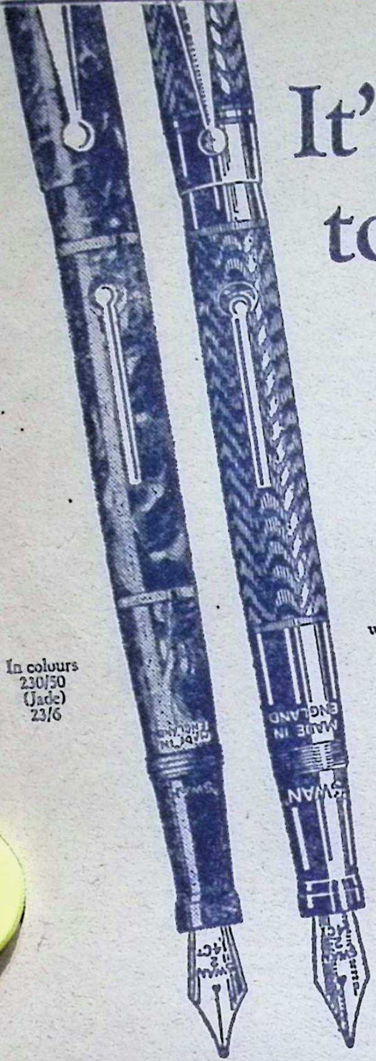

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THE INDIAN FRANCHISE REPORT*

By Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
(Deputy Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee)

I

The history of the Indian franchise problem is not a very long one, because before 1920 there was no franchise in the ordinary sense for the legislative bodies in India. Apart from legislation, the functions of those bodies were mainly advisory. They could discuss the Budget, but they had no power to reject it or to alter it or modify it, and their resolutions were merely recommendations which Government could ignore, if it thought fit. A considerable proportion of the members of those legislatures were nominated by the Government, and most of the rest obtained their seats under a system of indirect election, through municipalities, district boards, and the like. It will be in the recollection of many here that the system led to many intrigues and abuses. Briefly, delegates were sent up from a district with instructions to vote for Mr. A. They came back having voted for Mr. B., and unpleasant stories were put about as to the reasons for their change of plan. It is a curious fact that the recollection of these things has prejudiced Indians very strongly against any system of indirect election, including the group system, which I shall discuss presently.

The introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1920 gave the Councils a certain amount of control over the policy and expenditure of various branches of the administration, and the authors of these reforms laid stress on the necessity of making the franchise as broad as possible consistently with the avoidance of any such inordinate extension as might lead to a breakdown of the electoral machinery through sheer weight of numbers. A

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* Based on an address at a discussion meeting of members on July 26.

Franchise Committee under Lord Southborough endeavoured to apply these somewhat vague instructions in drawing up schemes for the different provinces. Those schemes were based upon property qualifications, which varied from province to province. They were drawn up in haste and were of a somewhat rough and ready order. Some difficulty was anticipated from the illiterate voter, but as the Committee observed, " the problem is not a new one in India, and a similar problem has already been faced with success in municipal elections by the use of coloured boxes and other like devices." The Southborough scheme enfranchised nearly 3 per cent. of the total population in India as a whole, though in some provinces the proportion was much lower. In Bihar and the Central Provinces it was only a little over 1 per cent. The scheme was confined to men, but it was left open to the councils to extend the franchise to women if they so desired, and within three or four years the Assembly and all the provincial councils admitted women to the franchise on the same terms as men.

II

With a few minor adjustments, the franchise devised by the Southborough Committee has endured to the present day. Its main defect is that it is confined to the well-to-do classes of the population, and it excludes nearly all women and the general body of the poor. So long as the control of the legislature over the executive was partial and limited, this did not greatly matter; but when the Simon Commission proposed, subject to a few reservations and safeguards, the transfer of all provincial subjects to the administration of ministers responsible to the legislature, they observed that the present franchise was too limited in its scope to provide the material from which to build any adequate scheme of representative government. They quoted the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Act of 1919 as emphasizing the importance of enlarging the initial franchise qualifications before greater responsibilities could be conferred on the ministers and on the legislatures, and they recommended that a scheme should be framed which would enfranchise 10 per cent. of the total population, thereby increasing the existing number of voters more than three-fold. They went on to show that the enfranchisement of Indian women on the same terms as men had produced a negligible number of women voters, since few Indian women own property in their own right. They therefore proposed the adoption of special qualifications for women which would increase the number of women voters from a little over a quarter of a million to over six millions. They further pointed out that the comparatively high property qualification in force excludes from the franchise many literate persons, both men and women, who are well qualified to exercise the vote, and they proposed the introduction of an additional qualification based on education, independently of property.

It may be of interest to note here that the Franchise Committee's scheme will give the vote to 14 per cent. of the total population, or, if the men voters alone are taken, to 12 per cent., as compared with the 10 per cent. proposed by the Simon Commission. The number of women to be enfranchised under the Committee's scheme will be almost exactly what was proposed by the Simon Commission, although the methods adopted are not identical.

III

As everybody knows, the scheme of constitutional reform has developed on wider lines than were contemplated by the Simon Commission. The Prime Minister in his letter of instructions to the Indian Franchise Committee thus defined the intentions of His Majesty's Government. He said: "The present electorate in the Indian provinces amounts to less than 3 per cent. of the population of the areas returning members to the provincial councils, and it is obvious that under this limited franchise the majority of the people and many large and important sections of the community can enjoy no effective representation in the legislatures. The principle of a responsible federal government, subject to certain reservations and safeguards, has been accepted by His Majesty's Government, while it has been decided that the Governors' provinces are to become responsibly governed units enjoying the greatest possible measure of freedom from outside interference and dictation in carrying out their own policies in their own sphere. In these circumstances it is clearly necessary so to widen the electorate that the legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population, and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and opinions."

The Prime Minister went on to refer to the recommendations of the Franchise Sub-committee of the Round-Table Conference, which may be briefly summarized as follows: Adult suffrage was regarded as the goal which should ultimately be attained, although it could only be reached by stages, but it was agreed that the basis of the franchise could forthwith be broadened and that a large increase was desirable. The Sub-committee recommended, with some dissentients, "the immediate increase of the electorate so as to enfranchise not less than 10 per cent. of the population, and indeed a larger number—but not more than 25 per cent. of the total population—if that should, on full investigation, be found practicable and desirable." They also recommended that consideration should be given to the introduction of a scheme by which all adults not entitled to a direct vote would be grouped together in primary groups of about 20 for the election of one representative member of each group, who would be entitled to vote in provincial electorates, either in the same constituency as the directly qualified voters, or in separate constituencies to be framed for them. The Prime Minister asked us to give full weight to these recommendations of the Franchise Sub-committee of the Round-Table Conference, and directed that our inquiries should be pursued on these lines; he added that His Majesty's Government attached special importance to securing a more adequate enfranchisement of women, and he also directed us to consider by what methods the representation of labour could most effectually be secured. He instructed us further to ascertain the extent to which the depressed classes would be likely to secure the right to vote in ordinary electorates under the franchise scheme which we might recommend, in order to enable His Majesty's Government to decide whether special electorates should be constituted for the depressed classes or not.

These, then, were the sailing orders which we received—to bring the total electorate up to not less than 10 per cent. of the population; to make it representative of the general mass of the population, so that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and opinions; and in particular to make adequate provision for the representation of women, labour, and the depressed classes. It is open to our critics to say that these were not good sailing orders, or that they headed us in the direction of a port which it was not desirable that we should reach. But we were only the crew; it was not for us to question our sailing orders, and we can fairly claim that our work should be judged and weighed in the light of those sailing orders. There can be no doubt, too, that our scheme and any alternative scheme will be judged and weighed by Indian opinion in the light of those orders, and that those orders, once having been issued, cannot be withdrawn from the public recollection.

Personally, I think that, having regard to the stage which we have reached, and also to the pledges given by His Majesty's Government and their representatives in India, they were very good orders. In particular, I feel, and it is widely felt in India, that if you are going to end the bureaucratic administration and make the provincial administrations in India subject to the control of legislative bodies, you must see that those legislative bodies are as far as possible representative of a wide electorate, and not merely of the small section of the population which at present enjoys the vote. Hitherto the British Government and its officers in India have made it their duty to protect the peasant and the labourer, and if the British Government is now going to relinquish its power of intervention between the rich and the poor and between the powerful and the weak, it is in duty bound to provide the poor and the weak with the means of defending themselves. They require the vote not merely as "an instrument for political education," to use the phrase employed by the Simon Commission, but as a weapon of self-defence.

The danger of the growth of an oligarchy, or rather of a series of oligarchies in the different provinces, is far from imaginary. We found in every province a tendency for such limited political power as has hitherto been conceded to the legislative councils and to the ministers to fall into the hands of the same old gang. The most striking illustration of this is to be found in Bihar and Orissa, where only 1 per cent. of the population has been given the vote, where the great majority of the members of the legislative council belong to the landlord class, and where one minister has held office continuously since the introduction of the reforms in 1921, and the other since 1922. One of the few representatives of the tenant class in the council said to me, "Our ministers are not ministers at all; they are more I.C.S. than the I.C.S. themselves." I do not say that these ministers have done their work badly; on the contrary, I believe they have done it extremely well, as was only to be expected, when they have been trained and controlled by such distinguished administrators as Sir Henry Wheeler and Sir Hugh Stephenson. But in future ministers are going to be responsible not to the governor, but to the legislative council, and it is therefore essential that, in the Prime Minister's words, the legislative councils "should be representative of the general mass of the population and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and opinions" therein.

IV

I now pass on to a brief description of our inquiries and proposals. I must mention at the outset that the fact that the communal question had not been settled considerably hampered us in our work. It is true that the Prime Minister authorized us to assume that separate communal electorates would continue to form a feature of the new constitution, but this did not take us very far, and in the absence of a settlement of the communal question it was difficult for us to form any clear ideas or proposals regarding the precise size and composition of the different legislative bodies for which we were framing electoral schemes.

At a very early stage of our inquiries we came to the conclusion that adult suffrage at the present stage is neither practicable nor desirable. That point need hardly be laboured here. We did, however, give much attention and consideration to various modifications or indirect systems of adult suffrage, which promised to give a wider basis of representation for the legislatures than is possible under any system based on property or educational qualifications. In particular, at the outset, we were all of us, both Indians and Europeans, considerably attracted by the group system. There are two main varieties of this form of indirect election. Under the first variety, which is actually in force in Egypt and 'Iraq, the whole adult population is divided into groups of 20 or 25. Each group elects a representative or secondary elector. These secondary electors are arranged in constituencies and each constituency elects one of its number to represent it in the legislature. This universal group system was not favoured by any responsible body of opinion in India except for a short time by the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee. Everywhere else it was regarded with extreme disfavour based to a large extent, as I have explained, on dislike of the form of indirect election which was in force before 1920; but the most important practical objection to the universal direct system in India is that it would mean depriving seven million people of the direct vote which they have exercised during the last twelve years. Now most of you know that Indian politicians, like politicians elsewhere, are apt to make the most of a grievance, and it was clear at a very early stage that the substitution of the indirect for the direct system of voting was going to be treated as a first-class political grievance, and that its adoption would go far to damn any scheme of political reform that could be put forward. In these circumstances, it would have been worse than useless to press it.

The second variety of the group system involves a combination of the indirect with the direct system. It is the variety which found favour at the Round-Table Conference, where it was known as the Zetland plan, and it also attracted a certain amount of support in India. But it was strongly opposed by the great majority of officials as not worth the trouble which it would entail, and in the end the majority of people, both official and non-official, whose opinion was worth having, came round to this view. The Round-Table Conference scheme applied to a province of 50 million inhabitants would work out like this. Ten per cent. of the population, or 5 million people, would obtain the direct vote under a property qualification. The remaining 20 million adults divided into groups of 20 would produce only 1 million voters between them, and it is clear that the voting power of these 20 million adults would be very small in comparison with that of the 5 million direct voters. The real representation of women, of the depressed class, and of labour under such a system would be negligible, and at the same time the administrative work involved in the system would be very great.

In regard to the group system generally, a theoretical objection which was strongly felt by some of my colleagues was that it fails to provide adequate political education for the primary electorate, since it arouses interest in persons rather than in policies. A more serious practical objection to my mind is that the group system undoubtedly lends itself to a great deal of gerrymandering and manipulation. We had a good deal of evidence of the extent to which this occurs in Egypt, where a device intended to stop one abuse is found merely to open the door to others. The conclusion we came to, and it was very seriously urged upon us by many experienced administrators, was that unless the group system is worked in a spirit of goodwill and toleration it is likely to cause more work and administrative trouble than adult suffrage; and as the necessary amount of goodwill does not unfortunately exist in many parts of India at the present time, we were reluctantly compelled to abandon the idea.

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We were therefore driven back on the extension of the direct system of voting as the only practical course, and the main question was how far we could reduce the existing property qualification. That qualification, as I have said, varies from province to province, but is in most provinces fixed so high as to bring in only the substantial cultivator or the well-to-do inhabitant of the towns. Madras produced far and away the most valuable guidance as to the best method of reducing it. Madras has devoted more attention perhaps than any other province to the development of local self-government, and the franchise now in force in Madras for local bodies makes the occupation of any land or assessment to any tax, however small, a qualification for the vote. That system has, according to all the evidence we received, worked well and is working well in the Madras Presidency, and the Madras Government proposed that it should be adopted as the franchise for the legislative council of the future. We accepted this view with some modifications, such as the omission of people who pay a bicycle tax or a dog tax, which did not seem to us a desirable qualification for a political franchise. The Madras scheme also gives a vote to any one who can read or write in any language. We thought this was going too far, and we recommended that in the case of men, in Madras as elsewhere, the independent educational qualification should, as proposed by the Simon Commission, be confined to those who have spent at least four or five years at school and completed the upper primary course. With the further provisions that I shall mention later for the representation of women, labour, and the depressed classes, some measure of representation will be secured under the Madras scheme for every class of the community except landless labourers and beggars, and cultivators of small holdings of fluctuating tendencies for whom it would be difficult to secure direct representation under any system short of adult suffrage.

I have described the Madras scheme at some length because we considered it the best that was put before us. It has been tested in elections for local bodies and has worked well, and this consideration had great weight with us. We found ample evidence all over India to support the finding of the Simon Commission that "it is clear that electoral contests do really attract the interest of the general body of voters," and it was borne in upon us that experience in local elections is one of the most valuable qualifications for provincial elections. I have not the necessary space to describe the schemes proposed for other provinces, but following the Madras principle, they have been generally drawn up so as to provide, as far as possible, representation of some kind for most classes of the community, and to include, as a substantial majority, those who have already exercised the franchise for local bodies.

In regard to women, the main difficulty, as I have mentioned, is that the property qualification brings only a small number on to the electoral roll. Briefly, we felt, with the Simon Commission, that it is advisable now to increase considerably the number of women voters, so as to avoid later on the sudden admission to the roll of vast numbers of women, without increasing the number of men. The Simon Commission proposal to give the vote to the wives of men having the property qualification would confine the vote within a comparatively narrow circle, which is already sufficiently represented, and it makes no provision for the unmarried woman, who probably needs the vote more than her married sister. We propose, therefore, to give the vote in the first instance to the wives of the men who have the property qualification prescribed for the present councils, and also to literate women. This arrangement will spread the vote more widely than the Simon Commission scheme would do, while bringing on the electoral roll approximately the same number of women as proposed by the Simon Commission.

The other subject to which our attention was specially directed by the Prime Minister was the representation of labour. Labour is at present represented in all the councils by nominated members, and there was a strong and insistent demand, the justice of which was generally admitted, that labour representation should be on a scale similar to that provided for capitalists. The majority of the Committee proposed to provide 38 seats for labour in the eight provinces, and it was admitted by the representatives of commerce that at least 30 seats would be needed. The difficulty is, of course, to devise suitable constituencies. In a few provinces they may be found in trade unions, which was the recommendation of the Whitley Commission. Elsewhere, as in the Bengal jute mills and the Assam tea gardens, special constituencies can be formed, possibly with some adaptation of the group system. These are matters that will require further working out and which cannot be discussed in detail here.

The depressed classes present another tangled problem with which it is impossible to deal adequately in this paper. In the three provinces of Southern India—Bombay, Madras, and the Central Provinces—the matter is fairly simple. There is no doubt as to who the depressed classes are—the untouchable outcasts—and there is general agreement as to the measures to be taken for giving them special representation. In Northern India, however, the matter has become one of acute political controversy, and our report with its minutes and counter minutes shows that no general agreement has been reached or is likely to be reached. A settlement will have to be imposed from outside and there is reason for grave doubt whether this will prove satisfactory. There can be no doubt, however, that some form of special representation is essential for the depressed classes in most provinces if they are to have an effective voice in the legislatures, and that without it a considerable section of the community will be unable to make their needs known and their claims recognized.

So far I have dealt almost entirely with the franchise for the provincial legislatures. The federal legislature is very much in the air, and it was difficult to find anyone in India who could visualize it or go into it with sufficient thoroughness. The principle we have provisionally recommended is that the electoral roll for the lower house of the federal legislature should for the present be based mainly on the existing electoral roll for the provincial legislatures. This follows in effect one of the main principles that we have followed in drawing up the franchise schemes for the new provincial councils—namely, that the main body of the voters should have had experience of exercising the franchise for local bodies.

There are two other points which call for discussion, but space forbids. The first is the practicability of our proposals. In regard to this, I can only say that in every province we went fully into the question of the staff available for the preparation of the electoral roll and for the conduct of the elections, and were satisfied that our scheme could not be condemned as impracticable on this account. The other point is the matter of expense. In regard to this, we have in our report given various estimates that were laid before us, and we have calculated that the cost of a general election under our scheme would be about 66 lakhs or two-thirds of a crore. I have seen other estimates, which put the total cost higher, and I do not claim infallibility for our figures. In any case it is no use pretending that democracy is a cheap method of choosing the rulers of a country, and if India wants a democratic system of government, India must be prepared to pay for it. The total public expenditure of India, central and provincial, is about 226 crores a year. The addition of a crore every three years or every five years for a general election cannot be regarded as an insuperable objection to a representative electorate. Something of this kind will have to be faced if, in the Prime Minister's words, we are to provide every important section of the community with the means of expressing its needs and opinions in the new legislatures.

Whatever views may be held on the merits of our franchise schemes, our inquiries have at least had the effect of opening people's eyes to the realities involved in a further political advance. It is becoming clear that it is not merely a question of entrusting further powers to ministers of the type that India has hitherto known. Political advance involves also the creation of an enlarged electorate which may choose ministers of an entirely different type. The possibility that they may so choose is disturbing to various people for various reasons.

THE ADVANCE OF INDIAN WOMEN

By Mrs. R. M. Gray

While the whole of the Indian scene has changed since the war with kaleidoscopic rapidity, no rearrangement of the pieces has attracted so much attention as the new pattern made by women. For centuries the ideal for Indian women was that of fifth-century Athens, an endorsement of the Periclean saying that "her glory is greatest whose praise or blame is least bruited on the lips of men."

That point of view has completely changed. Some women's names have been much bruited on the lips of men, even outside India. Three women took an important part in shaping the new Constitution for India at the Round-Table Conference. Others have been Congress leaders and presidents of its War Councils. Mrs. Naidu, as poet and politician, is well known in Europe and America. Hundreds of women have gone to prison in pursuit of their nationalist ideals. Thousands have given up purdah and emerged from their homes in order to advocate social reforms such as the [Sarda] Child Marriage Restraint Act.

The advance has been remarkable not only in its extent and rapidity, unparalleled by the Women's Movement in other countries, but also in the obstacles which it has overcome. There was first the difficult taking-off ground, India's deep-rooted dislike of the woman who makes herself conspicuous, and then the difficulties of differing languages and creeds. But with English as the master key, most of the closed language-doors could be unlocked, and in the matter of differing creeds women have shown themselves less partisan than men, and their movement has remained outside and above the communal battle.

Scope of the Movement

Though the advance has been so rapid, it has not yet had time to produce many tangible results. It consists mainly in the awakening of the nationalist spirit. Women have organized in India in order to assert their equality with the women of other lands, not in order to achieve equality with the men of their own country. Since women in India are nearly always married, form in any case a minority of the population, and do not enter the professions or industry in large numbers, there is no economic, and therefore no political rivalry between men and women.

Thus the Women's Movement in India presents some curious contrasts with the Women's Movement in the West. In England political enfranchisement for women was with great difficulty achieved after sixty years of importunate demand. In India it was given almost before women had realized that votes were worth having.

Again, in England the Women's Movement has leant throughout on leaders supplied by the great schools and colleges founded and endowed by women. Girton, Somerville, Cheltenham, the Girls' Public Day School Company, were all enterprises started without Government support of any kind by women for women. In India there is as yet no such famous school or college. There are well-known institutions, such as the Bethune College, Calcutta, and Dr. Karve's Indian Women's University at Poona. But these and others like them are not due to women's initiative and have not been mainly dependent on women's support. Up to date girls' education in India has been mainly indebted, apart from Government, to communities such as the Parsis, the Brahmo-Samajists, and above all to Christian missions.

The Educational Lag

The leaders of the Women's Movement are wide awake to the need for more literacy among women. No conference is ever held without the passing of resolutions advocating the extension of girls' education. Where two or three are gathered together that resolution is in the midst of them. The largest of the women's organizations, the All-India Women's Conference, was founded expressly to further education, and is now taking action to translate its aspirations into reality by founding an All-India Home Science College at Delhi.

It is too soon to claim this college as an achievement of the advanced women, since the foundation stone has not yet been laid, but there is no doubt that it will shortly come into being and will be the first big undertaking of Indian women to further education by their own organized effort. Already out of the Rs.13 lakhs required Rs.2½ lakhs have been collected from women and Rs.2 lakhs given by H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. The idea of the Home Science College is to provide a research institute where Indian educationists will try to de-Westernize girls' education and to evolve some system more consonant with the claims of the Indian woman's home life. Everyone must wish this truly Indian enterprise the greatest possible success at an early date.

THE SARDA ACT

Undoubtedly the outstanding achievement of the Women's Movement up to date is the passing into law of the [Sarda] Child Marriage Restraint Act. It is not an exaggeration to say that this Bill became law because women demanded it. Though no woman was sitting in the Assembly in April, 1930, when it was placed on the Statute Book, nevertheless it was carried by women. The opposition to similar Bills for the protection of child-wives had been fierce, and apathy or orthodoxy had defeated the measures introduced in 1924, 1925, and 1927. It was, in fact, twenty-nine years since any legal action had been taken to protect these hapless children, and in 1891 the Age of Consent had been raised only to twelve years.

The Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1930 prohibits and penalizes, but does not render invalid, marriages taking place when the husband is under eighteen and the wife under fourteen. This Act has been compared for magnitude to the regulation by Lord William Bentinck in 1829 to abolish Sati. It is, in fact, a far greater measure.

> "Satis were few and far between. They compelled attention by the enormity of the evil in individual cases, by the intense agony of the burning widow, and the terrible shock they gave to humane feelings. But after all they were cases of individual suffering; the agony ended with the martyr. . . . In the case of early maternity the evil is so widespread as to affect the

> whole framework of society. If a woman survives to the age of thirty she is in many cases an old woman, almost a shadow of her former self. Her life is a long, lingering misery, and she is a sacrifice at the altar of custom. In the case of Sati the utter hideousness of the incident shocked the conscience; in this case the familiarity of the evil blinds us to its ghastly results."—(The Indian Select Committee on the Age of Consent, 1929.)

The familiarity of the evil had not blinded the women of India to the ghastliness of its results. At the first opportunity ever given them of taking organized action to make their views known they rose as one woman in every part of India to demand the raising of the marriage age. There was amazing unanimity and fervour in their demand. They made light of the claims of orthodoxy and of religious taboos. They knew what early marriage meant, and spoke with one voice for its abolition.

The spontaneity and solidarity of women's action at this crisis is the greatest landmark on the route so far traversed. Women have stormed and taken the first fortress blocking their march. It is true that the enemy have not been entirely driven from their stronghold. Many early marriages are still taking place, and those guilty of breaking the law are callously calculating the ensuing fine as just part of the marriage expenses. But a time of acute political upheaval is not a happy moment for breaking through entrenched social customs. When self-government has become a fact, and the women can attend to social rather than to political reforms, they will undoubtedly create the public opinion necessary for the enforcement of the law.

That there should be any lowering of the standard demanded by the Sarda Act fills the women's societies with intense indignation. When such action was proposed they wrote to every member of the Legislative Assembly.

> "It seems incredible that men should exist in the Assembly who can give their names to promote Bills of such a retrograde character. India's prestige was raised in the whole world when she took the first step to do away with the dark blot on her social life of the unnatural and degrading custom of child marriage. . . . Any interference with the Sarda Act will be contrary to the new spirit of progress which has already vitalised India. . . . Marriage is a transaction between grown-up people, and that it should be thrust upon an infant girl is both unnatural and revolting to the minds of thinking people and therefore to the law of God."

So the women of India spoke, and the wave of enthusiasm which carried the Bill is the high-water mark of the rising tide of women's advance in India. It is a tide which can never return to the old channels.

ALL-INDIA ORGANIZATIONS

Before the war the Women's Movement ran in carefully tended channels. It was canalized within banks made for it by the Brahmo-Samajists, the Parsis, Christians, and others. After the war the water in these channels rose rapidly, burst its communal banks, and flooded over fresh fields and into unexpected nooks and crannies. Within the last seven years the movement has become increasingly All-Indian and definitely feminist. Two new women's organizations, the National Council of Women in India, and the All-India Women's Conference on Educational and Social Reform, came into being in 1925 and 1926. They are not confined to any particular province or community, and supplement the already important Women's Indian Association founded in Madras in 1917.

These three organizations stand in friendly relations to each other. They are, as it were, a body with two arms, one chiefly devoted to political action and the other to co-ordinating social work and to keeping the Indian movement in touch with the women of other lands.

The rapid growth of the All-India Women's Conference is one of the signs of the times. It holds an annual conference to which women flock from all parts of India to formulate their point of view on every conceivable subject, *e.g.*, compulsory primary education, adequate playgrounds, physical culture, medical inspection of school children, the abolition of Devadasis, the prohibition of drink and drugs, the removal of untouchability, and the suppression of professional beggars. The level of discussion is high and the speakers are well-informed and enthusiastic.

CHANGE OF OUTLOOK

Two new subjects discussed with great fervour at the conference last December were ways and means of regulating the size of families and the legal disabilities of Hindu women in matters of personal and property rights. It is indeed a changed world when Hindu women can discuss regulating the size of the family in conference and put forth claims to hold private and personal property. The mere fact that such subjects are discussable shows how far and how fast women have travelled in the last decade. As the venerable President, Mrs. P. K. Roy, said to the conference this year:

> "Conditions have changed. We advocate the ideal of companionship in marriage. We have introduced freedom of choice in marriages and we are allowing widow re-marriages. Our girls claim equality with men in their professional careers. . . . We even consider that divorces are right under certain circumstances. In short, our society is undergoing tremendous changes."

If critics protest that these are mere expressions of opinion, and have not yet been translated into action, one can only so far point to the passing of the Sarda Act and to the lakhs of rupees collected for the Home Science Institute to which I have already referred. It is too soon to say which of the two courses open to them women will follow, whether they will become talkers or workers. Their age-long training in silent, self-forgetting service in the home ought now to stand them in good stead. I believe it will. But there is also great danger lest they learn to unpack their hearts in words only. Vague idealism, unsupported by definite action, and unrelated to the realities of the situation, has been the curse of India. The women are now at the parting of the ways, and their recent attitude towards an extension of the franchise shows how great is the danger.

FRANCHISE

The women's organizations are asking for adult franchise—*i.e.*, that an electorate, which at present consists of less than one per cent. of the female population, should by a stroke of the pen be made to include cent per cent. In other words, they ask for a jump from a little more than a quarter of a million to at least sixty million women. Lord Lothian's Franchise Committee, on the other hand, suggests the enfranchisement of six and three-quarter million women, on a property or literacy qualification. In this proposal the Franchise Committee has the warm support of the only Indian woman serving on it, Mrs. Subbarayan, who worked zealously, while the Committee was touring India, to convert her fellow-countrywomen to this practical proposal. She undoubtedly converted many. But the demand for adult suffrage is still the only proposal put forward by the women's organizations. In their desire for the whole loaf they would rather starve than accept the half or the quarter. They proudly proclaim that they do not want a franchise contingent on a woman's relation to a man. "We are strongly of opinion that the elementary rights of women as human beings should not be based upon an extraneous feature like marriage," and they demand "the immediate, unqualified, and unconditional adoption of the principle of adult suffrage."

The impracticability of this demand amazes the humdrum, fact-finding Britisher, and it is disappointing to find Indian women unwilling to descend from their heights of idealism to discuss such mundane matters as the difficulty of finding reliable polling officers for half a million villages. Indian women are genuinely convinced that sufficient of their number will find their way into the Councils and Assembly through open general election. If they fail to get in, and woman's subjects are shelved in consequence, and social reform is retarded, that to them seems better than any compromise with their high ideal.

DESH SEVIKAS

If women are to be judged by deeds rather than by words, it is within the Congress that they have shown the greatest courage. Everyone will not agree that Congress women's advance has been in a right direction, but no one can gainsay their activity. They have picketed, walked in processions, have gone to prison, and have proved their courage in many a dangerous riot.

The spearhead of the women's Swaraj movement is provided by the Desh Sevikas, or Storm Troops, among Congress women. They were first enrolled in 1930, and constitute a band of volunteers prepared to do active work from day to day. They are enrolled in five different categories, of whom the highest category must promise not only to serve their country loyally and peacefully, but must also be ready "to take all consequences—namely, insult, assault, and imprisonment."

About fifty Desh Sevikas went to prison during the first year. Many of them had never left their homes until this call came to them, and did not know their way about their native town. They had first to learn the courage necessary to be seen abroad in the streets. Presently they learned to walk long distances, to stand in the sun all day, to picket cloth and toddy shops, to hurry to danger points when summoned by the Congress, or the police, to remove stones, pipes, and other obstacles placed in the middle of the road to obstruct traffic, even to shed their fear of night and hooligan crowds. Every time a *hartal* was called the Sevikas came out to prevent mischief-makers from forcibly stopping trams and causing disturbances. They feel that they have been on more than one critical occasion the means of averting ugly incidents. They realize that "keeping the peace does not mean passive duty but active service." The average number of Sevikas enrolled at any one time has been about 300, of whom a dozen or more have been presidents of the Congress War Council with heavy responsibilities.

This is a real descent into the arena. In addition to these most active Desh Sevikas who have courted danger and arrest, hundreds more have joined in processions, flag salutations, and *hartals*, have cooked or nursed in Congress hospitals, have hawked *khaddar*, and generally emerged from the seclusion of their homes in order to support the Nationalist movement.

This emergence of Indian women into the open has been far more dramatic and startling than the advance made by Western women during the war. In England it was an intensification of activities already carried on by women—for instance, in agriculture or engineering. In India, as they themselves say, "devotion to the work of the Motherland automatically broke the chains of feminine bondage going far back into the mists of time." One has to go back at least to the annals of Rajasthan to find women facing violence for the sake of their country. They have even taken the lives of innocent men under a tragic misconception of their duty. One looked to the women to control their own and their sons' hysteria and emotionalism, but recent assassinations by girls in Bengal have somewhat dimmed that hope.

ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

Indian women have so far made little advance in overcoming their third great disability—economic dependence. The mere suggestion that Indian women desire to be economically independent sounds strange and alien. But the claim that widows and daughters should inherit some part of the father's property is a hardy annual at every Women's Conference in India today, and the leaders of the movement were keenly disappointed when in February of this year Rai Bahadur Hariblas Sarda's Hindu Widows' Property Bill was defeated. The organized women are demanding for the widow a definite portion of her husband's claim on the family, so that she can, if she wishes, live apart, or train herself to become economically independent. Though the orthodox opposition is very strong at present, it is clear that the walls of this Jericho are also bound sooner or later to fall.

I am afraid some of you must be reproaching me for turning your attention too much to the flower—you might even say, the immature buds—of this tropical growth, and not enough to the roots and the soil from which it has sprung. I must plead lack of space as my excuse. Of course, none of this exotic ripening would have been possible had not the women of India already for hundreds of years enjoyed a widespread traditional culture and possessed organizing gifts developed in the management of their own homes. Most women find public service simpler than the management of a home, and the joint family system had given Indian women plenty of scope. Thus the women were not unprepared to step from the wings on to the stage.

Indian women had, besides their tradition of service, a nucleus of doctors, teachers, and social servants trained in Government and Missionary Colleges. I am conscious of the unfairness of not describing these pioneers, such as Pandita Ramabai, Mrs. Ranade, H.H. the late Begum of Bhopal, and others, but time obliges me to confine myself to the latest stages of women's advance.

WOMEN'S WORK TODAY

Among straws showing how rapidly the tide is rising it is possible to point to the following recent developments. A small detachment of women police has this year been formed in Delhi consisting of ten constables and an Anglo-Indian head-constable. Lucknow, Cawnpore, and Allahabad are also said to be organizing small women's police corps, for which Hindus, Muhammadans, and Anglo-Indians have all offered their services. We see also that almost every municipality now contains two or three women, some of whom have been returned at the head of the poll in open elections. Most of the Legislative Councils have had one woman serving as a nominated member. There are also to be found small groups of barristers, of journalists (including editors), novelists, actresses, and, of course, hundreds of women in the teaching and medical professions. Above them all reigns preëminent the politician, poet, and orator, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. In fact, there are few walks in life which Indian women have not already entered, and none which they are not capable of following with distinction.

The advance of Indian women is seen to be a sudden flowering of seed sown during the nineteenth century in soil more rich and ready for it than anyone imagined. It has shown its most remarkable growth in the political field, where the winds of nationalism have nourished and sustained it.

In the field of social reform the soil has proved harder and growth has been slower. But even here one notable achievement, the Sarda Act, is already to be set down to the Women's Movement. Hindu women are beginning to tackle the laws which condemn them to complete economic dependence on men. Custom lies upon them with a weight more heavy than law. But customs too are changing. Purdah and early marriage are lessening their grip, and remarriage of widows is creeping in.

The danger today is not that Indian women will meekly and silently acquiesce in uniquel laws and harmful customs, but rather that they may be content to talk about them instead of undermining them by hard work. The work of unobtrusive pioneers, like that of Saroj Nalini Dutt in rural areas, needs to be multiplied a thousandfold. It is well-run village schools or women's institutes that will advance the movement rather than eloquent pleas for adult suffrage.

There seems every likelihood that, when the emotional excitement of the Nationalist movement has died down under self-government, the women will once more take up their long task of devoted silent service to their own people.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, July 12, 1932, when a paper was read by Mrs. R. M. Gray on "The Advance of Indian Women." The Lady Pentland was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., the Chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji, the Raja of Kollengode, C.I.E., Sir John Thompson K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Raja and Rani Inder Karan, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Azizuddin Ahmed, C.I.E., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Lady Hartog, Lady Rogers, Lady Eckstein, Sardar Bahadur Shivdev Singh and Mrs. Uberoi, the Hon. Emily Kinnaird, Mr. F. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Miss Cornelia Sorabji, K.-i-H., Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., and Mrs. Harcourt, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. S. Altaf Husian, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Miss C. K. Cumming, Miss Pim, Mrs. and Miss Damry, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. Ganesh Narayen Somani of Jaipur, Mrs. I. Baker, Miss Thomas, Mr. H. K. Saddler, Munshi Iswar Saran, Miss Violet Macdonald, Miss Margaret Brown, Miss K. L. Speechley, Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Malik, Mrs. Manaklal Premchand, Mrs. H. M. Leap, Mrs. Fowle, Miss Caton, Miss Foden, Mr. J. H. Lindsay, Mrs. Down, Mr. F. Grubb, Rev. H. W. Stanton, Mr. A. C. Wilson, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. A. Angadi, Mr. Sant Ram, Mr Hugh MacGregor, Mr. A. S. Iyengar, Mr. George Pilcher, Mr. J. F. Sale, Mr. B. Thakur, Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, Lieut.-Colonel C. H. L. Meyer, Mrs. E. M. Rushworth, Mrs. Yate, Mrs. Money, Mr. Raymond Bush, Miss Hopley, Mrs. Keown, Dr. Mackinnon, Miss Terry, Mrs. Carnegie, Miss Rothwell, Miss Dingwall, Mrs. Musgrove, Mrs. Patel, Mrs. Barns, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Sir JOHN KERR announced that the Marchioness of Reading was unable to be present owing to indisposition. The Association had been fortunate enough to secure Lady Pentland, who had kindly consented to preside over the meeting.

The LADY CHAIRMAN said: It is a great regret to all of us that Lady Reading has been prevented from coming this afternoon, and especially we regret the reason.

We have all been looking forward to hearing Mrs. Gray's paper this afternoon. Mrs. Gray has just returned from India, and therefore it will be very interesting to all of us who are deeply interested in Indian questions to hear her impressions. Mrs. Gray, after living in India for a number of years, revisited the country this spring in order to find out for herself what Indian women are thinking at the moment, and she met many friends in all parts of India. Mrs. Gray visited all the Provinces of India except the

North-West Frontier during her tour, and as her visit coincided with that of the Franchise Committee, Mrs. Gray heard the various opinions expressed at that time.

I know that my mother, Lady Aberdeen, who is President of the International Council of Women, would very much like to be in the audience this afternoon, because Mrs. Gray has done so much as the Secretary in London of the National Council of Women of India. Mrs. Gray, in meeting the officials of that Council, must have had a special opportunity of discovering what the women of India are feeling on the questions of the day.

Mrs. GRAY read her paper on "The Advance of Indian Women."

The HON. SECRETARY read the following letter from the Marchioness of Reading, dated 32, Curzon Street, July 12:

"I am more than sorry that I am prevented from being with you today, and especially so as I had been looking forward to hearing Mrs. Gray read her very interesting paper and the discussions which arise from it.

"I agree most heartily with Mrs. Gray that the strength of women, not only in India, but throughout the world, is for them to be workers and not merely talkers—for their achievements to stand forth in tangible form and not merely to be expressions of idealism. In India I believe women have realized the necessity for women to help women for the good of women—and by the wonderful work that is being done, partly in the extension of the education of girls and partly in other ways, Indian women are certainly making good their claim of achieving equality with their sisters in other lands.

"We women, the world through, have an intuitive knowledge of things that affect us that men can never hope to attain, and when we speak on these questions we speak with the voice of authority. Our greatest strength is to concentrate on our vantage points and thus render the best service possible to those who come after us.

"Yours sincerely,
"STELLA READING."

The RAJA OF KOLLENGODE: I think I am expressing the feelings of all here today when I saw we have listened to a most interesting and illuminating lecture from Mrs. Gray, who has a claim to speak with authority on the advance of Indian women. She has only just returned from India, and she knows the conditions there first-hand and up to date, and I think most of her remarks are of value, and I have great pleasure in cordially endorsing them.

I am sure that when the women of India hear of the interest that some of the English ladies are taking they will be greatly encouraged in the struggle they are making for their own advancement in India. I am ashamed to say that in the past men have not encouraged them as much as they should, but things are looking somewhat different nowadays.

The lecturer has told you of the advancement India has made in recent years and what the difficulties are that confront them. I think the chief difficulty is the want of facilities for their education. Women in India do not like to go to boys' schools and mix with them; their customs, traditions, and religion do not permit them to mix with boys, so they have kept back from going to schools. That is why you find illiteracy so rife in India. Only about 2 per cent. of the women are literate in India, and 13·9 per cent. of the men. That is appalling.

I think a large amount of the blame rests on the Government. Most of the localities have no schools, and no matter how anxious the people may be to go to school, it is impossible for them to do so for want of facilities. It is very necessary that every encouragement should be given to women for their advancement, and at least they should be literate. We all know that it is the hand that rocks the cradle that rules the world, and if you keep the women in a state of illiteracy, it will be ruinous to the country. Their education, I think, is even more important than that of the men.

You know what is happening in some of the other places of India. I shall just give you one instance—namely, that of the State of Travancore. I know the State very intimately, and I know what is going on there. It would be difficult to find a man or woman there who is not literate. The percentage of literacy is very high. That is because the Government have instituted several hundreds of schools all over the land both for boys and girls. I am sure our Chairman will bear me out, because she visited the State when her husband was Governor of Madras. I am sure she will say what a contrast there is between the other parts of Southern India and Travancore. The amount the State spends on education is 23 per cent. of the total revenue. While they have reduced expenditure on other departments, on account of the present economic condition of the country, they have refused to touch the grants for education; actually, they have increased them. Here I shall read a paragraph from the July issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW regarding education in Travancore:

> "If retrenchment has been the keynote in all the spending departments, this has not been allowed to interfere too drastically with expenditure upon the objects which contribute materially to the public welfare. Thus education with an outlay of 49·1 lakhs (previous year 42·2) still represents the greatest individual item of expenditure—namely, 23·6 per cent. of the total budget, public works coming next with 39·4 lakhs, or 18·9 per cent. of the total.
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> "The number of educational institutions in the State rose during the year by 58 and that of pupils under instruction by 7,010, thus bringing the aggregate for the latter up to some 580,000, as compared with barely 400,000 ten years ago, the intermediate period showing a steady rise each year. In addition to expanding the number of primary schools, and increasing the scope of the higher education, also for women, vocational training was further facilitated by various State institutions, and special arrangements were made with the Hindu University at Benares to reserve a number of seats every year for Travancore students in the electrical engineering, industrial chemistry, mining and metallurgical courses, in consideration of which the Government of Travancore gave the University a donation of 1·25 lakhs of rupees and an annual grant of 10,000 rupees."

If we are unable to spend in the same proportion, at least a great deal more should have been done in British India. We find more money has been spent on the department of boys' education than on girls' education, and the result is that there is an army of boy students who have passed their examinations, wandering about the country, unable to find employment.

You have made them hopeless for other vocations. They cannot go to their lands because they know nothing about agriculture.

I think it is very necessary that every facility should be given to the girls for their education, and it is a matter which ought to be taken up seriously by the Government.

In Cochin conditions similar to those in Travancore obtain. The chief difficulty in British India is want of facilities for girls' education. Women have certainly proved their ability; they have demonstrated that in every walk of life they are at least equal to men, and I think every encouragement should be given to them.

In all spheres of activities women have proved their capacity. You know how ably Begum Shah Nawaz and Mrs. Subbarayan took part in politics when they came here for the Round-Table Conference; you have also seen with what ability the late Begum of Bhopal and the Maharani of Travancore have conducted the administration of their big States. Several instances of similar kind can be recalled. When women have proved their capacities beyond doubt it is a pity not to encourage them.

The CHAIRMAN: I can certainly support what the Raja said about the attainments of the women in Travancore and on the West Coast. Mrs. Subbarayan also belongs to that part of South India, and we have all admired the way in which she performed her part as a member of the Round-Table Conference.

Miss CORNELIA SORABJI: We have listened to a most interesting essay from Mrs. Gray. I think I should have changed the title of it myself. I should like it to have been called "The Advance of Women in Politics of Late Years," because really her survey begins, does it not, in 1926, when the All-India Conference was started.

I happen to know about the All-India Conference and about its birth. Organization is a wonderful thing, and I think the Irishwoman who was chiefly responsible for organizing this Conference has a great deal to her credit in the fact that she taught women how to bring themselves together in large bodies, and taught them all the machinery of big conferences and meetings. They can now carry on that machinery almost by themselves; but we must remember that such conferences are not indigenous. We owe them to Mrs. Cousins, a Mrs. Jinarajadasa, an Englishwoman, and a German —all belonging to the Theosophical movement of South India.

We are well acquainted with conferences in England, and the non-political resolutions which we pass at the Indian conferences are taken from the programmes of the International Council of Women and the League of Nations. That is how we got that wonderful list of subjects of which Mrs. Gray spoke.

But the value of conferences, we have learnt, we older people, lies in the work done before and after the conferences. I am afraid the conferences in India are dissociated from what goes before and from what follows after. The resolutions passed at a meeting are presented to people who often have no knowledge either of those resolutions or of the subjects they cover.

I say that advisedly, because at the first conference we were sent a number of resolutions to which we were asked to get consent. We said we could not, because all our different bodies were scattered over the country. The reply we got was: "That does not matter. The secretaries can send consent."

Out of that fact, however, arose something very good. There arose the Bengal League of Education, which is still working splendidly in Calcutta. We felt that we could help to reality by making the provincial constituent units genuine. And the Education League works hard in between the annual conferences consolidating opinion, making textbooks, improving methods of education, etc.

I do not despise organization and I do not despise the speeches made at conferences, but those of us whose hearts are squeezed for the orthodox and illiterate Indian women and for all the progress we want in India must be brave enough to admit that there is solid work to be done by way of social service and for education. We must not place too high a value on speech-making and the political advance alone, if only because we know the result of travelling at too rapid a pace. It has a reflex action on the orthodox—pushing them farther back still.

Mrs. Gray has referred to the National Council of Women, which was started all over the country in 1925. We can date advance earlier still. The Federation of University Women has been working quite quietly since 1912; it did a great deal of work during the war, not only in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal, but all over India. University women made the survey of foodstuffs, which formed the basis of the Ministry of Food. They also started a bureau of employment for women. University and other Indian women have been working for welfare and social services generally in India, going into the villages and doing rural work, juvenile care work, and so on. This devotion is not advertised, but we ought to spare a word of commendation, should we not, for the people who do quiet work like this behind the scenes.

As to the two forms of "work" which Mrs. Gray has mentioned, may I just say about the Bills the women certainly did get the Sarda Bill passed into law. They stood outside the Legislative Assemblies and demanded that each man who passed should give them his vote; and they gave them. You know how charming Hindu and Muhammadan women are; the men could not resist them.

The people who were really affected by the Sarda Bill were not these women themselves; it was easy for progressive women to "make light of the claims of orthodoxy and of religious taboos" which did not touch them; but for the really orthodox it is very difficult to go against what every Hindu law commands. We can help to raise the age by hard work and personal persuasion. I found the best argument with a woman was to tell her that her baby girl has less chance of becoming a widow if she has not to face losing her husband while he is teething. Such an argument helped her to realize better than in any other way that it is better to marry the child later. You cannot talk of Indian women as a whole. We are as representative as the traffic in a street—Rolls Royces, horse carriages, ox carts. Our danger lies in these different rates of progression. The strictly orthodox are the ox carts. I cannot tell you how I love my orthodox Indian friends. They are the most attractive people anywhere in the world, and, notwithstanding the inexorable religious tie which binds them, they are open to persuasion—not abuse of the customs of their race, but persuasion of the right sort. These new Bills and changes on the Statute Book are a terrible puzzle to them.

Then take divorce. Think what that means to Hindus.

Or take the other Bill which has passed into law—the inheritance by a daughter of her father's property. I know as a practising lawyer what that means to my orthodox Hindu clients in its assault upon the doctrine of reincarnation, together with the other things which have been suggested in relation to marriage. Before our women go wildly into such matters we want them to study the customs of our people and the reasons for these customs in our own country. But they will not take time for that. "*We* have cut ourselves away from all that," they say, as if that were conclusive.

As for the Desh Sevikas and obstructors, I have seen them at work and know the terrible results of picketing. But we must not blame them. These women are appealed to in the name of self-sacrifice. You cannot make a greater appeal to Indian women. But they are only just beginning to serve the country. They have no traditions of public service, no civic sense behind them. These emancipated women have lost their last measuring rod, and we have to help them find a new one. Let us help them to get one which will really fit our growing needs; do not let us appraise destruction and dispeace.

Is not this how the West can help? By understanding what we are up against, by studying our conditions, the religion which ties and binds the majority of the people in India. Help us, you who are so interested in India. Help us to understand our difficulties and to admire what is most admirable.

Mrs. MANACKLAL PREMCHAND: I can be called an Indian lady from an orthodox Hindu family. Here I am, not as described by Miss Sorabji, but quite different. My mother was in purdah. I have been taught in a boys' school. I was the only girl.

But India is fast changing—changing from day to day, from hour to hour; and even though I live in India, I do not believe I can speak about Indian women, because I only live in one town.

I have travelled in many parts of India. I think I know the conditions of Indian women to some extent. Indian women are paving the way. We are grateful for all the help we receive from outside, but still I think we know how to stand on our own legs. We do not need any outside help. We have been running institutions for the last twenty or thirty years. Indian women are working side by side with their men in many parts of India. They are not only working in the farms, but even looking after their families.

So I am rather grieved to hear so different an account of Indian women. It is true we have got different stages of civilization; we have different stages of education. It varies very much, but still the link is there from one end to the other. Our ideal is not as it seems from outside. We do not want to have a sex war in our country. We are for women's rights, but let us remember that men and women are two wheels of a chariot. We want to work together. I am told by resident British women that perhaps after the political unrest is over women will not get their rights; but we are quite confident we will get them from our men. Therefore we need not be afraid of what we may not get afterwards. After all, women tried for sixty years to get the vote in England, but they got it through the work they did in the war; they got it through working hand in hand with the men. So if we women will give our men their due we will get what we want.

Sir HENRY LAWRENCE: We have all listened with immense interest and admiration to Mrs. Gray's address. There is just one point in it to which I wish to draw your particular attention—*i.e.*, the matter of the franchise.

When the Round-Table Conference came to a conclusion, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald told the House of Commons that the most important matter that still stood over from the Round-Table Conference for special examination was the franchise, and in my humble judgment the franchise for women is the all-comprehensive condition of their future progress.

Mrs. Gray has explained in very gentle tones her disappointment at the impractical insistence of women in India on adult suffrage. I fear that I shall arouse her indignation when I say that I agree with those impractical women who "proudly proclaim that they do not want a franchise contingent upon a woman's relation to a man." I submit that the only sound basis of a franchise is equal rights for men and women.

Last October Mr. Gandhi came to my house at Oxford to discuss this very question, and we exchanged letters upon it afterwards. Mr. Gandhi expressed his general agreement on the fundamental points I put forward to him, and he added this: "So far as the Congress is concerned, it is quite clear on the question of the vote for women. They must be on a par with men without any reservation."

If, then, the necessity of equal rights be admitted, the problem resolves itself into the administrative difficulty of finding the machinery to deal with the voting. This difficulty is serious, but it is not insuperable, when once the difference in the conditions of life between India and England is fully appreciated. Before the Round-Table Conference met, a committee on behalf of the Royal Empire Society produced a plan of secondary elections which still holds the field for practicability. This committee consisted of experienced administrators from every province in India, and they decided that a system of indirect election through head men chosen from every group of houses in the village would give to the peasant, the artisan, and the outcast that protection from tyranny which is, after all, the ultimate object of every voting system.

I submit to you, ladies and gentlemen, that humble women need this protection no less than humble men. I submit further that this system of indirect election is based on the traditions of India, and that no other system can overcome that terrible obstacle of illiteracy or be made suitable to the conditions of a country where 90 per cent. of the people live in the villages and seldom move from the villages.

These villagers are the people of whom we must think, and we must not be diverted by the more insistent claims of the wealthy classes or of the 10 per cent. who live in the towns.

I addressed the Royal Central Asian Society on this matter last January, and some reprints from their journal are available at the door if any person is interested and would care to ask for a copy. I recognize that the Franchise Committee of Lord Lothian has discussed and rejected this proposal, but I note with some satisfaction that while rejecting it, they record that it has worked well in various Oriental countries where it has been tried, and they mention in particular Egypt, Irak, Turkey, and Syria. I feel quite confident that the judgment of this committee is not final. I speak with all respect in the presence of Sir John Kerr.

I feel convinced also that their scheme will crash on the rocks of finance, and that when their ship founders, as I think it must for that reason, then the voice of truer, better reason will again be heard, and we shall eventually see women holding the equal franchise with men, not as dependents of men, but in their own right as women.

Lady Hartog: Like other speakers, I have listened with great interest to Mrs. Gray's very able paper. There is one point about which I should like to disagree, and that is that the aim of the new All-India Home Science Institute is to de-westernize girls' education. It is surely not to de-westernize it, but to de-masculinize it, if I may use the word. The models on which the Home Science Institute will be founded are Western models, whether in these islands, in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, or America, in all of which countries domestic science colleges have taken an increasingly important place in recent years. Naturally, the All-India Home Science Institute will adapt its courses to Indian conditions; otherwise they would be useless.

Then Mrs. Gray pointed out that, up to the present time, girls' colleges and schools in India have not depended in the main upon Indian women's efforts for their beginnings. I should like to mention one notable exception which I know, the Gokhale Memorial School in Calcutta, one of the very best girls' schools in India, founded and still carried on by the initiative and energy of one woman, Mrs. P. K. Roy, whose sister, Lady Bose, is also doing most remarkable work. Although their names do not figure very often in the newspapers, they are second to none in solid achievement for the women of India. Then there is the remarkable co-educational school founded by the late Miss Susie Sorabji at Poona.

Again, in the field of practical social reform, it was a woman, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, a nominated member of the Madras Legislative Council, who, through her own efforts, and I believe without the backing of any political party, succeeded in getting on to the Statute Book a Bill for the abolition of the Devadasi system, that system of dedication of girls to temples prevalent in Southern India.

I agree with Mrs. Gray that the women's movement in India has not been a feminist movement as in the West. I think it was in the beginning, and we have with us Miss Cornelia Sorabji, one of the pioneers of the movement, who organized the Federation of University Women in India and later the National Council of Women. But I do not think it can be denied that during the last three years it is the Nationalist movement that has captured women in the mass and has brought them out from their homes in thousands. For many of us here that is probably the one bright spot in the civil disobedience movement.

The appeal to which the hearts of the women of India have responded—and I say hearts and not heads advisedly—is the appeal of Congress to their patriotism, and for those who know Indian women this is not hard to understand. It is the spirit of self-sacrifice, the same spirit which caused women in bygone days to commit *sati*, that spirit of selfless devotion which through centuries of tradition and of home education has become inherent in Indian womanhood. It is that spirit, and it is a noble spirit, which has responded so readily, and, in the view of many, so unanalytically, to Mr. Gandhi's call for service and self-sacrifice.

I think that only time can show, when the political atmosphere is calmer, whether it will be possible for the leaders of the women's movements to draw the masses of Indian women who have taken part in political agitation into constructive work for social reform and for women's education.

Miss CATON said she was very glad that Mrs. Gray, who was such a worker herself, had stressed the need for workers.

She felt that the difficulties of enfranchising the women of India were as nothing compared with the enormous difficulties of providing for their general education. Money alone would not do it; nothing but a vast army of women workers. And here, she added, we must never forget the contribution of the Christian community, who had blazed the trail for women workers in India, and still provided half of the teachers and health workers. It was only through the work of such "unobtrusive pioneers" that India would finally defeat her very great problems.

MUNSHI ISWAR SARAN: I wish to pay my tribute of thanks and admiration to Mrs. Gray for her most admirable and thoughtful paper.

I have listened with great admiration to the remarks of my distinguished sister, Miss Cornelia Sorabji. I have known her as a lawyer, as a politician, as an educationist, as an orator, but today she has appeared in the rôle of a poetess. She has given full play to her imagination. She talked about the Sarda Act. She said that charming Indian ladies, most charmingly dressed, asked us for our votes, and we yielded. I happened at the time to be a member of the Legislative Assembly. All the charm, all the grace, all the appeal that she refers to, exist in my sister's imagination. At any rate, I gave my vote without any charmer having ever honoured me by asking for it.

Now let us be perfectly clear. Let us understand how the situation stands. The position is this. Indian men have realized, once for all, that for the progress of the country as a whole it is necessary that men and women should combine and make progress together. We have willingly offered all opportunities of advancement to our sisters in India because we recognize that if they do not make progress we shall be nowhere.

Miss Sorabji spoke of some of the links in the chain in India being weak. Is there any country under the sun today where all the links in the chain are equally strong? Does she not know that the rays of the rising sun fall first on the peaks of the mountains and slowly and gradually descend to the valleys? What is true of India is equally true of any other country in the world. There are advanced women who have got high ideals. They are working for them, they are suffering for them, and it is by and by that their less fortunate sisters, less advanced sisters, will get alongside of them.

I do not wish to discuss politics here, but I do wish you to understand that women—I know what I am talking about because I have very recently come from India; they, according to some, may be perfectly misguided and thoroughly ill-advised—are working in the field of politics not because men have said: "Oh, my dears, please become self-sacrificing, please help us." They feel that that is the way to obtain freedom, and they are fighting for freedom. The fight which they are putting forward, right or wrong, is the result of their deep-seated conviction, and it is not very difficult to understand that self-rule is better than foreign rule. For Heaven's sake do not say that they have come forward to join the present struggle merely because they have the tradition of self-sacrifice behind them, and because they cannot resist the appeal made to them by men. That is not so.

I have differed from Miss Sorabji, but let me assure you that my distinguished sister is patriotic and feels for her sisters in India. In her anxiety that we should make greater advance, she has belittled all that we men have done and all that women are doing. In her heart of hearts no one can be happier than Miss Sorabji at the remarkable progress that has been accomplished. In India today what is happening is something wonderful. What other countries have taken years and years to accomplish India has accomplished in months. You may well be surprised. Pray forget for ever the "Unchanging East," at any rate in talking about India. India is changing, perhaps with far greater rapidity than many of you might think it ought to.

Let me tell you before I sit down that these women who have broken the shackles of purdah, even after this political excitement is over, are not going back behind the purdah. I should like anybody to get up and tell me that these women who have gone to gaol, who have led processions, who have picketed and done all that kind of thing, after the excitement is over will again adopt the veil and become like their great-grandmothers. A great wave has swept over the land, and that wave has affected men and women alike. That wave will go on and on until the goal that we have set before ourselves has been attained.

The Lady Chairman: We have had a most interesting meeting, and I am sure we want to thank and congratulate Sir John Kerr and Mr. Brown for such a very excellent discussion and for inviting Mrs. Gray to give a paper which is of such vital interest at the present moment.

Advocates of women's advance both in the West and in the East have held diverse views as to how it may best be attained. But all of us who have the privilege to know the talents and sympathies of our individual friends among Indian women rejoice to think what will be gained as education and wider activities are extended further among the women of India.

Mrs. GRAY: The remarks of the Raja of Kollengode made us look with envy at Travancore. It is splendid to hear that when England is cutting down her expenditure on education, Travancore is even spending more.

It struck me that Miss Sorabji was speaking rather about the past. If the All-India Women's Conference has been indebted to an Irishwoman for some of its preliminary work, it has long passed out of the care of that ubiquitous nation and is entirely Indian, and is doing very admirable work in Indian hands.

I felt, when Sir Henry Lawrence hoped that the conclusions of the Franchise Committee are unsatisfactory, that he was perhaps forgetting that the recommendations for women are all temporary. They are for the first ten years.

Lady Hartog justly called to mind that I had not mentioned the Gokhale Memorial School in Calcutta. If there had been more time other people would have sprung up to remind me of other admirable pieces of work I had not mentioned. I was told by the authorities that my paper was already too long, so that it was impossible to include many recent admirable pieces of work.

Munshi Iswar Saran voiced my opinion very well. I am quite sure that women are not going back. To your great pleasure and everybody's great pleasure, they have come out to stay out. This movement is going to be the making of India, for the women are going to pull their full weight in future.

Sir JOHN KERR: I am quite sure that you will not want to go away without passing a very hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Gray, for her most interesting paper (applause), and to Lady Pentland for the way in which she has presided over our proceedings.

In moving this vote of thanks, I should like to have a tilt with my friend Sir Henry Lawrence on the franchise question, but the hour is late and this is perhaps hardly the time. I gather that when I have foundered on the rock of finance, Sir Henry is going to come out on top. I can only assure him I have not yet foundered, and therefore I presume he is still somewhere floundering in the water.

The matter of Indian women is one of which I know very little. I went out to India forty years ago and was put under a very good chief, who told me that I should learn all I could of the interests and ways of the people, of their crops, and their cultivation, and their profit and loss and so on. "But," he said, "there are two things you must not interfere with—one is their religion, and the other is their women." I and most of the men of my generation followed that advice, and the result was that we came away from India knowing, as I say, very little of the women.

I went back to India last year with the Franchise Committee, and I was surprised to find the change that had come over India in this respect. The administrators of the present day are worried with questions as to how the women are to be got on to the electoral roll; will they take the trouble to come to the poll, or will their husbands let them; do they want special polling booths, etc. Those are problems that never arose at all in our day, but they are real problems nowadays. That is only a material and mechanical illustration of the great fact of woman's advance in India, of which Mrs. Gray has given us such a striking account in its more spiritual aspect.

We thank Mrs. Gray and Lady Pentland for a very instructive and informing afternoon which we shall not readily forget.

THE ALL-INDIA CRICKET TEAM

RECEPTION AT GROSVENOR HOUSE

The President, Lord Lamington, and the Council of the Association gave a reception on the afternoon of June 24, 1932 (the day before the beginning of the England—All-India Test Match at Lord's) to meet the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, the Maharaj Rana of Porbandar (captain), and the members of the All-India Cricket Team. There were also present a number of men of distinction in the cricketing world, including Mr. Jardine, the captain of the English Test Team. The company comprised:

Sir Thomas and Lady Ainscough, Sir Azizuddin Ahmed, Sir Leonard and Lady Adami, Sir Charles Armstrong, Mrs. Waris Ameer Ali, Mr. S. Altaf Husain, Mr. A. S. M. Anik, Sahebzada Abdussamad Khan, Miss Andrade, the Maharajah of Burdwan, Maharaj-Kumari Sudharani Devi of Burdwan, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, Sir Hugh and Lady Barnes, General Sir George and Lady Barrow, Sir Harcourt Butler, Sir Basil and Lady Blackett, Sir William and Lady Barton, Lady (Thomas) Bennett, Sir Albion Banerji, Sir Ernest and Lady Bennett, the Rev. R. and Mrs. Burges, Major and Mrs. Barnes, Mr. C. M. Baker, Mr. and Mrs. V. Boalth, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Buckland, Mr. and Mrs. R. W. Brock, Miss Beck, Mrs. and Miss Bahadurji, Mr. Montagu Bell, Mr. F. H. Brown and Miss Margaret Brown, Sir Atul and Lady Chatterjee, Sir Reginald and Lady Craddock, Sir John Cumming, Sir Hubert and Lady Carr, Sir Edward and Lady Chamier, Sir Peter and Lady Clutterbuck, Sir William O. Clark, Sir Alfred and Lady Chatterton, Mr. W. D. Croft, Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Caspersz, Miss C. K. Cumming, the Rev. E. S. and Mrs. and Miss Carr, Mr. F. S. Collett, Mr. Lall Chaman, Mr. Shanmukhan Chetty.

Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Sir Louis and Lady Dane, Dr. and Mrs. Damry, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. and Mrs. W. N. Delevinge, Mrs. Donald, Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. J. C. C. Davidson, Mrs. Dreschfield, Lady Eckstein and Miss Eckstein, Mr. David S. Erulkar, Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Edwards, Mr. Ernest Esdaile, Sir George and Lady Forbes, Sir Charles and Lady Fawcett, Maulvi Farzand Ali, Mr. and Mrs. B. Foley, Sir Reginald and Lady Glancy, Sir Padamji and Lady Ginwala, Mr. A. M. Green, Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Gray, Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Green, Mr. and Mrs. O. Gruzelier, Mr. J. K. Das Gupta, Mr. and Mrs. Ghulam Khan, Lord and Lady Hawke, Lord and Lady Headley, Lord and Lady Harris, Sir Clement and Lady Hindley, Sir Robert and Lady Holland, Sir Philip and Lady Hartog, Sir John and Lady Hotson, Mr. and Mrs. E. F. and Miss Harris, Miss Percival Hall, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Mr. and Mrs. H. Harcourt, Mr. and Mrs. O. C. G. Hayter, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. A. G. Hamilton, Mr. Seth Haji Abdoola Haroon, Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, Sirdar Hardit Singh, Mr. G. B. D. Head, the Chief Sahib of Ichalkaranji, the King's Indian Orderly Officers.

Sir Stanley and Lady Jackson, Sir Lionel and Lady Jacob, Mr. D. R. Jardine, Mr. D. W. Jackson, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Joyce, Sir John and Lady Kerr, Lady and Mr. Kenneth Keymer, Khanzada F. M. Khan and Princess Yusuf Begum, the Hon. Emily Kinnaird, Mrs. Patricia Kendall, the Marquess of Lothian, Sir Austen and Lady Low, Mrs. Reginald Lowis, Mr. and Mrs. H. A. F. Lindsay, Mr. and Mrs. John de La Valette, Sir John and Lady Maynard, Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, Sir Reginald and Lady Mant, Sir Duncan and Lady Macpherson, Sir Arthur and Lady McWatters, Sir James and Lady MacKenna Sir Hugh and Lady McPherson, Colonel A. Malet, Miss Moira MacKenna, Mr. and Mrs. Hardit Singh Malik, Mrs. R. M. Milward, Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Martin, Mr. and Mrs. A. Montgomerie, Mr. Hugh MacGregor, Mr. W. M. Mather, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Madelay, Mr. J. H. Munro, Mr. C. A. Mehta, Mr. and Mrs. V. N. Mehta, Mr. R. H. Mallett, Sir John Wardlaw Milne, M.P., and Lady Milne, Professor J. E. G. and the Misses de Montmorency, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mrs. Nicholson, Major and Mrs. F. Ney, Mr. G. H. Ormerod.

Lord and Lady Eustace Percy, the Lady Pentland, Sir Edwin Pascoe, Lady Procter, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. S. B. A. Patterson, Mr. George Pilcher, Mr. and Mrs. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. Abdul Qadir Khan, the Marquess and Marchioness of Reading, Sir George Rainy, Sir Denison and Lady Ross, Sir Stanley and Lady Reed, Mr. and Mrs. John Ross, Sir Benjamin Robertson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Major and Mrs. F. Roberts, Mr. A. L. C. Robinson, Major and Mrs. E. W. C. Ricketts, Mrs. K. C. Roy, Sir Malcolm and Lady Seton, Sir Thomas and Lady Strangman, Sir Hugh Stephenson, Sir Findlater Stewart, Sir Percy Sykes, Mr. and Mrs. A. Sabonadiere, Miss Cornelia Sorabji, Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Sale, Miss Speechley, Miss Peggy Scott.

Sir John and Lady Thompson, Sir Charles and Lady Tegart, Sardar Bahadur S. S. Uberoi, Sir William and Lady Vincent, Mr. E. Villiers, Sir James and Lady Walker, Sir Walter and Lady Willson, Sir Ness and Lady Wadia, Mr. and Mrs. P. K. Wattal, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Mr. A. H. Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. T. A. H. Way, Mr. W. D. Woellwarth, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. D. Warliker, Mr. and Mrs. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. M. E. Watts, Mr. and Mrs. A. Yusuf Ali.

Lord LAMINGTON said: On behalf of the East India Association I welcome H.H. the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, known and admired wherever cricket is played for more than a generation past; H.H. the Maharaj Rana of Porbandar, the captain, and the members of the Indian Cricket Team, together with some of our own great cricketers, including the captain of the English team. (Cheers.)

A number of people well known in public life and in cricketing circles have unavoidably been prevented from attending. We have received a letter from Sir Samuel Hoare regretting that a previous engagement prevents him and Lady Maud Hoare from being with us. I have also a letter from Viscount Lewisham, President of the M.C.C., which is as follows:

"I write to thank the Council of the East India Association for their kind invitation to the reception on Friday, 24th.

"I very much regret that I have an engagement for that afternoon which makes it impossible for me to accept. I am very sorry to have to miss another opportunity of meeting the members of the All-India Cricket Team, and can only console myself with the thought that I have already had the privilege of welcoming them on behalf of English cricketers at the dinner given in their honour at Lord's some weeks ago."

There can be few present who have any recollection of seeing at play the Indian teams which visited England in 1886 and 1888. But many of us remember the tour of the team which came here in 1911 under the captaincy of H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala. This is the fourth tour of an Indian cricketing team to this country, and there is good reason to expect that it will be the most successful of them. We have constant reminders of the capacity of Indians to take their place in the front rank of cricketers in the achievements of Dhuleepsinghji, the nephew of His Highness the Jam Saheb, and the Nawab of Pataudi. We welcome, among others, Lord Harris, whose father did so much to promote a love of cricket in India, Sir Stanley Jackson, and Lord Hawke.

Sir Stanley Jackson and Sir Leslie Wilson, to mention two recent Governors, together with Lord Willingdon, the present Viceroy, have each done much to encourage a love of cricket in India. Tomorrow many of us will see you, the members of the Indian Cricket Team, testing your merits at Lord's. You have already proved your power in a number of matches. If the wicket keeps dry the match beginning tomorrow should be of great interest.

The happy aspect of games like cricket is that they promote healthy rivalries in athletic efforts, and turn the attention of a distracted world from the troubles of the day and hour. Personal worries are allayed, and racial asperities are lessened in such events, watched by the world, as the Test Match at Lord's and the Tennis Championship contests at Wimbledon. The East India Association seeks, by the promotion of social contact and by frank and fair discussion of current events, to promote goodwill between the two peoples. You as a team of sportsmen are doing tenfold more to this end by your prowess at cricket and giving scores of thousands of the British people opportunities to see you at the game and to recognize that the same spirit of goodwill animates you as is shown by English cricketers. Collectively and individually you have a profound influence. You may be sure that members of this Association represent the feelings of the public in general in wishing you every success that your knowledge of and skill in cricket should win for you. (Cheers.)

The MAHARAJA JAM SAHEB, who was heartily welcomed, said: I am an old stager in the cricket world, and I feel that your welcome should be for His Highness of Porbandar, my nephew, and his team, rather than for me; but I appreciate none the less the honour done me by the East India Association in asking me to take part in these happy proceedings. I am glad to think that I am not alone as an old stager. I am gratified to have near me Sir Stanley Jackson, on whose initiative I entered English cricket, and than whom no finer sportsman ever entered the cricket field. (Cheers.) We are happy to see him back after five strenuous years, and I wish him, on behalf of myself and all Indians here, a happy time in his own country. I am also glad to see Lord Hawke present, for he, in combination with the late Lord Harris, has done more for English cricket than almost anyone else. I see a great many of my other friends, English and Indian, present. As to the All-India Team, I did not anticipate the success which they have achieved, and therefore I am all the more delighted to congratulate them on their success. (Cheers.) I cannot say that I was optimistic as to their prospects in this country; but no one is more pleased than I am to note their success. I can assure them that tomorrow they will meet the most powerful English team it would be possible to select. It is for the most part the team which will go out to Australia; I congratulate my fellow-countrymen on the anxiety which, as is evident from this fact, they have instilled into the Selection Committee. (Laughter.) My feelings as an Indian are on their side, but as an old English cricketer my feelings are also on the other side. I wish them both every success, and may the best side win. (Laughter and cheers.) I must add a word of thanks to you, Lord Lamington, for the maintenance of a friendship extending over many years: I had the privilege of receiving so many kindnesses from you both in Australia and India that it is a great pleasure to be here under your chairmanship today.

The MAHARAJ RANA OF PORBANDAR, who was also cordially received, said:

I thank you, Mr. President, most sincerely for the honour you have done us this afternoon, and for giving me this opportunity to express our deep gratitude for the touching kindness which the Indian Cricket Team has met on all sides since it arrived in this country. We came almost unknown, but we were greeted with warm hearts and a happy comradeship which have made our days here joyous indeed; the gathering this afternoon is yet another proof of the sincerity of your welcome and the richness of your sympathies.

It is not easy for me to speak of cricket or of India in the presence of the distinguished company here assembled. We are proud in the support of His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar, who has been an inspiration to every Indian who has handled a cricket bat. The force of that inspiration must be patent to all when the cricketing genius of "Ranji" is recalled on every field by the prowess of "Dhuleep."

Our own cricketing home is a land of brilliant skies and sun-baked fields. We were put to the test here under very different conditions. I cannot think even now, without a shudder, of the sodden skies, the rain-swept wickets, and the icy winds of your English May. But now that the memory of our early chilly days has been thawed by the sun of the glorious June, may I say that we are not dismayed by our progress so far. I can speak of this with less hesitation as my own part in it has been comparatively small. Fortified by these experiences, we are looking forward with chastened confidence to the sterner ordeal which commences tomorrow. We hope to win; we shall not be downcast if we do not; but, win or lose, we will do our utmost to play the game in the spirit of true sportsmanship.

Nor can I venture to touch, however lightly, on some of the problems affecting my own dear land without a sense of temerity when there are many here whose services and experience are so much greater than my own. But, taking my courage in both hands, there are one or two thoughts that I would venture to put before you.

True, the world is distracted. And many countries are experiencing the worst economic and political distress in history. In my own country we are in the whirlpool of the making of a new Constitution, which, in the fulness of time, will give India her equal place in the British Commonwealth of Nations. We have a great work to do for India, for Britain, and for the Commonwealth, and, through that great instrument of human progress, for mankind. It is my profound conviction that we can do it far more efficiently and with greater elements of permanence if we do it together—Englishmen and Indians moving unitedly as one team towards the common goal—the happiness and prosperity of India, the welfare of the Empire, and the amelioration of the whole human race. In that spirit we have come amongst you. In that spirit we shall return, resolute in the conviction that, although the economic blizzards blow stormily and the future sometimes seems obscure, there is no difficulty we cannot overcome if we work together as one team and in the comradeship which is the very essence of the great game we are playing. (Cheers.)

THE ORDINANCES IN INDIA

BY SIR ROBERT HOLLAND, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

MANY people do not comprehend the distinction between laws and ordinances as applied at the present day in India. It is a very simple matter. When the British first went to India, by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, in 1660, the Governor and Company were authorized to make, ordain, and constitute reasonable laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances for the good government of the Company. The Act of 1853 enlarged the Governor-General's Council to twelve for legislative purposes, and in 1861, by the Councils Act of that year, additional members were appointed for legislation; not less than six or more than twelve, in addition to the five ordinary members of the Executive Council. Legislation was thus treated "as a special function of government requiring special machinery and special processes," but at the same time it was considered necessary, by section 23 of the Act of 1861, to reserve to the Governor-General as head of the executive a new and extraordinary power of making and promulgating ordinances in case of emergency on his own responsibility. Sir Charles Wood, in paragraph 26 of his Despatch No. 14, dated 9th August, 1861, explained the reasons as follows: "It is due to the supreme authority in India, who is responsible for the peace, security, and good government of that vast territory, that he should be armed with this power, but it is to be called into action only on urgent occasions; the reasons for a resort to it should always be recorded, and these, together with the ordinance itself, should be submitted, without loss of time, for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government." The section appears in the present Government of India Act as section 72, and it empowers the Governor-General to make and promulgate ordinances for the peace and good government of British India, or any part thereof. Such ordinances may remain in force for a period of not longer than six months from the date of promulgation, and may be controlled or superseded by an Act passed by the Indian Legislature.

Before 1900 ordinances were only used about six times. A typical instance of an ordinance, created in an emergency and extinguished eventually by a substitutionary Act of the Legislative Council, is to be found in the Defence of India Ordinance of 1914, passed at the beginning of the war and later converted into the Defence of India Act. Five ordinances of 1920-21 dealt with the aftermath of the war, and five in 1921-22 were concerned with the Moplah Rebellion, martial law, and the restoration of order in Malabar. In 1924 the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance was passed and in due course converted into an Act of the local Legislative Council. In 1929, when in dramatic circumstances the Public Safety Bill, for the expulsion of communists from India, was rejected by the Legislative Assembly, the Governor-General found it necessary to promulgate an ordinance to take the place of the Bill.

In 1930, ordinances were, for the first time, employed to deal with civil disobedience. Lord Irwin, in his speech to both Houses of the Indian Legislature at Simla in July, 1930, explained his action in the following words: "In my judgment and in that of my Government, it (*i.e.*, civil disobedience) is a deliberate attempt to coerce established authority by mass action, and for this reason, as also because of its natural and inevitable developments, it must be regarded as unconstitutional and dangerously subversive. Mass action, even if it is intended by its promoters to be non-violent, is nothing but the application of force under another form, and, when it has as its avowed object the making of government impossible, a Government is bound either to resist or abdicate. Therefore it is that I have felt bound to combat these doctrines and to arm Government with such powers as seem requisite to deal with the situation. I fully realize that in normal times such frequent resort by the Governor-General to the use of his special powers would be indefensible. But the times are not normal, and, if the only alternative is acquiescence in the result of efforts openly directed against the constituted Government of the King-Emperor, I cannot for one moment doubt on which side my duty lies."

The ordinances were employed by Lord Irwin as special weapons to break the spirit of anarchy and create again respect for law and order. He knew, however, that they were double-edged weapons, and he laid them aside thankfully after his pact with Mr. Gandhi in 1931, in the hope that their work was done and that the madness of civil disobedience had passed.

But at the end of the second session of the Round-Table Conference, when Mr. Gandhi was about to return from England, there was again a condition of things in India which called for special action. In Bengal there was a campaign of terrorism and a long line of terrible tragedies and a communistic spirit with which the ordinary law was powerless to deal. In the Frontier Province Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his Redshirts were actively fomenting rebellion, with the avowed object of turning the British out of India, and the movement was becoming a menace to the peace, not merely of the Province, but of the whole Border.

In the United Provinces there was a critical agrarian situation. In five districts the Provincial Congress Committee had sanctioned a campaign for non-payment of revenue, and this was likely to cause a class war between the landlords and the tenants. The whole position was described in a statement issued by the Government of India. India was in grave peril, so grave that Lord Willingdon decided once more to employ the ordinance weapon, although he, like Lord Irwin, knew well that it was double-edged.

Why is it double-edged?

Some people will say that any resort to special measures outside the law means abandonment of the sacred principle of self-determination, and that the weapon is, therefore, one which ought never to be employed under any circumstances; that it is better that the existing system of government, whatever it may be, should sink in ruins and give place to some new system in accord with the people's will. If a constitutional Government takes to ruling by ordinances, it confesses its own failure. If a Government ceases to be able to impress its will upon the people through the instrumentality of the ordinary law, it is not likely that any other weapons will serve for long. It is forced back behind its first line of defences, and the second is bound to give way, so that it would be far wiser to abdicate at once and let the people's will be paramount. No one who believes in the message of Christianity or any other religion, or who has marked the lesson of Russia, will pay much heed to this line of argument. Russia may win through some day to a greater tranquillity and a more enlightened civilization than she has ever yet known, but she is treading a very miry path. There is no need for India to follow it.

The next criticism is that the ordinances are a treatment only for the symptoms of the disease; they can never cure it; at the best they can only provide a breathing space, since the cure that is needed consists in the Government somehow regaining the confidence and the loyalty of the people. Government have never lost sight of this consideration, and it is for this reason that, while sternly maintaining order, they are pressing forward with the scheme of constitutional reform, which they hope will prove to be the true panacea for discontent.

The retort to this is that government by ordinances is the surest means of postponing and prejudicing constitutional reform because the atmosphere remains poisoned by suspicion and ill-feeling, and there is, therefore, no hope of creating that unity of sentiment without which the new constitution cannot be brought to birth. The Congress must be an element, and a very important element, in the new constitution, but its leaders, many of whom are in gaol, are becoming more and more embittered and hostile, and the rank and file are not placated. How can Great Britain expect to facilitate, through ordinances, the accomplishment of its principal purpose, "which is to lead India to self-government and to retain her as an equal and contented member of the Imperial family of nations"?* Government's answer to this is that, while they are convinced that, "in the future relationship between Great Britain and India, the time has definitely come for the relation of partnership to supersede that of subordination," and while they are anxious to foster India's national aspirations and to assist her constitutional advance, yet they will not neglect their "clear duty to maintain the law and to resist attempts to substitute another authority for its own." Lord Irwin stated the position in the clearest terms: "So long as the civil disobedience movement persists, we must fight it with all our strength, because, whatever may be the spirit by which many of its adherents may be animated, I believe from the bottom of my heart that it is only leading many of India's sons and daughters, in mistaken service of their motherland, unwillingly to expose her to grievous harm."

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* Speech by Lord Irwin at Calcutta on December 22, 1930.

Sir Samuel Hoare pointed out in the House of Commons on June 27th that "in a situation such as this there should be only one test of policy: Is action necessary or is it not in the interests of law, order, and good government; and is action calculated to give the protection from illegal and oppressive tyranny which the community at large is entitled to expect?"

Then there is the more subtle argument that Government, by indiscriminate use of the ordinances, are estranging their own friends, both in India and abroad; that a feeling of sullen resentment is created among many persons in India not actively engaged in the civil disobedience movement, and that people both in England and other countries who formerly sympathized with Government's policy are now shocked and horrified by stories which they hear about the reckless use of force. It is certainly a fact that there are many people in India not directly identified with the civil disobedience campaign who are strongly opposed to the ordinances. Some of these, in their heart of hearts, sympathize with the Congress. They do not want Government to win the victory, and would rather that the struggle ended in a draw. These people are really the rearguard for the Congress party, and only by drastic action will they be convinced that civil disobedience cannot succeed against the organized resources of the State. Other persons, whether well disposed towards Government or neutral, are powerfully affected by stories of harsh action taken by police officers in individual cases. It is inevitable that, in the course of clashes between the forces of Government and the forces of disorder, people should sustain physical injury, and it is equally certain that at times innocent persons must suffer with the guilty, but the responsibility for this lies not with Government or the officials of Government, but with those who are trying to bring government to a standstill. There have been very few regrettable incidents during the present campaign, and this is proved by the fact that Congress has found it extremely difficult to scrape up any genuine material for propaganda purposes. There are three well-known stories of alleged atrocities. The first related to Benares, where a number of women were alleged to have been arrested, taken to a police station, stripped, and beaten. The police said to have been concerned were tried by the District Magistrate, who found that the allegations of stripping and beating were entirely groundless, and that the women had been released after a very brief detention of about one hour. At Peshawar police were alleged to have entered a house and thrown two women from a balcony, injuring them severely. Investigation proved that the women had thrown stones, injuring a policeman, and that when the police entered the house the women jumped into the street, and thus were themselves responsible for what hurt they had received. In a Madras case it was alleged that a volunteer was so maltreated by the police that he died. Inquiry showed that the man was admitted to the hospital at Cuddalore suffering from fever. He had no marks of injury when he was examined by the medical officer, and he died a fortnight later of typho-pneumonia.

But it is unfortunately true that stories of this kind, however baseless, are certain to be believed, spread rapidly, and can never be overtaken by most circumstantial disproof. The mere existence of the ordinances affords an opening for complaint of hardship and injustice. Any Indian in whose breast national aspirations have taken root is naturally predisposed to believe them, because he resents being ruled by commandments of the executive. It is a blow to India's pride that subjects of the King-Emperor should be deprived of a part of their rights before the law. This was the reason for the powerful agitation against the Rowlatt Act in 1918-1919. In so far as the existence of the ordinances fosters and encourages the development of a true national spirit in India, it is no bad thing, but the unfortunate part is that it must be done to some extent at the cost of loyalty to the British connection. Again, there are many earnest students of Indian affairs in

England and in other countries to whom the mere idea of government through ordinances is an abomination. Like Mr. Gladstone when anyone breathed the words "Armenian atrocities," they become distressed and wrathful at the thought of action taken by the police or magistrates without the sanction of the ordinary law, and their minds are receptive to tales of hardship and oppression, even though supported by the haziest evidence. It is inevitable that the sympathies of many worthy people must be alienated in this way so long as the ordinances are in force, because no argument will avail to convince them that action under the ordinances is a lesser evil than the brutal tyranny enforced in the name of civil disobedience.

Nevertheless, a study of the actual facts may provide some consolation to such people. It has been urged against the ordinances that they were applied much too generally and without sufficient discrimination. In fact, only two of the ordinances—namely, V. of 1932, "The Prevention of Molestation and Boycotting," and section 63 (relating to control of the Press) in II. of 1932, "The Emergency Powers Ordinance"—were applied to the whole of India. And even so, the ordinances were not used in several Provinces. III. of 1932, "The Unlawful Instigation Ordinance," was, naturally, only used in the United Provinces. When an ordinance was applied to British India it did not follow that it was necessarily used in all the Provinces or in all the districts in the Province. The local authorities decided that with reference to the needs of the situation. During the currency of the ordinances it was often asked why, if when they expired it were necessary to continue the ordinance policy, they should not be made applicable only to those Provinces where the situation might seem to demand them. When a new ordinance was promulgated at the end of May to take the place of Bengal Ordinance XI. of 1931, special heed was paid to the principle of differentiation. Three of its seven sections were restricted to the Chittagong area, and were not to be applied elsewhere unless the necessity arose, and without due notice being given. Also the Special Tribunal was abolished as a Court of Appeal, its place being taken by the High Court in Calcutta and Sessions Courts elsewhere. The ordinance must have been regarded throughout India as a greatly improved measure.

On June 30th Ordinance X. of 1932 was promulgated to take the place of four previously existing ordinances, the powers taken being roughly the same as corresponding ones under the old ordinances. But save for eight sections applicable to the whole of British India, no part of the ordinance will operate except on Notifications by the Provincial Governments following a Government of India Notification; and, subject to the eight exceptions, local orders issued show that more than half of the whole of Northern British India will, in fact, be completely exempt from the operation of the new ordinance, unless and until the political situation in any district deteriorates as to require the extension of the ordinance at the Provincial Government's discretion. Many powers have been dispensed with: Madras is wholly exempt from the powers corresponding to the old Emergency Powers Ordinance, and even the Bombay Government has been able to exempt 20 districts from the powers directed against molestation and boycott. It is very satisfactory that, at a time when the Congress party is still relaxing none of its efforts to discredit Government's authority and to coerce private citizens, the Provincial Governments should have felt able to dispense with their special powers on so large a scale. (See article by the Simla correspondent of *The Times* for June 30.)

Sir Samuel Hoare, in the House of Commons on June 27, stated that, generally speaking, the action taken had been completely successful in keeping the civil disobedience movement in check. After describing the situation in the various Provinces, he said that from one end of India to the other, every local government obtained the initiative at the beginning of the campaign and had retained it ever since. But he emphasized that the civil disobedience movement had not been called off and that, therefore, the powers must be retained, although their application would be carefully and sympathetically regulated by the needs of particular provinces and districts. He revealed a most encouraging fact, that during the preceding six months large sections of the populations of India had stood behind the Government, and that nine out of ten villages as a whole had refused to take any part in the civil disobedience movement, and he urged that Government, while proceeding steadfastly with the Reforms scheme, was bound to keep a firm hold on their protective weapons and to continue to support unflinchingly those who had stood by the Government in a time of great emergency.

The ordinances have played a great and very useful part in the temporary pacification of India; they can no longer be regarded as a strait-jacket applied to the whole of India, and some of the sting has been taken out of them as instruments of government. It is particularly satisfactory to learn that the Government of India, in consultation with the Local Governments, has been considering proposals for introducing legislation, during the autumn session of the Assembly, for the purpose of making statutory certain provisions of the consolidated Ordinance X. of 1932. The Bengal Legislative Council, at the beginning of September, actually passed a further Criminal Law Amendment Bill, making attempts at murder punishable with death.

On the other hand, fresh clouds seem to be gathering in the wake of the Prime Minister's communal award, which was published on August 17. As was to be expected, the Hindu Nationalist Press loudly condemned its terms and prophesied new and more bitter outbreaks of passion. The Moslems complained that the Award fell short of their demands, but on the whole did not appear to be dissatisfied. The President of the All-India Depressed Classes Federation criticized the Award on the ground that it unfairly reduced the representation of the Depressed Classes in the Provincial Legislatures; while the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs showed keen disappointment and openly said that they would rather have no reforms at all than reforms giving the Province a Legislature with a majority based on population.

It appears unfortunately probable that disorder will persist, perhaps in an aggravated form, for some time to come, and Government must therefore continue to be armed with the weapons required for its control, either in the form of ordinances or of laws passed by the legislative bodies.

THE INDIAN WHEAT TRADE—III*

By Parimal Ray, m.a., ph.d.

We may now take up the thread of our previous argument and trace the subsequent development of the wheat trade from where we left it. During the war the trade was put under special restrictions through official control of the inter-provincial movement in grain and its exports. At first, from December 1914 to March 1915, exports of wheat and wheat-flour were restricted by Government decree to 100,000 tons only. The object was to afford partial protection to the home consumers against the upward trend of the world price which manifested itself immediately on the outbreak of the war. Between April 1915 and May 1916 private exports of wheat were altogether forbidden and the Government of India, acting through a specially appointed Wheat Commissioner, assumed control of the exportable surplus. Wheat was purchased by the Government on its own account at prices determined by itself and was thus kept artificially low in comparison with the level of world prices. "With effect from the 1st May, 1916, shipment on private account was once more permitted up to the limit of quarterly allotments fixed by the Wheat Commissioner on the basis of pre-war business, but this arrangement only continued until the end of October when the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies assumed control and made direct purchases until February 1917 and the Wheat Commissioner was again invested with entire responsibility for buying operations." On account of the prevalence of such exceptional circumstances, coupled with unusual scarcity of freights, etc., exports, notwithstanding fairly propitious seasons and strong external demand, suffered during the war a serious setback. The average export during the war period fell below the pre-war quinquennial average by nearly 40 per cent. in volume, but owing to the phenomenal rise in prices the value diminished only by approximately 26 per cent.

In the years immediately after the war, restrictions on wheat exports continued to be necessary because of adverse seasonal conditions and high prices at home. Exports consequently sank very low. On an average even less than 3 million cwt. were shipped between 1919-20 and 1922-23. The extensive failure of rains in 1918-19 sent up the prices of all food grains. The exportable surplus of wheat for 1919-20 was considerably reduced. An embargo had to be put on export when the succeeding harvest also proved markedly deficient. The satisfactory harvest of 1920 permitted partial relaxation of control between October 1920 and March 1921, but it was not found possible to remove the last vestige of restriction until September 1922.

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* Continued from the July issue.

The successful official control of foodstuff exports during the war and immediately after brought to the fore the suggestion of a prohibitive or restrictive export duty on wheat. The object in view was presumably to preserve an adequate supply of the commodity for domestic needs. The suggestion was not in any way a new one, but was simply reinforced by the ideas which grew up during the war. It must in the first place be realized by those who advocate the above proposition that "mere prohibition of export of food grains will not in itself bring food to the people who need it." "The problem for those who seek to attack the evils of poverty through controlling the export of food grains is one of prices. Nothing can be achieved except by lowering the price of food."* A high duty, which restrains or altogether stops exports of wheat from India, will lessen under-consumption in the country, precisely in so far as it lowers the internal prices of the commodity. This, however, is sure to lead to fresh complications.

The economic aspect of the question received careful examination at the hands of the Prices Enquiry Committee, 1910-14, and the Fiscal Commission of 1921-22. The chief objections, which were urged by them, were briefly the following. Firstly, a grievous injury would be inflicted upon the agricultural community, who "would be poorer by the difference between the price that would prevail after the imposition of the prohibitive export duty and that which they would otherwise have obtained." The objection is serious enough for a country like India where two-thirds of the population directly subsist on agriculture. So far as the ordinary cultivators are concerned, a rise in prices may not always or even usually benefit them, but there can hardly be any doubt that a fall in prices will at once hit them hard. Of the other classes of agricultural population, the rent-receivers and the managers, clerks, agents, etc., and the farm-servants and field-labourers may not be immediately affected, but in the long-run the prosperity of all of them is indissolubly bound up with the lot of the cultivators. It is true that agricultural prosperity depends on many other factors besides high prices, but so long as they are not forthcoming any artificial reduction of prices will, other things being equal, put a severe strain on the agricultural classes concerned.

The first argument, therefore, so far as it goes, is incontestable and by all means deserves our grave consideration. Well, however, one may say: "Even if we admit, for the sake of argument, that agricultural incomes cannot be increased otherwise than by increase in prices, it does not follow that prices should be allowed to rise to any extent so that the profits of agriculture may increase. Surely the minority has a right to live. The urban unskilled labourer has also wife and children. He is also a member of the community. It is certainly true that 'there can be no health in the cities without corresponding health in the country, but an industrious, prosperous, and contented city population is also essential to the progress of rural life.'"* The reasoning which underlies this argument will probably commend itself to few. Nevertheless, on a question like this, which essentially involves a point of social ethics, judgments may to a certain extent differ and no one can afford to be dogmatic.

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* *Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission*, 1921-22, p. 114.

Secondly, it has been contended that "any attempt to lower the price of agricultural produce would by reducing the resources of the more prosperous classes tend to delay that improvement in agriculture which is so much desired." Generally speaking, however, there is quite as much weight in the counter-argument that agricultural improvement is most effectively spurred by adversity. "It comes not from high prices and easy gains, but low prices and the need of facing a difficult situation." But it must be realized that this can only be true of countries where mobility and enterprise are at their highest. It is scarcely likely that in a country like India fall of agricultural prices would under any conceivable circumstances hasten the adoption of better farming. The contention put forward in the beginning would, therefore, seem to hold good as far as India was concerned, though it is difficult to gauge its exact force.

In the third place, it is argued that such prohibition or restriction would defeat its own object; for any depression of the price of wheat would merely lead to the substitution of other crops and diminish its production. The objection is wholly an economic one and, should it prove well founded, must be regarded as a conclusive argument against the adoption of a prohibitive or restrictive policy regarding the export of wheat. On this point we note that, notwithstanding the very perceptible decline in wheat exports during the war, neither the area under cultivation nor the total outturn suffered any diminution; on the contrary, both the acreage and the yield slightly increased.† We must not, however, overlook that we cannot reach any positive conclusion from

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* Brij Narain, *Indian Economic Problems*, Pt. I., pp. 507-8.

† *Cf.*

	Acreage.	*Yield.*
Pre-war (average for 5 years)	23,747,812	9,283,000 tons
War average	23,982,303	9,570,000 "

data which chronicle the experiences of an abnormal period. On account of the generally depressed conditions of cotton and oilseeds trades under the peculiar conditions of the war, there could have been little incentive for the substitution of such crops for wheat. A tendency, which may have normally operated, was thus partly held in check. In the absence of clear proof to the contrary it may therefore be generally assumed that loss of profitableness of the wheat crop would in India as in the rest of the world—although there it might be more gradual—encourage the substitution of other and for the time being more paying crops. Nothing should therefore justify recourse to the expedient of restricting or prohibiting export of foodstuffs except on special occasions when, either on account of internal harvest failure or of world factors, prices of foodstuffs in India approach dangerous heights. The whole issue, however, has ceased to be one of topical interest in view of the recent developments of the trade which we shall presently describe, and any discussions on the point appear therefore to be largely unreal.

The effects of the abnormal situation during the war and the years immediately subsequent to it were gradually subsiding. The Indian wheat trade, however, showed no sign of regaining the pre-war level. Indeed, a conspicuous lack of vitality has characterized its course in recent years. From progress and growth it has now receded into a state of stagnation and decay. Ever since it first fully developed in the beginning of the eighties of the last century, an export of about a million tons of wheat was quite a usual figure in a normal year's trade. True, for a long time after 1881-82 vagaries of monsoons and fluctuations of external demand too often prevented the trade from attaining the million mark. Nevertheless, exports, generally speaking, tended to reach the height as soon as circumstances were sufficiently favourable. At any rate, from 1904-5 onwards it was the rule rather than the exception for wheat exports to be well above a million tons, unless the conditions were peculiarly adverse. And besides, on a long view there was always perceptible over a number of years a clear indication of progress and expansion.

Now, with the above background for comparison, the significance of recent figures of wheat exports will stand out more clearly. In 1922 all artificial restrictions on shipments of wheat from India had been removed. The year 1923-24 came in the wake of two consecutively excellent harvests. Yet exports in that year amounted only to slightly more than half a million tons. With a third good harvest in succession, coupled with considerable demand from abroad—that is to say, in spite of a rare combination of favourable circumstances, in 1924-25 they barely exceeded the million mark, but failed to attain the pre-war quinquennial average. With slightly reduced outturns they at once fell as low as 400,000 and 350,000 tons in the two following years. Even the satisfactory harvest of 1926-27 left no more than 5,994,000 cwt. available for export in 1927-28. A mere subnormal crop in the last-mentioned year sufficed to drag exports down in 1928-29 lower than the figure of the disastrous famine year 1908-9. The crop of 1928-29 showed improvement over the previous year; nevertheless, exports not only did not increase, but on the contrary fell to the negligible figure of 13,000 tons.

It is common knowledge that the years immediately following 1921 have generally recorded a low level of wheat prices. It cannot be doubted that the appreciation of currency is one of the chief causes of this break in prices. At the same time, however, it is an indisputable fact that the price of wheat has felt the effect of the slump to a greater degree than that of commodities in general. In fact the price of wheat towards the end of 1930 and the beginning of 1931 reached the lowest price registered for more than one hundred years, and, notwithstanding slight improvement in subsequent months, is still lower than at the beginning of 1930. Yet the world today is full to overflowing with the accumulated surplus of unsold wheat. Whether this is the consequence of over-production or under-consumption is open to controversy. During the war and immediately after there was undoubtedly a considerable extension of acreage in non-European countries under the stimulus chiefly provided by restricted production in Europe. On the other hand, since the termination of hostilities Europe was steadily returning to the pre-war normal and by 1930 actually exceeded it. Between 1909-13 and 1926-29 the total production of this grain increased 15 per cent., while the growth of population over the whole world was 9 per cent. only between 1913 and 1929. Assuming the growth of the total population of the world as roughly representing the increase of the wheat-consuming population, the figures seem clearly to suggest over-production. But, having regard to the notable rise in the standard of living of the working-class people in Western countries, chiefly brought about by improved social legislation and such other ameliorative measures, it is not unreasonable to assume that the world would have in the ordinary course absorbed the surplus production of wheat. It is true that the improved mode of living of the labouring population should in certain cases decrease rather than increase the consumption of wheat on account of the variety of other foods brought within the means of the more well-to-do among them. But this is not likely appreciably to affect total consumption over the entire world. On the other hand, we may balance against probable decrease of wheat-eating arising from the above-named cause a spread of its consumption among fresh populations in China, Japan, and India. It is, however, abundantly clear that consumption cannot at present attain its proper level, firstly, owing to the impoverishing effect of the present industrial depression with its millions of unemployed and underemployed persons; and secondly, on account of the fact that "the natural outlets for the wheat surplus are dammed" by fiscal barriers and other artificial regulations which most of the importing countries of Europe choose persistently to adopt; and thirdly, because the silver débâcle has to a certain extent impaired the purchasing power of China and other silver-using countries. Yet at the same time the acreage and output cannot with sufficient speed accommodate itself to existing consumptive requirements, since every important exporting country, with the exception of Argentina, has been adopting special measures to protect the farmers from the effect of low prices and thus to prevent a decline in national production.

There is no doubt that the peculiar world situation described above operates as one of the underlying causes, which to a certain extent account for the low level of wheat exports from India. The depressed conditions of wheat prices in the world market offer no inducement for the withdrawal of consumption from home and its shipment abroad. But it is not at the same time difficult to discover that the Indian situation is not at bottom merely or even preponderantly a facet of the world slump in wheat trade. The following facts will make this abundantly clear. With recovery in European purchasing power, mainly due to gradual stabilization of exchanges and the Dawes Plan and renewal of U.S. lending and as the consequnce of less abundant harvests than before, prices of wheat were for some years on a comparatively high level after 1923-24. In contrast to the continuous fall of prices from 1921 till the middle of 1924 prices, except for minor reactions, steadily advanced till the middle of January 1926 and fairly maintained themselves until 1928. Good crop yields in India happened then to coincide with partial failures in other countries. Yet exports, as we pointed out here above, remained far short of the pre-war mark. Evidently then there exists a cause for the present shrinkage of wheat exports from India which is deeper than the temporary depression of grain price.

It was suggested in evidence before the Agricultural Commission of 1926-28 that the root cause of the decline of Indian wheat exports lay in the inferiority of the product largely caused by unsatisfactory marketing conditions. It is a fact that in the remote past Indian wheat acquired a good deal of notoriety as dirty and impure. The assumption was almost tacit in the market that the grain, being trodden on threshing floors, was bound to contain a good deal of dirt and foreign matter. The question of improvement eventually led in 1888 to a detailed investigation of the standard monthly samples of wheat shipped from India. "The analysis led to the somewhat surprising discovery that the refraction of these samples was less than the stipulation of the contracts, and that the adulteration of Indian wheat had perhaps not been carried far enough!"* Accordingly the export trade revised its rules relating to refraction, lowering the assumed proportion of total impurity and defining the maximum proportion of dirt permissible. In 1906 a stricter form of contract was adopted, and in 1912 there was introduced the new form which was calculated to ensure the purity of export wheat free from all extrinsic things except 2 per cent. of barley. Thus there was gradually effected considerable improvement in respect of the cleanliness of wheat shipped from India. At the present moment there exists no direct evidence in support of the allegation referred to in the beginning as to the unsatisfactory conditions of wheat exported from India. After a very searching enquiry on the point, the Agricultural Commission found that the complaints "had reference to the comparatively small proportion of the Indian exports of wheat which is shipped from Bombay," and that "the balance of opinion appears to establish that the quality of Indian wheat is, on the whole, well suited to the particular market that it satisfies."†

It is true that in present years Indian wheat has lost a certain amount of its popularity in the British market for purposes of blending. This, however, has nothing to do with the actual physical quality of the wheat, but is the direct effect of uncertain exports from India. Irregularities of supply cause a good deal of additional trouble to the millers, who consequently turn their attention from Indian wheat to that of another country, the supply of which is more assured. It is not, however, to be inferred that there is no scope for further improvement; on the contrary, there are various possible ways in which this is capable of accomplishment, and the need for it today more urgent than ever. A discussion of this point here will, however, lead us too far afield. Here it is our object merely to contend that the alleged inferiority of Indian wheat is largely without foundation, and the striking fall in exports to foreign countries is not therefore, at least in any appreciable degree, an incidence of its increased unpopularity in the world market and consequent supersession by foreign produce. The true explanation, it is evident, must be sought elsewhere.

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* *Wheat Studies of the Food Research Institute*, Stamford University, California, vol. 3, No. 8, p. 384.

† *Report*, p. 400.

It appears that the fundamental cause of the present decadent condition of our wheat trade is to be found not primarily in external but in internal factors which tend in a marked manner to diminish the exportable surplus. In this connection the following facts may prove illuminating. It is of considerable interest to note that as exports tended to decline, importation of wheat, though by no means a new feature of Indian trade, assumed greater importance than before and began to exhibit a remarkable tendency to grow. In former years imports were normally confined in trifling quantities to ports inconveniently situated with regard to wheat fields. It was only in years of scarcity, when wheat prices in India fluctuated out of line with world prices, that they were received by other ports and in quantities deserving mention. Even then they never attained anything like their present dimensions. Thus in each of the famine years 1877-78 and 1878-79 there were imported slightly over 400,000 cwt. from overseas. In 1896-97, 1900-01, and 1908-9, the three worst years on record, the quantity imported amounted to 601,000, 559,000, and 579,000 cwt. respectively. Compare with them the figures of imports in recent years. In 1926-27 they totalled 810,000 cwt. and increased to nearly 1·4 million cwt. in 1927-28, although the domestic harvests were quite satisfactory in both years and that in the second year more than in the first. The imports of 1928-29 and 1929-30 were unprecedentedly large, amounting to 562,000 and 357,000 tons respectively. Although the heavy import was obviously to be accounted for by the partially deficient crops of 1927-28 and 1928-29, yet it is significant that it was many times larger than was ever reached even under far more disastrous conditions. In point of fact, the last two years recorded a net import by sea of 370,000 and 268,000 tons respectively—a phenomenon which was almost without any precedent in days before the war.*

The facts cited above furnish clear proof of the increased dependence of India on imported wheat to a degree which is considerably in excess of what would have been warranted in similar circumstances before. It must, however, be recognized that in recent years import has to a certain extent been facilitated by some well-known facts. Our imports of wheat from overseas, except when they are purely incidental in character, come from Australia not merely on account of the nearness of her position, but because Australian wheat becomes available at its seasonally lowest prices precisely when India's crop is out. Since the war that country has enormously increased her exportable surplus, which has naturally afforded a more readily available supply upon which

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* The exceptionally adverse year 1900-01 was the only pre-war occasion when there was a net importation of 25,000 tons of wheat.

India has been able to draw. In the next place the entry of Australian wheat into India is now rendered easier by the fact that of late years it has come freely into use among Indian millers and the Indian public.* Nevertheless, the fact is quite clear that increased quantities of foreign wheat, which have of late years entered the Indian market, have not undersold or displaced home-grown wheat, but on the contrary have supplemented the domestic supply. It was only in the face of the disastrous slump and unusual conditions which came to prevail in the world wheat market that the Indian Legislature had to pass in the early part of 1931 an Act to assist the sale of domestically grown wheat by imposing a temporary duty on the entry of foreign produce. Such steps, however, designed as they were merely to meet an altogether abnormal situation, certainly afford no guidance whatsoever as to the real state of affairs that existed in previous years. The frequency of the occasions in the post-war period when prices of wheat in India have risen above the world parity and have attracted foreign imports in unusually large quantities goes clearly to show that, notwithstanding a higher level of production than before, the domestic outturn must now be considered, comparatively speaking, less adequate for the total needs of the population within the country.

In the first place one may enquire whether the wheat-consuming population has of late shown a tendency to outrun the available domestic supply of wheat. The outturn of this crop during the period from 1922-23 to 1928-29 has on an average increased nearly 10 per cent., as compared with the average yield of the decade from 1901-2 to 1910-11. The total population of India has since the census of 1911 increased by roughly 12 per cent. Of course the growth of the total population of India gives no measure of the actual increase in the consumption of wheat, which, as we have already said, is chiefly eaten in some parts only. It must, however, be admitted that it is well-nigh impossible to determine the exact figure for the wheat-eating people, as distinguished from those dependent on other cereals. The most important region, where wheat forms the staple of food, is the Punjab.

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* In 1918-19 the Government of India had to arrange for the importation of wheat into India on account of scarcity of home supply. The experience which was then gained is thus described in the words of the Food Commissioner of 1919: "Though Australian wheat has been shipped to India in the past, the majority of the mills had had no experience of it, and at first they showed some reluctance to take it. The wheat being rather soft, it was considered at first that the best milling results would be obtained by mixing Australian wheat with Indian in the proportion of 60 to 40. After some experience had been gained, however, some mills found it unnecessary to mix Australian wheat with Indian wheat, and there was a keen demand for the wheat, not only because it was cheap, but also because the flour made from it was popular with the public." The foregoing will illustrate the truth of our statement made above.

Population there, it is to be noted, has grown at a much faster rate (20 per cent.) than in India as a whole. On the other hand, however, the far more populous United Provinces, where wheat enters largely into the dietary of the people, records a bare increase to the extent of 2·6 per cent. only. We have also to note a significant change in the age constitution of the population, which implies diminished consumptive requirements of wheat in the present as compared with the decade ending in 1911. The census of 1921 shows that the previous decade witnessed a distinct decline of the proportion of adults of both sexes, obviously on account of the influence of famine and plague in the later nineties and the selective incidence of the influenza mortality of 1918.* Whether this depletion of younger adult male population has been made good in the following years, we cannot definitely ascertain until the report of the present census is published. Beyond all reasonable doubt any process of replenishment which has taken place has proceeded only slowly and gradually. It is therefore reasonable to assume the existence during the greater part of the intercensus period between 1921 and 1931 of a larger proportion of children and aged men and a smaller proportion of adults, as compared with the previous years. On the whole, the evidence seems to point to the conclusion that the exportable surplus of wheat in India has not perhaps been perceptibly reduced in any substantial measure by a more rapid multiplication of numbers than of food supply.

What then is the cause of the diminution of the exportable surplus? It seems that, while production is probably barely keeping pace with the growth of population, a perceptible improvement in the per capita consumption of the commodity is operating as a fundamental factor in increasing the effective demand within the country and reducing the balance available for foreign supply. Clear evidence of the rising trend of consumption was obtained from the table published in the preceding chapter. In post-war years the level of consumption has gone still higher. Compared with the average of 55 lbs. per head in the decade preceding the outbreak of the war, the corresponding figure for the seven years covering the period 1922-23 to 1928-29, calculated on the same principle as in the table just referred to, stands at 57·5 lbs.† "The pre-war increase was doubtless associated with the advance in wheat growing under irrigation and the more prosperous conditions as compared with the nineties. The more recent increase has occurred not in the rural areas, but chiefly in the towns and to a small extent in the larger villages. The principal reason given for the more recent increase is the higher earnings of urban workers. Formerly they consumed chiefly the cheaper and coarser food grains. During and after the war, with increased industrial activity and prosperity, their wages rose, and did not fall appreciably in subsequent years when prices of wheat and other food grains declined. With a larger purchasing power in terms of food, they have preferred to increase their consumption of wheat and to reduce their consumption of cheaper and inferior foodstuff. . . . The Punjab is one of the principal recruiting grounds for the Indian Army, and large numbers of its men saw service during the war. It is stated that these men returned to civil life with a broader outlook on life, and with many new tastes, among which the desire for a liberally wheaten diet is by no means the least important."*

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* Comparing the figures of 1921 with those of 1911 we notice a decrease in the proportions in the groups 0-5 and 15-35 and a rise in the groups 5-15 and in the proportions of those over forty years (*Census of India,* 1921, vol. i., p. 128).

† The real increase will seem to be even slightly larger than that indicated by the foregoing figures. In the first place, for reasons previously stated, the pre-war figure must be considered as an overestimate which serves to underrate the growth of consumption in subsequent years. Secondly, the land

If the diagnosis presented above be correct, it becomes difficult to avoid the conclusion that the present low level of wheat exports is not a mere passing phase. A return to the pre-war dimensions of our exports is not perhaps again to be looked for, at least in the foreseeable future. A slight improvement on the present position is, however, to be expected. The wheat trade, as has been mentioned above, is at present the " most highly sophisticated trade " in the world. Countries which are at present expending large sums of public money and lavishly subsidizing wheat production cannot long persist in such fruitless endeavours. When conditions eventually settle down to a more normal position, as they must sooner or later—for the ultimate adjustment of demand and supply can only be deferred, but not obviated—prices will once again return to a more profitable basis, and this will undoubtedly somewhat stimulate exports from India. In the second place, the extension of acreage under wheat, which

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trade statistics from 1924-25 onwards are recorded on a modified system and do not bear strict comparison with previous figures. Up to 1924-25, that is according to old statistics, imports of wheat usually preponderated over exports, but the newly compiled figures exhibit just the reverse tendency. Not that the currents of trade have actually changed, but the difference has been brought about almost wholly by alterations in the mode of registration. Thus, so far as net exports of wheat from 1923-24, which obviously detract from the figures of the total quantity of wheat retained for internal use, are the outcome merely of a new method of registration and not of a genuine trade change, to that extent they tend to understate, however slightly, the consumption of wheat for those years relatively to its consumption in previous years.

* *India as a Producer and Exporter of Wheat,* p. 356.

will follow as the consequence of the Sukkur Barrage and the Sutlej Valley Works, will to a certain extent increase the exportable surplus and the volume of shipments abroad. Again, "if the world comes to depend more largely on Russia's wheat exports, Indian wheat may come into new demand because of its peculiar suitability for blending with Russian wheat. However, new varieties of wheat which yield considerably stronger flour are making their way into cultivation in India. These wheats may not be particularly suitable for blending with Russian wheats, and in this case the joint demand will lapse. It will probably be replaced, however, by a demand for Indian wheat in virtue of its independent strength."*

A substantial increase in wheat exports from India can only be possible, if there is an increase of production far more considerable than can reasonably be expected for many more years to come. Over a large area, for instance in the U.P., there is no scope for bringing more acres under wheat cultivation by means of irrigation, and even in such regions as the Punjab, where much land is yet to be developed, the danger of waterlogging stands as a fundamental obstacle in the way of rapid development.† The only alternative open to us, whereby we can add substantially to our present supply, is to "make two blades of grass grow where one grew formerly." There is room for an almost indefinite expansion in this direction through the widespread adoption of improved agricultural practices. Our present yields are indeed very low compared with those of most countries (see the figures in the footnote below).‡ But the whole problem of introduction and dissemination of scientific agriculture in our country is, for various well-known reasons, so difficult and complex that whatever progress there is must of necessity be extremely slow. On the other hand, it is scarcely likely that the marked tendency towards increased domestic consumption of wheat will at all be reversed. Consistent pursuit of the policy of discriminating protection bids fair to quicken the pace of industrialization in the

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* *India as a Producer and Exporter of Wheat,* p. 394.

† *Cf.*, "The terrible spectre of alkali looms ahead of every irrigation project; it may be kept under control for a longer or shorter time or it may completely wreck the scheme" (Sir John Russell, Presidential Address to Section M. (Agriculture) of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Toronto, 1924).

‡ Yield in quintals per hectare of some of the important wheat-producing countries:

Netherlands	333
Belgium	284
Germany	223
Japan	173
Canada	149
U.S.A.	105
India	60
Denmark	326
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	229
France	146
Australia	76

country. A spread of industrialism is expected to increase the effective demand for wheat, not merely owing to the growth of urban classes with a higher level of incomes, but because it will relieve congestion and thus improve the conditions of people in many agricultural areas, where quite an appreciable number live their lives more or less in a chronic state of subnutrition. The situation, therefore, is briefly this. On the one hand, the people will continue to increase fast enough and in all probability they will demand a larger quantity of wheaten bread per head. On the other hand, there is no visible prospect of considerable extension of area given to wheat cultivation, or of yield per acre to increase in a perceptible manner. It is, therefore, quite probable that Indian exports, as the Agricultural Commission predicts, may within a few generations altogether cease and India may eventually swell the ranks of the wheat-importing countries.

However, as the Commission itself adds, " that time is not yet, and so long as there remains a surplus of wheat for export, it is the business of all concerned so to organize both production and marketing as to obtain for Indian wheats in overseas markets the best prices possible."* These questions of the organization of trade and production, important and interesting as they are, lie in the main outside the scope of the present enquiry. If we thus refrain from a discussion of this important point we are, however, constrained to add that the inauguration of an elevator system and the formation of a wheat pool, often suggested almost in the first breath by a number of people, seem clearly in our opinion totally impracticable under present Indian conditions.

To take first of all the question of elevators. As early as 1890 the proposal was first broached to construct a system of elevators for India, but up to the present moment next to nothing has been actually accomplished in this direction. Beyond all doubt an elevator system has already proved its great value in countries like the U.S.A. and Canada. But it must not at the same time be forgotten that elevator handling and storage is not necessarily suitable for every country. In such an important wheat-exporting country as Australia, for example, construction of elevators scarcely proved economical. The shipping of wheat in Australia is too little concentrated to admit of the successful use of the system. The suitability of an elevator system for India must therefore first be carefully examined.

The demand for elevators in India, as far as export of wheat is concerned, arises chiefly from the following consideration. The rush for early shipment of wheat from India at a consequently low price level is caused among other reasons by fear of

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* *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 401.

"loss and damage to goods by the impending rains, by weevil and rats, and by theft." It is therefore urged that, if adequate accommodation were provided by construction of terminal elevators,* the glut might be prevented and on the whole better prices obtained for Indian wheat by more nearly uniform distribution throughout the year. Especially from September—that is, just when the usual rush of shipments from India is spent—there arises in the British market a special demand for Indian wheat for the purpose of mixing with British and Russian wheats, which are then seasonally cheap, and the demand lasts for about a period of four months. Although the strength of this demand is popularly exaggerated, nevertheless this will seem to furnish an additional justification for spreading exports from India over a longer period than is at present usual.

The crucial question, however, is whether it will eventually pay to carry the grain over. On the basis of an index of seasonal variation of monthly prices of Karachi white at Karachi covering the eleven years from 1905-6 to 1915-16, it is observed that, owing to the inevitable carrying charges, the price subsequently rises 9 per cent. higher between June and February.† True, to no small extent the excessive rise is caused by loss and damage in the absence of adequate storage facilities. Erection of elevators will doubtless prevent the loss and will effect economies in many other ways. But it seems open to controversy if the gain thus obtained will in any appreciable manner outweigh the extra charges incurred for such accommodation. Again, it is quite probable that grain stored in elevators may be hypothecated on better terms than are generally obtainable from banks in connection with grain held in ordinary warehouses. Further savings may be effected in handling through the discontinuance of the use of bags and through mechanical loading and unloading. Authoritative opinion, however, seems sceptical of the fact that the carrying charges will on balance undergo any very substantial reduction in spite of all economies that the elevator system may bring. Now the Indian wheat, with carrying charges added, must in subsequent months enter into competition with some crops which have paid no carrying charges at all. In fact, it is the fear of serious competition which must soon be encountered from newly harvested crops that, equally with lack of accommodation for preservation and the natural desire to realize the value of stocks, accounts for the concentration of shipments from

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* "While an elevator system as a whole can, and does, act, to some extent, as a reservoir of supplies, the storage function, as distinct from the elevating or handling function, is mainly performed by terminal elevators" (*Report of the Marketing of Wheat*, etc., p. 97).

† Vide *India as a Producer and Exporter of Wheat*, p. 370.

India within a few months succeeding the harvest. It will be recalled that the post-harvest and the shipping periods of different export regions do not only not coincide, but are remarkably evenly distributed throughout the year. Almost every month there arrives in bulk on the world market some crop which has only been recently harvested. The special demand in the British market for Indian wheat, to which we referred in the beginning, is elastic enough and does not prevent other wheats from being freely substituted for Indian wheat under the inducement of a slight price differential. In fact, the maximum spread of prices permitted for Karachi white at Liverpool is, according to a seasonal index of monthly prices for a decade from 1902-1910, even less than 2·5 per cent. between June and February,* as compared with the usually recorded 9 per cent. at Karachi. The prospects do not, therefore, seem at all hopeful that Indian wheat, held back from sale, can, even with every conceivable economy in carrying charges, command markets at sufficiently profitable prices in subsequent months. The utility of terminal elevators for the purpose of steadying exports is therefore entirely problematical. Be that as it may, certainly no one can dispute that at the present low level of our exports a terminal elevator can hardly be a business proposition. It will hardly pay its way even during years of brisk trade, while, when years of scarcity come, as they often do, it will have to be left practically idle. The chance is of course now more remote than ever that in the near future we can develop an export trade in volume and regularity sufficient to maintain an elevator at the port.

If a port elevator is so manifestly out of the question, the case against elevators in the interior is not, however, so pronounced. The advantages which they will bring are incontestable. "From the point of view of the railways, it is urged that the system would lead to economies in working owing to the introduction of transport in bulk, the quicker turn round of wagons, and possibly a more even distribution of traffic throughout the year. From the point of view of the cultivator, it is argued that he would be freed from exploitation, and would benefit from the better prices he would receive from the sale of properly clean and graded produce. He would further benefit from the economies effected by bulk handling and the elimination of disputes in regard to weight and quantity."† The construction of internal elevators is therefore by all means desirable.

The question, however, remains whether in the long run it will be a paying proposition. Clearly, according to the Agricultural Commission, it will not. The cost will in their opinion be prohibitive. Yet again the problem of providing an adequate and suitable inspectorate for the grading or certifying of grain is sure to prove extremely difficult for India. We may also incidentally mention that in 1913 an elevator with a capacity of 140,000 bushels was erected as an experiment at Lyallpur, of which, however, little use has up to now been made. A single elevator is, however, "halt from its birth." We cannot, therefore, pronounce any final judgment in the light of experience gained from one single instance. However, we shall leave the question here without further discussion as the point does not concern us directly.

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* Vide *India as a Producer and Exporter of Wheat*, p. 371.

† *Report of the Royal Commission of Agriculture*, p. 404.

Next about the pool. The adoption of some measure in India on the lines of the Canadian Wheat Pool finds an advocate in so eminent a person as Sir Alfred Chatterton.* The basic idea of the Canadian Wheat Pool is "orderly marketing"—that is, a more even distribution of sale throughout the year in order to impart a steadying effect on the wheat market and to secure better prices than might otherwise be obtained. It is not necessary for the purpose of our argument here to examine how far Canada has or has not achieved success in its avowed objects. Nor need we enquire whether the aims are at all capable of achievement through the agency of a pool, formed even on a compulsory basis. So far as India is concerned, it is obvious that, with its insignificant proportion of the world's trade in wheat, it is totally powerless to influence the course of prices by deliberately withholding supply. On the contrary, the character of the world market with its regular inflow of newly harvested wheat all the year round puts, as we previously observed, an important obstacle in the way of spreading over shipments from India in a more systematic fashion. Nevertheless, the principle of pooling the exportable surplus is on the face of it and for several important reasons quite commendable. Today the farmer or dealer who appears on the market in isolation condemns himself to be mulcted of a good deal of his own legitimate share of earnings. The reduced costs of large-scale handling, transportation and sale, secured through the formation of a pool, are in these days of keen competition well worth securing. Nor must we here ignore the wholesome influence which a co-operative organization of this kind exercises in various ways on the quality of crops grown. Thus, theoretically speaking, a pool will undoubtedly mean, at least to a certain extent, better farming and better business for India. Unfortunately, however, we do not possess in India some of the very essential conditions of its success. We have in the first place still to develop means of communications, such as exist in Canada, with ramifications from commercial centres far into the country. Secondly, without a system of grain elevators, any wheat pool that we may form will have to operate at a great disadvantage. Lastly, it is well-nigh impossible to work so complicated a scheme among a multitude of small ignorant cultivators whose share of contributions to the pool will be very small. Further, the problem of recruitment and control of a large corps of petty officers, who will prove themselves reliable and efficient, is capable of no easy solution. It is thus patent that in India we need to organize group marketing on some special plan to meet the peculiar conditions prevailing in the country.

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* Vide *Capital*, April 16, 1931.

In the end, however, we must repeat and reaffirm that if we have to pronounce unfavourably as to the practicability of certain proposals, it is farthest from our mind to suggest that there is nothing which we can do and do even now to improve the conditions of production and marketing of wheat in India. The Agricultural Department has already achieved considerable success in the introduction of improved varieties of wheat crops, but more remains to be accomplished. "The substitution of the country crop by improved variety is only the first step in raising wheat production in India to a higher level. The next step is the demonstration of the extraordinary response of superior types . . . to improved soil conditions. It is here that the Agricultural Department will encounter its greatest difficulty and where it will eventually achieve its striking triumphs." In respect of improvement of marketing organization and efficiency practically nothing has up to now been attempted. The Agricultural Department has generally considered this task as outside its own province, while the Co-operative Department has devoted itself almost exclusively to the organization of credit. To the urgent and important problem of better marketing of our chief cash crops such as wheat, we must now increasingly turn our attention. Within the limited scope of a paper of this kind it is not, however, possible to describe the practicable measures which can with advantage be adopted. In brief, the task that faces us is not so much to emulate from the history of other countries examples which easily capture our imagination, but to devise and execute well-thought-out plans which accord with our own needs and suit our agricultural and economic conditions.

We have now done with our account of the Indian wheat trade through all its metamorphoses over more than half a century, touching as far as possible on some of the important and interesting questions which incidentally arose. In conclusion we shall discuss one other point which is likely to prove of interest in this connection. We shall here note the diversion which has in course of time occurred in the currents of the wheat trade from the eastern port of Calcutta to the western ports of Bombay and

Karachi and its eventual concentration in the last-named port. The following figures, given in cwts. (000's omitted), will show very clearly this shift in the channels of the trade:

Years.	*Exports from—* *Calcutta.*	*Bombay.*	*Karachi.*
1873-74 to 1877-78	2,105	860	462
1878-79 to 1882-83	3,507	4,413	1,010
1883-84 to 1887-88	5,146	9,944	3,632
1888-89 to 1892-93	2,782	8,924	6,494
1896-97 to 1900-01	1,203	2,071	3,441
1901-02 to 1904-05	3,649	2,532	15,447
1909-10 to 1913-14	2,746	3,298	20,116

By 1870 Calcutta was in uninterrupted railway communication as far west as Lahore. In that year the G.I.P. Railway extended its north-eastward line up to Jubbulpore, where it joined the branch line of the East India Railway. It was not until 1878 that Karachi was connected with the Punjab by the Indus Valley Railway. For some years prior to that date a steamboat flotilla on the Indus provided only limited means of transport between that port and its hinterland. Thus until 1878 Calcutta naturally attracted the bulk of the trade of the wheat-growing tracts of Northern India. The traffic which Karachi was able to obtain was limited by the extremely inadequate transport facilities with which it was provided. Bombay stood midway between the two, affording the natural outlet for wheat grown in the Central Provinces. Since the completion of the Indus Valley Line in 1878 the Punjab crop was naturally diverted to Karachi. The tendency was still further accelerated in subsequent years by improvements, including double tracking, which were gradually effected in regard to that railway. On the other hand, the construction in 1881 of the northward line from Bombay, bringing the United Provinces nearer to that port than to Calcutta, gave Bombay the lead as exporter of wheat. During the nineties a succession of scarcity and famines greatly reduced the volume of wheat exports and disturbed the normal course of wheat movements. Since the beginning of the present century, partly on account of the construction of the railway line between Karachi and the U.P. across the desert and partly because an increasing proportion of our wheat exports came from the Punjab, where irrigation was progressively developed, Karachi came more and more into prominence as the chief wheat-exporting port. Thus in the pre-war quinquennium Karachi had more than three-fourths of the total share of the trade. On the other hand, keen competition between the E.I. Railway and the G.I.P. Railway, the cheaper coal supply of the first balancing the advantage of the shorter length of the second route, tended to divide traffic between Bombay and Calcutta in fairly equal proportions. During the war, when the problem of tonnage was very acute, the trade naturally concentrated itself more and more at Karachi.

In recent years Karachi has come to possess a virtual monopoly of the trade. In three consecutive years beginning from 1926-27, 96, 99, and 95 per cent. of our total exports were shipped from Karachi. The reason why Karachi has obtained this commanding position as a wheat-exporting port is not far to seek. A partial explanation is to be found by comparison of the freight rates from Karachi with those from Calcutta and Bombay. "The higher the level of freights, the greater the margin in favour of Karachi against Calcutta. In Bombay wheat freights are generally much dearer than in Karachi, as the large shipments of manganese ore from Bombay militate against cheap wheat freights. Manganese and heavy goods like wheat are not an economical combination and are avoided as much as possible."* Again, "in the general absence of wheat elevators, Karachi, with a rainfall that seldom exceeds five inches, has great advantages over Bombay, where the monsoon rains are heavy and the general humidity throughout the year much higher. The wheat awaiting shipment in Karachi can be stored at the docks in open sheds with very little risk of damage by rain."†

* *Review of Trade for India.*

† *Handbook of Commercial Information for India*, Second Edition, p. 155.

(*Concluded.*)

INDIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION—III*

By Dr. Lanka Sundaram

(Scholar of the Hague Academy of International Law; Collaborator of the League of Nations; Member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science)

The British attitude was expounded by the late Lord (then Mr.) Balfour. He questioned the right of the Council, from a legal point of view, to intervene before the expiry of the three years of life of the Governing Body. This incident throws light upon the fact that even as against British opinion the Government of India, thereby ultimately meaning the India Office, was undaunted in the pursuit of a policy best suited for India. Lord Balfour, however, stressed the special conditions of labour prevailing in India, and thus entitling her to special representation.

Continuing the discussion, M. Bourgeois (France) declared that it would be difficult to fix criteria determining the industrial importance of a State. He submitted that the non-existence of the League Council prior to the composition of the first Governing Body made it desirable that, under Article 393 of the Peace Treaty, experts should provide it with the necessary material before the next election took place. The Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, then "reminded the Council that, under the Treaty of Versailles, India was entitled to ask the Council for an immediate decision. The Governing Body of the International Labour Office, on the other hand, had decided to proceed at once to a revision of the Constitution, in view of the elections which would be held in 1922. In these circumstances, was it advisable for the Council to appoint a Committee of Experts, or to postpone its intervention to a moment when it would be confronted with a new situation and with perhaps an entirely different one?" On this question being adequately answered by M. Hymans (Belgium), M. Matsui (Japan) was asked to report and submit a draft resolution. This was on August 3, 1922, at the sixth (private) sitting of the Council at San Sebastian.

M. Matsui's report was considered at the eighth sitting.† After reviewing the origin and previous history of the Indian claim, the Japanese representative observed: "The Council is fully conscious of the magnitude of India's industrial output, the large number of her population engaged in industrial pursuits, the international importance of her overseas trade, and other circumstances which might be urged in favour of her claim to be one of the eight States of chief industrial importance. *But there are special and temporary circumstances which make it inexpedient for the Council to pronounce any decision on the present occasion.*"* He then proceeded to recount the technical objections mentioned earlier by M. Tittoni, and declared that "the principles upon which the list was finally approved have never been formulated or communicated to the Council; and it seems impossible to revise the decision of the Labour Conference without a knowledge of the ground on which that decision was arrived at and of the exact interpretation which ought to be placed on the phrase 'industrial importance.'"

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* The second part of this article appeared in the issue of April, 1932.

† M. Matsui's report forms Annex 88 to the *procès-verbaux*. *Ibid.*

Finally, the *rapporteur* submitted the following draft resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the Council: † "The Council is of opinion that any ruling on this question which would involve a reconstruction of the governing of the International Labour Office should not take effect until the completion of the tenure of office of the present holders (which lasts until 1922), but that in the meantime the meaning attributed to the words 'industrial importance' should, without delay, be subjected to careful examination, and the comparative weight to be attributed to such considerations—as, for example, the number of industrial or factory population in any country, the magnitude of its external trade and the character of its industrial organization—should be made the subject of common agreement. Only thus can any permanent security be obtained that the claims of India and of any other countries which may appeal under the terms of the Treaty will receive, on the occasion of future elections, the consideration which they deserve. The Secretary-General is, therefore, directed to study this question with the International Labour Office and to report to the Council in time for the matter to be discussed before the next election is held."

From the above narrative it is clear that the embarrassed decision of the League was based on purely technical grounds. The claim of India was recognized in principle, and apparently the Council lacked the courage to take a definite lead in this matter and thus rectify former irregular proceedings. But the India Office was uncompromising in its attitude, and was willing to spare no pains in taking up the matter to the Assembly of the League of Nations itself. On being communicated the San

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* The *italics* are mine.

† League Council, *procès-verbal,* Vol. VIII., pp. 160-161. (L.O.N. Archives.)

Sebastian resolution, the India Office obtained forthwith permission to take recourse to this step.*

In Committee II. of the I. Assembly the late Sir William Meyer raised the question of India's claim. M. Lafontaine (Belgium), in his report to this Committee, discussing India's claim, took the ground that, as the question at issue was one for the decision of the Council, the Assembly has no *locus standi.* Sir William gave an exposition of the reasons for which India claimed that the Governing Body as constituted at Washington was not properly representative and that her appeal had not been adequately considered by the Council, which had dealt with it only on technical grounds—indeed, he spoke of the San Sebastian resolution as " savouring of technical pleading "†—and had refrained from giving a decision on the merits of the case. He recognized that the Assembly, and consequently its Committee, could not override the Council,‡ for which reason he did not propose to move a formal resolution in the Assembly, but asked for consideration of the case on grounds of equity, and expressed the hope that from this point of view the result might be a suggestion to the Council that it should reconsider the matter and satisfy India, either by putting her in the place of Denmark as a substitute for the U.S.A., or, preferably, by getting the Governing Body, which India regarded as illegitimately constituted and discredited by the Washington vote of censure, to resign office in time for a new body to be appointed for the Conference of 1921.

None the less, the Committee passed the following resolution: " In view of the terms of Article 393 of the Treaty of Versailles, which reserves for the Council of the League of Nations the right to decide on any question as to which of the Members of the International Labour Organization of chief industrial importance should figure on the Governing Body of the International Labour Organization, the Committee is of opinion that the Assembly of the League of Nations is not competent to deal with India's claim."*

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* Correspondence between the India Office and the Secretary-General of the League of Nations during September-October, 1920. *Cf.* I.L.O. *Official Bulletin,* Vol. II., Nos. 15-16, pp. 2-4.

It must be noted here that the India Office, as yet unaware of the exact implications of India's membership of the League, mentioned that it was necessary to bring the claim of " British India " before the Assembly. On the contrary, the League Secretariat always referred to " India " in its replies to the India Office. *Ibid.*

As a result of this correspondence, India's claim became Item 20 on the Agenda, and was discussed in Committee II. of the I. Assembly.

† *Proceedings of the I. Assembly* (plenary sessions), pp. 552-554. See also *Report of Indian Delegation to I. Assembly,* paras. 58-59, pp. 17-18.

‡ Sir William declared : " . . . the Assembly, however, was entitled to invite the Council to revise the decision, which did not take sufficiently into account the industrial and agricultural importance of India." Cf. *Minutes of II. Committee of I. Assembly,* Vol. I., p. 120.

Thus, again, the League authorities relied on technical justifications. On this resolution, besides ventilating the matter once more in the Assembly itself when the Committee's report came before it, Sir William took the only course still open by stating that India would now have to consider the question of opposing the growing expenditure of the International Labour Organization and of asking for a reconsideration of the unjust position by which India is rated as a first-class Power for contribution to League expenses and denied this position when it came to any privileges such as representation on the Governing Body. He further regretted that, though provided for in paragraph 5 of Article IV. of the Covenant, the Council did not invite a representative of India to sit as its member at San Sebastian when the Indian claim was considered.†

In the general discussion and after Sir Ali Imam had spoken on behalf of India,‡ the Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, the British Delegate, and the author of the Draft Convention Creating a Permanent Organization for the Promotion of International Labour Legislation, which was approved with modifications by the Peace Conference, declared that "as one who was at Washington, and therefore involved in the strictures of Sir William Meyer, I want to say that so far as I am concerned, and as far as I know the mind of those at Washington, the claims of India were never considered on their merits at all."§ But, he added, "that was in consequence of India herself having refused to avail herself of the opportunity of taking part in the election." The debate was talked out for want of a motion.

Even though the protest of the Indian Delegation did not succeed in this Assembly, much ground was cleared for the final settlement of the claim of India.

In accordance with the San Sebastian resolution of the League Council, a Committee of Experts was appointed to enquire into this question. It consisted of M. Fontaine (France), Chairman, with MM. Inuzuka (Japan), Hodacz (Czechoslovakia), and Jouhaux (France) of the Governing Body, besides Professor Gini and Commendatore Anzilotti (both Italian) of the League Secretariat. On his appointment as a Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice, Commendatore Anzilotti was replaced on the Committee by Mr. Mackinnon Wood (British), the present Legal Adviser to the League Secretariat.

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* *Minutes of II. Committee of I. Assembly*, Vol. I., p. 120.

† I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. II., No. 17, pp. 12-14. M. Jonesco (Rumania) presented the report of Committee II. to I. Assembly at its twenty-fourth sitting on December 15, 1920. See *Proceedings of I. Assembly* (plenary sessions), pp. 537-539.

‡ I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. II., No. 17, p. 14.

§ *Proceedings of I. Assembly* (plenary sessions), pp. 554-555.

This Committee held five sittings between April, 1921, and May, 1922. Professor Gini submitted a memorandum of his own, which was appended to the Committee's report, and which raised a scientific controversy of a bewildering nature. But the Committee's report itself was conclusive, and finally paved the way for the decision of the Council. Without entering into an examination of the vast mass of the statistical material gathered by the Committee, I propose to examine this important report in its bearings on the claim of India.*

The Committee opined that "it should be first pointed out that whenever a new Governing Body is appointed the International Labour Conference, in fact *and possibly* in law, has to draw up, as it may think best, the list of eight Powers of chief industrial importance. But in view of the right of adjudication conferred on the Council of the League in case of complaints, it is clear that the rulings of that Body will have a decisive influence on the future resolutions of the Conference." The Committee attached great importance to Professor Gini's memorandum, but preferred to make use of the criteria which the Organizing Committee for the Washington Conference used in 1919, with the alteration of the criterion "total industrial population" into "total wage-earning population." But they desired to bring up the statistics to the post-War period. The Committee, however, recommended the employment of the indices of Professor Gini at a future date. In the Committee's opinion, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan *certainly* belonged to the list of eight States of chief industrial importance. A less degree of certainty attached to Canada and Belgium in the first place, and then to India, Switzerland, and Sweden and, perhaps, Poland, in the second place.

The report of this Committee and the confusing mass of statistics supplied in its appendices were brought before the Council at its twenty-first session in 1922. At this stage a telegram from the Government of India requested that an Indian representative should be allowed to sit on the Council with the right to vote when the question of the eight States of chief industrial importance was discussed by it, as provided for by Article IV. of the Covenant. Dr. van Hamel, Director of the Legal Section of the League Secretariat, observed that the Council, according to the procedure laid down, was the arbiter and that "India could not be both judge and party to the case." Lord Balfour agreed that other States might press for such a right, but urged that a representative of India might be allowed to personally present the case. M. Hymans (Belgium) objected that this might produce interminable discussion, while the Secretary-General thought that the criteria gathered by the Committee of Experts "would enable the Council to take a final decision without difficulty." Finally, the Council "decided to inform the Indian Government that while, of course, it was ready to hear the Indian representative, it suggested, for the consideration of the Indian Government, that it might, in view of the nature of the subject, be preferable for a written statement to be submitted, as has been done by Poland."* Viscount Ishii (Japan) was then appointed *rapporteur*, and presented two reports and a resolution, which were accepted by it after considerable discussion.

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* For the report of this Committee the reader can conveniently refer to the I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. VI., pp. 546-558. He can also compare the L.O.N. *Official Journal*, 3rd Year, No. 11, Part II., Appendices 418 and 418*a, b, c, d,* and *e,* where all the statistical tables are reproduced. *Ibid.*, pp. 1339-1387.

In his first report, dated September 13, 1922,† Viscount Ishii emphasized his belief that the Council could not advantageously take a narrow view of its task and confine itself to adjudicating on the claims which could strictly be said to have been formally submitted to it, but was confronted with a general question as to which were the eight members of the International Labour Organization of chief industrial importance. He pointed out that it was of legal importance that the League Council should decide the list before the Fourth International Labour Conference passed its verdict on the question.

Reviewing the report of the Experts Committee, he said that "no statistical procedure can be suggested which will give a solution with mathematical certitude." The two alternate methods of the Committee "were severely criticized by India." According to Tables VIII. and VIII.A of Annexe II. to the report, the figures supplied by the International Labour Office gave India the eighth place in point of importance. The figure twenty million industrial workers submitted by the Government of India would place her as fourth. But according to Table X. of Annexe II. India would only get the tenth place. "The exceeding difficulty of obtaining indisputable and completely comparable figures in this matter for the various countries is illustrated by the two memoranda of the Polish and Indian Governments." For the twenty million industrial workers given by India, the International Labour Office only mentioned eight millions. Concluding, Viscount Ishii urged that the Council "must recognize that it was impossible for us to obtain a solution of our problem by mathematical or strictly scientific methods.

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* First meeting (private) of the League Council, August 31, 1920. L.O.N. *Official Journal*, 3rd Year, No. 11, Part II., p. 1160.

† I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. VI., pp. 582-587.

I do not suggest that we should approve either of the methods proposed by the Committee as constituting a scientific solution or the figures supplied by the Labour Office as being perfectly accurate and comparable statistics." While thanking the Committee for its work, he called attention to the question of future procedure, and his suggestion that an Indian representative might be given an oral hearing was accepted by the Council.*

Lord Chelmsford then obtained permission to argue the case of India before the Council itself.† He proceeded to show that different criteria were used to suit the Council's needs whenever questions relating to India came before it. Thus, he pointed out, when it was a question of payment of her share towards the League's expenses, India's population was a large factor in proving her capacity to pay. But when it came to her industrial importance the fact that the numbers engaged in non-agricultural pursuits were relatively small was cited against her.

Lord Chelmsford further declared that the Preamble to Part XIII. and Article 387 of the Peace Treaty postulated that the human element should be the chief concern of the International Labour Organization, and therefore it was the human factor which must be of paramount importance in deciding what constituted a State of chief industrial importance. If population alone were to count, India's claim would be indisputable. But two objections to this criterion were raised by the Committee in their report. They were the ratio of wage-earning population to the total population and the strength of the trade union organization in India. In both these respects India's position was relatively modest. But the claim of the twenty million industrial workers in addition to the large number of wage-earning workers employed in agriculture in India must still remain decisive if the human factor was given the importance indicated by the Peace Treaty. As regards the rudimentary character of the Indian trade union movement, no mention of any such criterion was made in the Preamble to Part XIII. of the Peace Treaty. It was the duty of the International Labour Organization to perfect the industrial organization of India, and for this it was necessary that an Indian representative should be on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

His lordship then proceeded to apply to India all the tests adumbrated in the Committee's report. He declared that "India is not afraid of being tested by any of these criteria." As regards mileage of railways, India appeared as third on the list of nations. As regards horse power, she was ninth. The third criterion of maritime tonnage was hardly a test of industrial importance. It was particularly commercial in character. But India had 141,000 maritime workers, who outnumbered those of any other State member of the International Labour Organization. Lord Chelmsford then asked: Why not take trade as an indication of the industrial position? When it was a question of India's capacity to pay, the League itself included this norm in the table designed to settle India's contribution. From the trade figures for 1913 India ranked fifth; from the figures for 1919 she ranked third among the nations of the world. Surely this ought to be given due consideration!

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* Seventh meeting, September 13, 1922. L.O.N. *Official Journal, ibid.*, pp. 1184-1187.

† Speech by Viscount Chelmsford. See *Report of Indian Delegation to III. Assembly*, Appendix V., pp. 115-117.

Concluding, this war-time Viceroy emphasized India's enormous war contribution.* There was no doubt that this oral statement produced a profound effect on the League Council.

After Lord Chelmsford's speech, the Governments of Switzerland and Poland, which were the other two aspirants to a permanent government seat on the Governing Body, were asked to present the case of their respective countries.† It is of particular interest to note here that foreign States were firmly convinced of the legitimate claim of India. For instance, M. Askenazy (Poland), in his observations respecting the Polish demand, remarked: "Canada must certainly be recognized as the State of 'chief industrial importance' in the American Continent, since the United States must be left out of account for the present. In Asia the country which must be recognized as entitled to a similar position is India. To summarize the situation, I consider that India must be on the Governing Body, but her place is absolutely assured and guaranteed. If her place is not the eighth, it is ninth." Curiously enough, the Polish representative further urged that "the representation of Poland is equally or even more necessary, but if Poland does not obtain the eighth place, she has no guarantee of obtaining any other place. For this reason she has the first right to obtain the eighth."‡

At its thirteenth meeting (private) on September 22, 1922, Lord Balfour returned to the charge on the political implications of India's claim. He declared:§ "If it had been a political discussion, the point raised by M. Hanotaux (France) concerning the preponderating influence of the British Empire would have been extremely important, but this was not a political question in any sense. It was an industrial question, and there was no more connection between Great Britain and India in commerce than between Great Britain and any other country. . . . It was surely important that in her labour organization India should be brought as far as possible into line with Western ideas." He then mentioned the following points as proving the case of India: It was important that India should be brought into line with the West in the matter of her industrial organization; she had a place in one of the two alternative lists of the eight States of chief industrial importance which were prepared by the Experts Committee; she would have appeared much higher in the list if the human element had received the consideration which was its due; in the light of pure common sense India's claim was predominant.

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* I have reproduced this part of Lord Chelmsford's speech in another place. *Cf.* L.O.N. *Official Journal, ibid.*, pp. 1184-1187.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 1191-1193.

‡ The Swiss representative (M. Motta) stressed the necessity for the maintenance of the *status quo*, since it allows his country to retain her seat on the Governing Body. L.O.N. *Official Journal, ibid.*, pp. 1193-1195.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 1198-1200.

After this statement, the success of India's claim was readily recognized. In his second report of September 30, 1922,* Viscount Ishii first recognized Germany, Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan as indisputably belonging to the list of eight States of chief industrial importance. For the eighth place, he observed, "the statistical indications were, therefore, in favour of India." Concluding, he said: "We have, therefore, considered the question not merely in the light of the available statistics, but also in the light of the various general arguments which can be urged in favour of different countries, and we have decided that, as far as we can judge, India has the best claim to the remaining place on our list." As for Poland, the *rapporteur* remarked that the Council were "bound to take our decision on the facts before us without entering into questions of industrial potentiality."

On this the Council passed the following resolution†: "The Council . . . decides that the eight members of the International Labour Organization which are of chief industrial importance are at present, in the French alphabetical order of names, Germany, Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, India, Italy, and Japan. In accordance with the resolution adopted by the Council at San Sebastian on August 5, 1920, the present decision is given for the purpose of the reconstitution of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, which is to be effected by the Fourth General Conference of the International Labour Organization, and the decision is not intended to affect the composition of the Governing Body as constituted by the first Conference at Washington."

Prior to this resolution, the Fourth Session of the International

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* L.O.N. *Official Journal, ibid.*, pp. 1385-1387. *Cf.* also I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. VI., pp. 587-591.

† L.O.N. *Official Journal, ibid.*, p. 1206.

Labour Conference in June, 1922, at Geneva considered, *inter alia*, the question of the reform of the constitution of the Governing Body. The questionnaire circulated on this item of the agenda dealt with, in a summary manner, the antecedents which led to the protest of India and to the inadequacy of the representation of non-European States.* Before the League Council's decision was available, the Conference resolved to increase the number of seats on the Governing Body from twenty-four to thirty-two, thus making its composition as widely representative as possible.† India took her seat on the Governing Body at its sixteenth session on October 30, 1922. Sir Louis Kershaw, who, with Sir Atul Chatterjee, played an important part in the regulation of the relations of India with the International Labour Organization, was our first representative.‡

Since this incident was closed in accordance with the legitimate right and ardent wish of India, Sir Atul Chatterjee played an important part in the International Labour Organization, and was unanimously elected President of the 1927 Conference. Even now the position of India is far from being completely satisfactory. The Indian claim for another seat on the Governing Body in the Employers' Group is still to be settled. But thanks largely to the work of Mr. David S. Erulkar, President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in London, and the co-operation of the South African and Japanese Employers' representatives, India has secured substitute membership of the Employers' Group. The importance of this achievement cannot be overemphasized. Besides India's specific claim, the question of the adequate representation of non-European employers' interests is thus still to be satisfactorily solved. It is to be expected that further reorganization of the Governing Body would lead to this result and thus contribute to the growing international character of the International Labour Organization.

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* I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. VI., pp. 15-21.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 452-457.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 544.

(*Concluded.*)

THE NETHERLANDS INDIES AND THE WORLD CRISIS

By Th. Ligthart

(Late Managing-Director of the Central Bank of the Netherlands Indies)

> The harmony and happiness of man
> Yield to the wealth of nations; that which lifts
> His nature to the heaven of its pride
> Is bartered for the poison of his soul,
> The weight that drags to earth his towering hopes;
> Blighting all prospect but of selfish gain,
> Withering all passion but of slavish fear,
> Extinguishing all free and generous love
> Of enterprise and daring.
>
> Shelley.

A crisis may be regarded as a cure which society must undergo for an illness which has manifested itself in the form of erratically developing production, of partial over-production, or of wild speculation. It constitutes an interval of breakdown, in which the world steps back to a safe basis for reconstruction from which it can once more soar to greater prosperity. It recalls the old but ever-new story of the tower of Babel, and we realize that we wanted to achieve too much in too short a time. In recklessly striving upward, we have neglected the foundations of our structure and have to take our punishment, which consists in a débâcle. That punishment is a mild one, and we can bear it if we take it like men and do not try to shirk it by twisting in tortuous ways, which will only force us in the direction of confusion.

Unfortunately, it looks as if society were seized with despair. Nowhere do we see the standpoint adopted that the crisis is a necessity which must be allowed to perform its healing work. People try to avoid swallowing the disagreeable medicine. As a result, confusion increases, whilst the disease threatens to become chronic.

It is evident that under these circumstances the conviction is gaining ground that Europe cannot maintain any longer its attitude of torpid hopelessness. There is still time to give an impetus to recovery by energetic, united co-operation.

In the Netherlands East Indies there still are various primitive forms of production. There are races which live by hunting, fishing, and collecting food products in the woods. Although barter is known among them, it is limited to a small community.

Sometimes payment is made in kind; sometimes circulation mediums are used which still have little in common with money. The Papuans, for example, use shells as circulation medium. The object of the barter is to provide the needs of every-day life; the striving after greater prosperity than is enjoyed in the immediate neighbourhood is still confined within narrow limits.

More advanced races engage in agriculture and cattle-breeding. These generally form self-supporting communities, so that trade with members of other communities is unnecessary and therefore not customary. Production is as much as possible adapted to requirements, and these are few. Should too much be produced, the surplus may be formed into a reserve for hard times. In such a village, foodstuffs are produced in fields cultivated in common, fruit is grown in the compounds, articles of clothing are woven in the kampong, etc. Barter exists, but there is no trade, for the motive of profit is absent. Barter takes place in order to supply in common the needs of every day and not for the sake of profit or greater prosperity.

In the primitive economic unit which the village constitutes, the spectre of unemployment which haunts Western society is impossible, because general distribution of labour and barter of goods do not exist. The population tills the ground and tends the cattle in common, no matter whether they are common or private property, whilst everyone produces according to need. People consume what they have produced. When the crops are poor, they consume less; when they are good, they live in abundance; whilst in some cases a surplus may even be looked for. The standard of living is low and the composition of the small economic units does not lead to increased demand. If the population increases, a number leave the village, reclaim a tract of virgin forest in the vicinity, and thus prevent a decline in the standard of living in the original economic unit.

In such a unit, however, there are necessities which may be supplied, and, in fact, are sometimes supplied, by inhabitants who do not till the soil. These may, for example, be makers of tools, who supply the inhabitants of the kampong with spades, ploughs, etc., and who exchange their products for food. It may be assumed that they possess a greater aptitude for such work than the other inhabitants and that for this reason there lies a certain advantage in their specializing. If, now, such a man produces too many tools, so that over-production arises, he will discover this practically at once from the drop in his sales and will automatically reduce his production. If, for some reason or other, sales came to a total standstill, for example because the rate of exchange of foodstuffs has changed to his disadvantage, a state of things which might arise from a lack of the necessary surplus, the idea of unemployment would present itself to him, because he could not dispose of his products, and he would have to stop producing. In this case there is a simple way out of the difficulty. He resumes the cultivation of the soil in order to supply his own needs. This will mean for him a lower standard of living, perhaps not so much materially as ideally, because his chosen trade appealed to him more. Suppose, further, that the distribution of labour had gone further and that several agrarians had taken to a trade, the return to farming would become more difficult and would lead to a lowering of the standard of living of the whole community. It might even become necessary for part of the population to leave the village, and this would result for them in a temporary lowering of the standard of living, until, in a more distant future, the reclaimed forest yielded sufficient crops.

In such a highly primitive society, where only extremely simple needs have to be satisfied, it is immediately noticed when production goes wrong, and, as a result, disproportion arises in the production of the various crops. This causes no serious, disagreeable shock for the community, because the evil, being immediately realized, may be combated without delay in the very simple manner indicated in the example that has been given. The fact should be borne in mind, however, that in such a primitive community any disproportion in production which arises signifies in any case a temporary lowering of the standard of living for the whole or part of the population. In speaking of such a slight shock one could scarcely call it a crisis. In those economic units a crisis can only arise if production lags behind requirements. Then impoverishment supervenes, whilst a famine is not out of the question. Colonial society, however, usually prevents such contingencies, and as soon as a famine threatens assistance arrives from outside.

This description of such a simple, peaceful village life may sound alluring, especially when developed capitalistic society is struggling with the most serious crisis ever experienced in history, but—that quiet, idyllic life proves on closer inspection to be less attractive. The population can meet only the most primitive requirements of existence; all luxury is wanting, and as soon as any adversity supervenes, either by a series of crop failures or by a disproportionate growth of the population, poverty is unavoidable. In fact, the Western worker, even the unemployed forced to live on his dole, would regard the standard of living of the inhabitants of the kampong as far below his own and regard it as downright misery.

It is, therefore, in no wise a social disadvantage that the village as a complete economic unit is becoming scarcer, even if, as a result, the inhabitants of the kampong also come in contact with the evils which now and then obscure our economic life. One cannot regret that the custom of barter has gradually extended to barter with extraneous communities. For a long time past it has here and there been customary for certain desas to reciprocally exchange goods, and in this way more extensive units were created, for example, of five desas which together promoted their common interests. Not only did they unite in order to meet dangers threatening from outside, but they also went to market together, each desa having one of the five days of the Javanese week for its market day. On those more extensive markets traders from the surrounding districts made their appearance, and products were exchanged for goods from elsewhere. The villages as economic units thereby became parts of a more extensive intercourse. Their own woven fabrics were replaced by cheaper goods, which came from distant countries and which they could pay for in products of their own soil, to obtain which was less trouble than the weaving of their own textiles. Wherever barter was started it developed automatically, for contact with the outside world created fresh needs.

In many districts there now exist important *pasars* (markets) where the natives take their wares for sale and where payment is made in money. Money has thus made its appearance in many village communities, and the village as an economic unit, with its interchange of products, is slowly opening its doors to developing monetary intercourse.

In tropical colonial society the communities are found in various stages of development. According as Western society, which guides the development of the East, penetrated further, the old grooves were abandoned and monetary intercourse has become more brisk. Production is no longer based only on the requirements of the community, but also partly on the manufacture of marketable goods. In certain districts production already consists chiefly of commercial crops, whilst that of food crops has become of secondary importance.

Wherever the Western system of cultivation has penetrated the position has fundamentally changed, as in these districts not only products, but also services, are exchanged for money. The population has become more or less dependent on the wages in money which it receives for services rendered, and, as a result, its interests are interwoven with those of the great agricultural enterprises which are carried on with Western capital and under Western management. In those districts intercourse is practically always on a monetary basis. The people share in the vicissitudes of the guiding capitalistic society run on Western lines.

The development from barter of products to payments in money proceeds irregularly; that is to say, one may find two desas lying together, one of which is in an advanced stage of development, whilst the other is still little more than an economic unit. The one then subsists chiefly on wages in money earned on Western plantations, on the production of commercial crops and on trade, whilst the other still chiefly applies itself to the production of food crops for home consumption. Even in the island of Java, by far the most developed, striking differences are met with. One finds there desas bordering on each other, one of which has almost entirely adopted monetary intercourse, whilst the other has only taken the first few steps in that direction.

There exist in the Archipelago, side by side with districts which still adhere to primitive conditions, others where the population practically exclusively applies itself to the growing of crops for export, so that it is dependent on the proceeds from such crops, for example, rubber, tea, coffee, etc.

Western colonial communities, which have to absorb all those products in order to export them to the areas of consumption, stand in close contact with Western communities elsewhere. Events in Europe and America are immediately reflected in the tropical colonial areas. These share in the economic fluctuations, the changes in prices, and the crises of the West.

The waves of this latest crisis have broken in full force over the capitalistic colonial upper stratum, whence they penetrated to the indigenous stratum, in which they gradually lost their force according as they approached the less developed desas. Those districts, therefore, which were in close contact with Western intercourse were much affected, whilst the complete economic unit and the primitive social units were unaware of the commotion. Between those two lie the social forms which, according to their development, are more or less seriously affected.

This fact explains the divergency in the reports concerning the influence of the crisis on indigenous communities. Whilst one report states that serious impoverishment has resulted from the depression, others declare that it leaves them practically untouched.

In the study of the influence of the falling prices on the agrarian products in the tropics and of the influence of agrarian production on the course of the prices, the characteristic continuation of the economic curves in tropical society should be duly considered. The same applies to the study of the question of unemployment caused by the crisis.

In the more developed communities the population has more or less outgrown the idea of production for home consumption. There, in the event of over-production or of a reduced opportunity of employment in some enterprise, the return to the farm is not so easy as in primitive society. There unemployment, more or less serious, will make its appearance, according to how far the people are removed from agricultural work. In those communities the standard of living has risen far above that of the primitive economic units and, as a result, it will be much more difficult to lower that standard.

If marketing difficulties have led to unemployment or reduced incomes, the producers who are connected with the economic position of the world at large will not so easily discover the reason when they meet with reverses. They will, therefore, not be able to react on the symptoms as quickly as is possible in the primitive village economic unit. Unemployment becomes more serious and more difficult to deal with wherever the process of production is more complicated and more difficult to bring into harmony with social requirements. Unemployment as a serious social evil is a symptom of the capitalistic production method, and a cure will only be possible if by further development of the science of economics, and by the practice of the tenets evolved by that science, it will become possible to control production and to lead it into the right channels, as can now only be done in a primitive, undeveloped, poor society.

In colonial society serious unemployment will only occur in those places where the capitalistic method of production has established firm contact with the general economic position of the world. This evil will be alleviated by the absence of various remedial factors which exist in the organization of Western society. Colonial society can still react elastically to economic laws whose force in Western society is diminished by social influences.

The opposition to adapting the standard of living and wages to the changed economic conditions is, as a rule, less serious in a tropical colonial area than in Western countries, and one is sooner inclined to adapt production to social requirements. This applies more especially to the plantations conducted on an extensive capitalistic basis and which may, comparatively speaking, be converted without perceptible shocks into other plantations. In this way there is co-operation in striving after the chief aim of economic life, which has been disregarded in this period of crisis, viz., the production of services and goods in the right proportions.

The Netherlands Indies, as part of the world's economic system, are young and in the first stage of development. As a result, they are obliged to buy many services and goods, which they can pay for exclusively in products of the soil. An important export industry of manufactured goods does not yet exist. The products in which foreign countries are interested are supplied by agriculture and mining. In the last 50 years considerable capital has been invested in these rich tropical regions. That capital partly finds recompense in profits, partly in fixed interest, so that annually a surplus must be available in the trade balance for redemption, interest, imports, and the payment of services. As in the case of all young countries a pronounced export balance is necessary. It is therefore a bad sign that as a result of the crisis the export balance has dropped to a considerable extent, and it is a cause for serious alarm that no change for the better is yet noticeable. The position is reflected in the following figures, expressed in millions of guilders:

	Imports.	*Exports.*	*Balance.*
1923	646	1,386	740
1924	700	1,554	854
1925	845	1,812	967
1926	901	1,593	692
1927	906	1,653	747
1928	1,008	1,588	580
1929	1,113	1,454	341
1930	889	1,167	278
1931	551	836	285
Jan. to Feb., 1931 ...	99,2	169,2	70
Jan. to Feb., 1932 ...	72,1	107,6	35,5

It is a remarkable fact that though imports continued to increase till 1929 exports reached the maximum figure in 1925, after which date, under the influence of the falling prices of raw materials and agricultural produce, there was a set-back. This symptom proves that the crisis already announced itself in 1925 in the prices of those articles which are of such great importance to the Netherlands Indies. As a matter of fact, it was predicted by prominent industrial leaders. The man in the street, however, did not reckon with the approaching change in the economic position and proceeded as if he believed in the shout of victory of the Americans: "Never again a depression!" As soon as it was seen, however, that changing circumstances had to be reckoned with, people endeavoured to adapt themselves to this change, and a period of strenuous retrenchment—and thus of reduced imports—set in. The East Indian society proved itself able to respond with far greater elasticity to the lower standard of living than that of Europe, and practically everyone adapted himself to the crisis without difficulty. Wages and salaries were reduced, retrenchment was introduced, expenditure restricted—in a word, people did what was necessary to preserve the mechanism of production. By restrictions today people prepared for a revival in the future.

More they could not do, and whatever efforts were made to increase the export balance were of no avail, for reduced expenditure was neutralized by diminishing proceeds from produce. The principal export products of the Netherlands Indies, indeed, were seriously affected by the crisis, and it became clear that in the business life of this young country differentiation has in no wise been sufficiently carried through. The following figures illustrate the position:

	1929, *Export Value in* 1,000 *Glds.*	*Percentage of Total Export.*	1930, *Value in* 1,000 *Glds.*	*Percentage of Total Export.*	1931, *Value in* 1,000 *Glds.*
Sugar	306,957	21·27	245,670	21.24	124,709
Rubber ...	237,302	16·44	172,795	14·94	81,574
Petroleum products ...	178,967	12·40	183,862	15·89	142,702
Copra	97,602	6·76	73,783	6·38	48,513
Tea	86,071	5·96	69,530	6·01	59,974
Tobacco ...	83,281	5·77	58,648	5·07	88,062
Tin and tin ore	79,270	5·49	57,900	5·01	37,839
Coffee ...	69,520	4·82	35,665	3·08	23,996
Pepper ...	48,340	3·35	39,925	3·45	19,750

Most prices are still moving in a downward direction, so that there is danger of the figures for 1932 being still more unfavourable.

It is obvious that impoverishment in the Netherlands Indies is becoming alarming, although the majority of the Western enterprises have thus far been able to fall back on the reserves which were formed in better times. Nevertheless, a number of estates had to be closed, which caused increasing unemployment, whilst practically all estates had to retrench and to reduce their activities. The decreasing production caused a growing depression in all spheres of business dependent on production, such as trade, insurance, brokerage, shipping, banking, etc.

What can be done to bring about improvement? The cost of production has already been reduced to the lowest possible level, whilst the basic prices of the products have dropped to an unprecedented low level. All this has no effect as long as the world market prices are still lower, but there is reason to hope that a slight rise may bring considerable relief. As a general rule people are fully prepared immediately to reap the benefit of any change in the present position of extreme depression.

Nevertheless, there are ominous clouds. The principal product of the Netherlands Indies is sugar, and the trade in that article has more than any other been paralyzed by the general conditions which prevail in most countries of the world. It is true that Java sugar has the lowest cost of production, thanks to years of scientific research. On the advice of their experimental stations, Java planters have succeeded in increasing the sugar production per hectare to a maximum, so that the total output has increased year by year without any considerable extension of the planted area. Twelve years ago the production was about 100 quintals per hectare, and this quantity has since then been increased by 50 per cent. This brilliant success of science and practice should have made of the sugar industry a vigorous and profitable business. Instead of that, however, most markets are closed to the "cheap" product, and the peoples are compelled to consume very dear sugar, produced within the country, behind high tariff walls. As a result, Java is compelled to reduce its cultivated area to about 50 per cent. of the normal. This naturally constitutes a great loss to the Netherlands Indies. Does not, however, such unreasonable waste of capital mean a loss to society as a whole? Does not the crushing of the cheap producers mean a loss for which the whole world will suffer?

For the present there is little chance of Great Britain and America abandoning preferential duties and the protection of their own sugar; or of Germany, France, and a number of other countries demolishing their prohibitive tariff walls. As long as the peoples of those countries continue to prefer their own sugar to the article from elsewhere, regardless of price, the Netherlands Indies will not be able fully to develop their sugar industry. The impoverishment thus created signifies a decrease in imports of automobiles, for example, from America, of textiles from Lancashire, of machinery from England and Germany, etc.

Rubber is not beset by such abnormal difficulties. This article has become the victim of a too rapid increase of production and a sudden drop in consumption, owing to the crisis and the prevailing depression. Prices have dropped below the cost price and all enterprises work at a loss. The native producers can also not continue to work on the present price-basis, so that the near future must necessarily bring a material drop in the exports. In all probability the weakest enterprises—*i.e.*, those containing the poorest trees—will be forced to close down, which would mean a healthy pruning. Those enterprises which have been developed from selected plants have the best chance of weathering the crisis, because they can produce at the lowest cost. The result, therefore, will be that when the crisis is over the mechanism of production as a whole will have improved, by which the whole world may benefit, because it will become possible to fix a lower price standard, provided no efforts be made to support weak producers by preferential duties or other such means.

Tea is placed somewhat at a disadvantage by preferential duties levied by Great Britain for the benefit of British Indian tea. Such a position also existed in former times, but then the Netherlands Indies suffered no disadvantage, because the result of the protection was only an uneconomic shifting of markets. British tea was directed towards the markets where it enjoyed preference, leaving other markets free to the Netherlands Indies tea.

Preferential duties, however, are contagious. In Holland, indeed, an inclination is also developing to resort to a tariff policy. The chief object here is to protect exports from Holland to the Netherlands Indies and to introduce preferential duties, such as existed before 1870. At the same time, the Netherlands Indies products would be given preferential duties in Holland. Doubtless such a policy, which is growing steadily more popular, would benefit certain branches of business. It would, however, make living dearer both in Holland and in the Netherlands Indies and have the disadvantage inherent in protection. It is to be hoped that the Government will not allow itself to be carried away by the protectionist current. The Netherlands Indies have grown great by the open-door policy. Holland has flourished by free trade. May this never be forgotten!

Considering the deplorable circumstances, the position of the native population is not unfavourable. There is sufficient food, and that food is cheap. Employment, however, is decreasing, the demand for export products is limited and prices are unremunerative, so that there is a shortage of money. This compels the natives in many districts to return to the barter of products and to the village as an economic unit. This is a step backwards on the road to development. The Government has for years been endeavouring to establish monetary intercourse and to cause food crops to be partly replaced by commercial crops. It was hoped in this way to raise native society to greater prosperity and development. The contact with world trade gave the native a broad view of the world position and necessitated sharper observation, a school education, and a strengthening of the sense of responsibility. Besides, the production of marketable products yielded proceeds which rendered possible a fuller existence.

Propaganda for the production of copra, kapoc, pepper, coffee, tea, rubber, etc., met with considerable success, and the population developed a standard of living such as it could not have achieved in the earlier primitive society.

Now a set-back is inevitable, and it will be difficult to make up later for the loss of ground that has been suffered.

Unemployment is not a serious evil to natives, for the villages absorb without great difficulty those who have left the plantations. Native society proves to be possessed of great elasticity and this prevents much misery. Nevertheless, general impoverishment has become a fact, even if, generally speaking, it does not go so far as actual want.

The Europeans unemployed in the tropics are more seriously affected, inasmuch as Western society responds less elastically to the changes which are taking place. For them there is no place where they can find a refuge. They are entrusted to public charity, which, in fact, acquits itself honourably of the task. The great problem is how those thus deprived of employment can again be provided with work, because it cannot be expected that in the near future the numbers now doomed to idleness will again find employment. Many enterprises will not be reopened, others will for years to come have to practise strict economy, whilst in the first years following this crisis there will be little inclination to reclaim new land. A number of unemployed have been sent back to Europe, whilst for those who have remained a way out of the impasse will have to be found sooner or later.

Society as a whole has lost much of its purchasing power, and it will be many years before the Netherlands Indies have regained their old importance as a market for the industrial countries.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE ARAB LANGUAGES IN MODERN EGYPTIAN LITERATURE*

By Mahmoud Teymour

At the present time, when a new Arab literature is beginning to develop, it may be useful to consider what are the obstacles which are hindering its growth, for the present generation has the task of surmounting them. The conflict between the ancient and modern languages is sometimes waged in the open and at other times it remains latent, according to the country in which it is taking place. The problem can be stated in a few words: Will the classical written Arab language, or the modern spoken language, which is only put into writing occasionally, carry the day? Can the two languages exist side by side without prejudicing the development of the literature and education of Islamic peoples, or would it be better to create a third language as a compromise between the ancient and the modern by combining the advantages and avoiding the drawbacks of both?

It is well known that the Arabs in Africa, Asia, and America possess a common classical language, which is used for reading and writing, but that in consequence of the disruption of the Islamic Empire they have been split up ethnographically and politically. They now speak different national languages which are new, though admittedly based on the classical model. These have been altered by the introduction of foreign idioms and of modern expressions. The question at issue is whether they should in future be confined to the spoken word or whether they should become rivals of the classical. The advantages and disadvantages of the classical and modern languages will now be examined.

Egyptian literature may be divided into the pre- and post-war periods. Before the war the literature was practically all Islamic, the spirit and culture of Islam was preponderant. Egypt was then taken as forming part of the Ottoman Empire. Arab culture was the only source of inspiration. People spoke of nationalism, but they meant Islamic nationalism. The real Egyptian nationalism only came to the surface after the war. It has since developed to such an extent that it is now one of the principal factors of the Egypt of today. Egyptian literature followed this movement, participated in its development and, after having been so long Islamic, identified itself definitely with Egypt, whose writers now talk of the Egyptian soul, customs, literature, and language.

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* A paper read before the Eighteenth Congress of Orientalists, Leyden, 1931.

This political movement includes in its programme a demand for an Egyptian language and literature. The classical language is being subjected to much criticism. In what does this criticism consist? It is directed chiefly against the grammar. To make the final letters in the words mute in pronunciation is another suggestion. As one would-be reformer puts it, we study in order to read correctly, we do not read in order to study. Others go so far as to declare that they can express themselves more fluently in a foreign language in spite of all their efforts to master Arabic. In short, the general though not unanimous opinion is that we must remodel our Arab language and take great pains to regenerate it and make it more flexible. They omit the great drawback of Arabic: that it is not a spoken, but a written language. Another argument advanced is that Arabic was all very well in the old days, when the Arabs were all united, but that it can no longer express the soul and life of so many nations that had once formed part of the old Arab Empire. Every one of these nations now lead a separate existence with its own customs and institutions. Their civilizations are on different levels and their customs are quite distinct. This criticism derives force from the fact that the projects of reconstituting the Islamic Empire have been abandoned, and that Egypt, Iraq, and Arabia now think only in the terms of their individual independence. It would appear, therefore, that there is a combined front against the classical Arabic, and that its defeat is a foregone conclusion. This is far from being the case, although it will not come out of the conflict unscathed. As long as there is Islam the old Arab language will remain. For is not a knowledge of that beautiful language obligatory in order to understand the sacred Koran and appreciate its rhetoric and profound teaching? The Koran is rightly considered a masterpiece and a miracle of the Arab language, and will always remain so. It is also our duty, as descendants of the Arabs who have handed down to us these treasures, to exert ourselves in defence of their language, which will always remain the surest and strongest bond of union between all Arab countries. In short, we do not desire to break the link which unites us to our brother Arabs in the moral and intellectual sphere. More especially is it in the interest of Egypt, who is in the van and whose ambition it is to continue to hold the torch, to resist any movement directed against that ancient and classical language, since it would at the same time lessen her prestige in the eyes of the Arab world.

The modern language has been subjected to many different influences since the Arab conquest. It is a popular language in the sense that it is in daily use and growth, and that it is flexible and easily adapts itself to our daily needs. There are many words and expressions which are foreign to the classical language, and, although it is derived from that language, it has gradually become a complete and self-sufficient vehicle of expression. It has its own grammar and alphabet. Its grammar is incomplete. Its alphabet has less letters than the classical language, but it is more practical. The letters it does without are those which are not pronounced in the spoken language and which for that reason are rightly considered to be archaic and superfluous. The Minister of State and the workman, the educated and the uninstructed alike use it. Why, then, do so many people describe it as a dialect, a common language of little significance or importance? Is it not in daily use? Its vocabulary is very rich; all the words in daily use are to be found therein, for there is no need to await the sanction of any academy or to ask the advice of any philologists. Words that are used in daily intercourse are accepted, the rest are rejected as being an encumbrance. Every word and phrase is given the Egyptian accent and form. The language is thus nationalized. The language is a natural one formed to suit the daily needs, constantly renewed by the exigencies of modern life, discoveries, and inventions. It develops and progresses, and the only thing that is needed is a little order.

The question is whether this language can be written. In this connection one need but recall the popular poetry of "Zagal." The existence of popular novels cannot be denied, even though they may not have great literary merit. At the theatre there are vaudeville performances, musical comedies, and plays written in the popular language. Even the newspapers accept articles which contain words and expressions in the tongue of the people. Literary writers are also beginning to give a proper place to a language which everyone speaks and which, therefore, everybody can easily understand. It cannot any longer be denied that, although there may be some defects which leave it imperfect, the new language has a rightful place even when it is written.

It is undeniable that this language is still in its rough state. But in time these defects will be overcome, and it will become more suitable for being committed to writing. But at present anyone who writes the modern language is confronted by serious difficulties, for the reason that rules are lacking that might keep him along the straight path through the rhetorical jungle. On the other hand, books written in Syrian have been published;

there are not many, but they serve to prove that Arab countries can create their own literature and national language. This is sufficient answer to those critics who wish to stem the progress of the movement. It may be true that it is only a dialect of the people, but there are numerous examples in European countries of dialects which have been raised to the dignity of a literary language. (I am thinking now of German-Swiss dialects.) However, these dialects are spoken side by side with the official language, which alone is taught in the schools and is used in official correspondence by all classes alike. I am aware that in Egypt and in the Arab world the case is somewhat different, as the written language cannot be used by all as a vehicle of oral expression.

I have now passed in review the advantages and drawbacks of the classical and modern languages; I shall now cite the proposal made in many quarters to put an end to the dispute, the continuation of which is so prejudicial to the development of our modern literature. Most of our writers think that in the near or more distant future the classical and modern languages will be merged in a new language. Although this may happen it would prove detrimental to the classical language. The new language will more probably be the popular language after it has undergone a new evolution. It would be difficult to make a language that is half dead into a living language. It is indeed half dead when it cannot be used as a vehicle of oral expression. The truth is that the classical language cannot become the spoken language of the modern Egyptian. It is easily comprehensible that a language which suited exactly the need of those who lived many centuries ago, and has since scarcely been changed at all, can hardly be expected to become a modern language and satisfy contemporary needs.

Shall we, then, abandon the language of our ancestors? Certainly not. We have shown that this would be impossible without turning our backs on our history and denying the greatness of our past. By so doing we would condemn what we hold as sacred, and snap the bonds that unite us so closely to the other Arab countries. Accordingly, the solution lies in a close alliance between the classical and the new language. Both can lay claim to our attachment, the one on spiritual grounds and the other from material considerations. The reasonable conclusion is that the future language should be the modern popular language, which would become the official written and spoken language of the country. The classical Arabic would remain the written language in use in all the Arab countries.

In conclusion I may perhaps be permitted to make a few remarks regarding the present epoch. In Egypt the present generation is remarkable for its feelings of discontent and its desire for new experiments. This phenomenon marks the awakening after a long slumber. The inevitable result of continuous contact with European civilization and culture, which have permeated the upper classes in Egypt, has been that they have become critical of the old institutions. Reform is in the air. The need is felt of doing away with the obstacles which block the development and progress of the country. The cry is for new institutions which correspond to the ideals and discoveries of the age. The "battle" of the languages in Egypt is only one of the many problems that arise from the discontent and desire for change of the present epoch.

(*Translated.*)

THE SIZE OF THE INDIAN FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

By Nawab Sir Muhammad Akbar Hydari

After a good deal of give and take on the question of the membership of the bi-cameral Federal Legislature, the Federal Structure Committee of the Round-Table Conference came to a compromise under which the membership of the Lower House would not exceed 300, and that of the Upper House 200. The Franchise Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Lothian, has recommended, however, that the Assembly should be increased so as to allot to British India 300 seats instead of 200, thus reducing the area of the average constituency by one-third. In my opinion such an increase of membership will be a serious mistake.

I realize that by the standards obtaining in Great Britain the numbers proposed by the Committee would not be considered excessive having regard to the large enfranchisement of citizens that is contemplated. There would be a Lower House of 450 (300 for British India and 150 for Indian States) and an Upper House of 300 (180 for British India and 120 for the Indian States, for if there is a Lower House of 450 it will be difficult to restrict the number in the Upper House to 200). Analogies drawn from Great Britain with her long democratic tradition, and her people gradually trained for generations in the practice of democracy, are inapplicable to India, where democracy on Western lines has been introduced so recently and has not yet had time to attain stability. Unlike Great Britain, India has, beside a democracy, the principle of autocracy maintained in almost undiminished strength by the Indian India of the Princes. But, above all, it should be remembered in making comparisons with the British Legislature that India will have, in addition to the Federal Legislature, Provincial Parliaments numbering from 1,500 and 1,750 members.

Leaving aside these theoretical considerations, there remain practical disadvantages to be considered. First comes the question of cost to be met by the Indian taxpayer. A Federal Legislature of 750 will certainly cost a very great deal more than the present Assembly and the Council of State. Add to this the increased cost of the various augmented Provincial Legislatures. Compared with his British contemporary, the Indian taxpayer is very poor. As against the consequent limitation of taxable capacity one finds the nation-building services in India starved of money because of the inadequate margin after meeting the demands of certain essential services such as the security services. Had these nation-building services and activities been duly developed it might have been argued that by retrenchment here and there the additional expenditure involved could have been met without adversely affecting the social welfare of the country. But when we have such an enormous leeway to make up in the agricultural, the medical, the sanitary, and the educational fields, it does not seem right to spend more than the necessary minimum on legislative bodies. In my view the inability, owing to lack of funds, to develop nation-building activities has been mainly responsible for the failure of the Transferred Departments in the various Provinces of India, since the inception of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, to bring home to Indians that they already enjoyed self-government over a wide sphere of Government activity. And I feel that if we give the new constitution too elaborate and expensive a superstructure it will not prove a success, because there will not be the financial resources available to make it function adequately. The satisfaction of possessing a responsible Federal Ministry and responsible Provincial Ministers will be much impaired when it is found that for lack of money their ameliorative activities are circumscribed in every direction.

Next there is the question of the subjects which will come within the purview of the Federal Government. Leaving out Defence and Foreign and Political Relations, which will be Crown subjects, the Federal subjects will primarily be technical and administrative, such as railways, agricultural research, posts and telegraphs, currency, and so on. The Federal Legislature will not, as the present Assembly does, be seized of all the subjects which come within the purview of the centralized authority of the Governor-General in Council, but will deal within prescribed limits with a few defined subjects which will be entrusted by the Provinces and States to the Federal Government for administration. Unlike the present Government of India, the future Federal Government (the Governor-General in Federal Council) will be the agent and not, as the present Governor-General in Council, the supervisor of the Provinces and of the States. To my mind, what is required for the discussion of these subjects and for undertaking such legislation in respect of them as may be necessary is a small businesslike Legislature. A huge assemblage will not only be financially wasteful, but also a bar to the progress of business.

It may be argued on this point that if British India wants a large House it is not sufficient to say that such Assemblies do discharge business with expedition and efficiency. There is, however, the further consideration whether there are enough suitable persons to compose large Federal as well as Provincial Legislatures. Even now, after nearly twelve years' experience, we find that the quality of the personnel, both in the Provincial and the Central Legislatures, is in a large measure disappointing. In Federal India autonomous Provinces and the States will be the centres of national activity and progress, and will contribute by such progress to the strength or otherwise of the whole country. They will require the services of their best men for the discharge of autonomous responsibilities. In the present condition of India it will be a severe drain of personnel to send 750 more or less suitable men for prolonged periods from the Provinces and States to sit at Simla and Delhi, if indeed so many can be found after satisfying the local needs.

It is quite easy to ask rhetorical questions about a country of 350 millions not being able to provide so many parliamentarians. But rhetoric leads nowhere. One has to judge by experience, and after an appreciation of the probabilities based on such experience. What I have written so far has been in the interests of India as a whole and not from the narrower view of the interests of the States. So far as the latter are concerned, there is a considerable party who look with equanimity on a large Legislature hoping thereby that the smaller States will get individual, if not equal, representation. They forget that a large democratic Legislature, notwithstanding a proportionate increase of the State representatives therein, will not promote that element of stability to which the adherence of Indian States to the Federation should materially contribute. There is, on the other hand, a considerable body, and to my mind a more important body of States, headed by Hyderabad, which views with grave misgiving the prospect of an unwieldy Federal Legislature. In fact, were it of the size contemplated by the Franchise Committee the idea of Federation would become unattractive for Hyderabad. I was, and still am, a believer in a uni-cameral Federal Legislature, or a small Federal Council on which a few representatives of British India and of the States should find a place. But in deference to British Indian sentiment I gave my consent, which still holds, to a bi-cameral House, and agreed to the compromise arrived at in the Federal Structure Committee—namely, a Lower House of 300 and an Upper House of 200. We all knew at that time that the electorate would have to be much larger than at present, and yet that was the compromise generally agreed to. I venture to submit, with all respect to the eminent Chairman of the Franchise Committee, that this compromise should hold good.

MUTUAL INFLUENCES BETWEEN CHINESE AND NEAR EASTERN CERAMICS IN THE T'ANG PERIOD AND BEFORE*

By H. C. Gallois

(Curator at the Muncipal Museum of The Hague.)

[See Plates A–E.]

For the history of ceramic art the excavations at Samarra on the Tigris have been of signal importance. The facts which interest us here are the fragments of Chinese porcelain, stoneware, and pottery, found among the ruins of the temporary residence of the Khalifate, together with local (presumably Baghdad) imitations of that Far Eastern ware. They enable us to ascertain that Chinese ceramics of the T'ang dynasty (609-926), which the local potters found sufficiently interesting to copy, were imported in the Near East.

In Egypt this importation of T'ang ware is not so overwhelmingly clear as in Iraq. Fouquet gave in his Contributions a small piece (Pl. XIV, 7), which is very probably T'ang;† in the Benaki Museum at Athens I saw some fragments of the type shown by Professor Sarre in *Cicerone*, 1929, Fig. 6, p. 43 ("T'ang pottery said to have been found in Egypt"); and the Town Museum of The Hague possesses a little scallop-edged dish with multi-coloured marbled surface underneath a lead-glaze, evidently a Cairene copy of a T'ang specimen.

Among the many thousands of pottery sherds in the Cairo Museum of Arabic art, which, thanks to the kindness and the ever-ready assistance of Professor Wiët and his curators Rashid and Hassan, I have been able to study at leisure, one finds a quite satisfactory number of Sung fragments and of Cairene imitations thereof, but the T'ang dynasty ware is, as far as I remember, not represented at all. Two pieces, however, necks of ewers, may prove sufficiently interesting to merit a wider appreciation.

They are both of local manufacture, are covered with an opaque glaze, and belong to the ceramical group called faïence.

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* Paper read at the Eighteenth Congress of Orientalists, Leyden, 1931.

† It may seem somewhat bold to give this fragment a Chinese passport without previous inspection, but its *white* body (Fouquet, p. 126), and the strong resemblance in style with Sarre, Keramik von Samarra, nr. 222, seem to point to its Far Eastern provenance. If Egyptian, the maker must have copied it from a Chinese prototype.

The first fragment has a very soft greyish body, covered with a crackled white glaze, just tinged with turquoise *green*. Height, *c*. 14 cm. (Plate A.) The cylindrical neck ends in a bird's head. The liquid was not poured out of the beak, which has no hole, but through a funnel on the top. Underneath the crest at the back of the head are the remains of the handle. Above the eyes are two or three excrescences, evidently meant to represent small tufts of feathers.

The student of the older Chinese ceramics—the expression "archaic" is no longer applicable since the discovery of the Cheou and the neolithic pottery—will not fail, I think, to note certain common traits with Mr. George Eumorfopoulos' well-known porcelain ewer (Plate B).

Taking into account the difference in malleability in the case of a porcelain and a faïence body, we see in both pieces the bird-head crowning a slightly conical neck, well balanced by means of the crest, and topped by the funnel with ovoid aperture. Similar tufts of feathers shield the Chinese bird's eyes. Finally the T'ang ewer is covered with a palish-green glaze.

In the domain of Chinese ceramics Mr. Eumorfopoulos' piece is *facile princeps* in the group of T'ang ewers, in glazed pottery, with bird-head necks. We shall refer to this group later.

In view of the fact that Iraq as well as Cairene potters of the ninth century have known and copied Chinese ceramics, it may be permissible to explain the resemblance with the famous T'ang ewer as an effort of a Cairene potter to produce in faïence a vase of the type of those wonderful creations of the Far East, so dear and therefore so much desired. An "Ersatz" production which the history of pottery has taught us not to be astonished at.

There remains the awkward but unavoidable question of the fragment's date. The Eumorfopoulos vase has been dated the end of the T'ang Dynasty (609-926), but another piece of the same collection (Hobson, the G.E. collection III., Pl. 39, C 239) clearly demonstrates the continuation of this shape well into the Sung Dynasty.

Then the fragment's glaze, the type of the crackle perhaps, reminds of the Fatimid lustred faïence. And as the dating of Fustât fragments requires prudence and deliberation, I should venture to suggest tenth to twelfth century.

As has been said above, the porcelain ewer in the Eumorfopoulos collection represents the finest, the most artistic specimen of a group of T'ang vases, to which the students of Chinese ceramics ascribe a Western origin, to be sought, as everybody thinks with Dr. F. R. Martin, in Persia under the rule of the Sassanians.

This derivation suggested by Dr. Martin in 1912 (*Burl. Mag.*, xxi., p. 357) was supported some years later by Mr. Hamilton

Bell, who in the same review (vol. xxvi., 1916) presented a very interesting paper about the relations of T'ang pottery and that of the Hellenistic Mediterranean. Concerning the bird- or phœnix-headed ewers, Mr. Bell recalls the vases in one of the hands of Kwan-Yin in pictures, found by Sir Aurel Stein and Professor Grünwedel in Turkestan, and mentions likewise the famous silver or silvered-bronze vase, formerly in the Horiuji, now in the Imperial Household Treasury in Tokio; to quote verbatim: "Well-known Sassanian silver vessels, that at Horiuji, for instance." The attribution, however, of this famous piece to the art of Sassanian Persia, an attribution suggested a long time ago by the French orientalist, Adrien de Longpérier, cannot be maintained any longer. In his excellent little book on the industrial arts of Japan, Professor Kümmel, although recognizing its Sassanian *form,* considers the vase, on account of the typical stylization of the dragon's head and of the winged horses on the belly, to be a specimen of Far Eastern metalwork. And a Japanese scholar, who republished it in the Horiuji Okagami (the big Mirror of Horiuji), assigns the piece to the beginning of the T'ang period.

So much for this "meibutsu" in the Imperial Household Treasury.

When in London for the exhibition of Persian art, I had the opportunity to question Professor Joseph Orbely, the well-known Russian authority on Sassanian art, upon this matter, and the answer did not leave any room for doubt. Professor Orbely told me that he did not know of any metal bird- or dragon-headed vase or ewer, to be assigned to the art of Persia, during the Sassanians.

In November, 1930, I found and acquired in Cairo the fragment which is here reproduced (Plate C).

It is a *fragment* with a light-blue glaze, covering a very soft, greyish-white, fine-grained body.

The type of animal suggests rather a bird of prey than a griffin; the ears, horn, and mane of which are altogether lacking. The bird's neck is hollowed out, and has therefore a cylindrical tube. Round the opening at the top is a circle, 2 mm. wide and unglazed, while the glaze has run into the tube and some of it is even visible from the bottom.

The surface of the circle is not smooth. It would seem that something round the tube's opening at the top has broken off, and Professor von Bissing, who was kind enough to examine the fragment, supported the suggestion that it once formed the neck of a ewer, and that the bird's head originally had a trumpet-like funnel for the pouring in and out of the liquid, the more probably so as the beak is closed.

Here, then, we have an Egyptian example of the bird-head ewer. But to what period does it belong? The light bluish-green shade of the glaze would seem to suggest the Ptolemaic period, but Professor von Bissing suggested the possibility of the glaze having paled from a darker shade of blue, and this suggestion may find support in the colour of the eyes, which are yellow-glazed. There is a well-known group of Egypto-Roman ceramics, covered with a blue glaze, lit up by yellow in the outstanding spots; see, for instance, Butler, *Islamic Pottery*, Pl. IV., C; Cat. Fouquet coll., 1922, I., No. 253, Pl. XII.; *Bull. v. d. Ver. t. bevordering v. d. antieke beschaving*, III. (1928), p. 12, Fig. 8. Then the careful moulding of the head and the execution of the details would forbid a dating in an advanced period of the Roman Empire. Altogether 100 B.C. to 100 A.D. would be a safe period to which to assign the piece.

This shape of ewer now, as several distinguished Egyptologists have emphatically asserted, does not belong to the Egyptian "Formenschatz." On the other hand, its presence in the Mediterranean area is testified by the beautiful jug in the British Museum, from Ægina (*J. Hell. Studies*, vol. xlvi., Part I., 1926, Pl. 8, pp. 204-5), together with the rhyton in silver and earthenware ending in an animal's head.

And after the conquest of Alexander the Great, Greek art made its joyous entry into Egypt, and Greek forms came to join the Egyptian shapes. Also it is well known that the belief in the great conqueror's divine descent caused a "boom" in eagles in the domain of art.

The Musées du Cinquantenaire in Brussels possess a bronze jug, acquired at Leghorn, which, in view of the outline of the belly, can be dated in the first centuries of the Roman Empire (Plate D). In this case the liquid leaves the vase by an aperture in the griffin's beak.

A Byzantine panel from the ninth century, again in the British Museum, enables us to testify to the survival of the bird-headed ewer in T'ang times. In the right-hand corner at the bottom of this piece, which represents the Nativity, one can see the ewer under discussion, and Mr. Dalton points out that a similar utensil is to be seen on a miniature in the tenth-century Menologion of Basil II. (Cat. Early Christian Antiq., 1901, No. 300).

When in this way a series of documents enables us to trace the ewer's career in the Mediterranean from, say, 600 B.C. to 900 A.D., how can we deny a possible Sassanian origin to the T'ang variety? On the merely negative ground that the type is unknown in Sassanian art? This surely would not suffice, as Sassanian influence on T'ang art is well attested by the Shosoin textiles, and the bird-head ewer has survived in Persian ceramics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The conjecture therefore is permissible that this shape, like so many other elements of classic art, has penetrated to Persia under the rule of the Sassanid kings, and has survived the Arab conquest.

Then the sides of the T'ang bird-head ewers were sometimes adorned with the figure of a horseman shooting backwards. This motive could not but be truly Iranian.

Let us now consider the arguments in favour of a direct inspiration of the Mediterranean, Asia Minor, Syria, or Egypt—*i.e.*, the Eastern part of the Imperial Roman world.

The trade routes to Roum from far Cathay and *vice versa* went overland, along the so-called silk-roads, which saw their terminal point at Laodicæa in Northern Syria, where the goods were shipped to Alexandria, Ostia, or Constantinople. In this way the glass and the lead-glazes from Asia Minor and Syria may have come to the subjects of the Han. Thus a Syrian glass-flask in the shape of the Tyche of Antiochia with the river Orontes as a boy (*Amtl. Ber. Berl. Mus.*, vol. xxxv., p. 114, Fig. 53) may have inspired the Chinese potter who made the lamp in the Eumorfopoulos collection (Hobson, I., 60). But it is an equally well-known fact that long before the T'ang the coastal trade along the south coast of Persia, starting from a port in the Red Sea that by a well-guarded caravan road was linked to Coptos on the Nile, brought Egyptian goods to the East (Ceylon), where Chinese junks carried the ware from Cathay, and that already in the ninth century the Arabs had a consulate at Canton and were allowed the privilege of extraterritorial jurisdiction.

Especially the Syrian glass was a matter of interest to the Chinese.

From those of the Han Dynasty onwards, we find it repeatedly mentioned in the Chinese annals, with other artistic products of the country of T'a-tsin (Syria) or Foulin (derived from Roum), the latter meaning the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. The Chinese even knew of pictures showing people (Mons. Pelliot thinks of acrobats) and objects of Foulin (*cf.* Fr. Hirth, *Fremde Einflüsse in der chin. Kunst*, 1896, p. 50).

On the other hand, no mention whatever can be found in those annals concerning the arts and artistic products of Persia.

Closely related in technique, glaze, colouring, and un-Chinese ornament to the bird-head ewers are the T'ang so-called pilgrim bottles, which are equally unknown in Sassanian Persia, while the rosettes, palmettes, dancing girls, and piping boys, which adorn their sides, are publicly recognized as of Hellenistic descent. This originally Egyptian type was in use all over the Imperial Roman and early Byzantine Empire in metal, pottery, and glass (see L. Matzulewitch, *Byzant. Antike*, p. 917 *seq.*).

Thus, if a direct kinship is deemed permissible between the T'ang and the Mediterranean pilgrim bottles, why not between the Far Eastern and Mediterranean bird-head ewers?

To return to the mounted archer, that signal Iranian motif. It *is* Iranian, and was probably brought to China by the Scythians, where it already occurs on Han tomb-bricks, but not exclusively Iranian, nor originally so (Siren II p. 55, Laufer Chinese pottery of the Han Dyn., p. 214). Its occurrence on Han monuments cannot testify to the Sassanian origin of the T'ang bird-head ewers.

No, the mounted archer was born and bred in Semitic provinces, in Phœnicia. Thence he was brought to Cyprus, and paraded on those curious silver dishes which by reason of their blending of Eastern, Egyptian, and Ægean art-motifs are a delight to the keen archæologist. A well-known example is the dish found in the tomb of Regulini-Galassi and reproduced by Perrot-Chipiez III., p. 769, Fig. 544, and elsewhere. The bowman in this seventh-century B.C. piece, naked but for a loin-cloth, looks very Egyptian.

From Cyprus, the archer was adopted by the early Greek artists, who made use of him, especially for the scenes of combat with Amazones (V. Poulsen, *Orient und früh-griechische Kunst*, p. 16).

The Ionians may have brought him to their colonies on the Black Sea, where he was introduced to the Scythians, fine horsemen themselves and lovers of a taut bow-string. These persuaded him to trek with them across the steppe and so he landed finally in China.

As far as I know, there is only one purely Sassanian silver plate which is adorned with the horseman shooting backwards. It belongs to the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad and was exhibited in the Persian exhibition in London (Cat., 3rd ed., No. 91 R). The other piece must be dated, in the opinion of Professor Sarre, in post-Sassanian times (Sarre, *Kunst alten Persien*, Pl. 112; Smirnof Oriental silver, No. 61). It bears a Pehlevi inscription, but the archer, although clad in Persian riding-dress, has a type of face which, to my mind, is much more Byzantine than Iranian.

The type of ewer, then, to which the fragment in the Arabic Museum in Cairo belongs has travelled much. Here we see it, probably as a Fatimid copy of a Chinese porcelain, there in China as one of the many strange shapes T'ang art has appropriated from the West. The Chinese may have obtained it from the Persians, or it may have been brought to them directly from the Red Sea. But it is a curious thing that this incarnation in faïence took place in Egypt, in the country that used the same shape and the same material a thousand years before.

Another fragment in the Arabic Museum, also coming from a ewer, but not so well preserved, presents an archæological interest, so far as it apparently shows no signs of Chinese influence whatever (Pl. E, H. ±5 cm.). As with the first piece, the liquid was poured in and out from the top. The greyish-white, sandy body and the opaque turquoise crackled glaze point to a date in Arabic times, very probably Fatimid. But the head of this bird has nothing whatever in common with the eagle's, nor with the pheasant-typed Chinese phœnix. It may, however, represent more truly the old Egyptian phœnix than any bird-head on a ewer. For its broken beak is curved like that of an ibis. It is known that in Egypt the ibis was sacred to Thoth, the god of Wisdom, while the Egyptian phœnix revered under the name of bennu in the town of Heliopolis was said to look like a stork, a cousin to the ibis. The phœnix on the reverse of some Imperial Roman coins was still shaped like a long-legged wader bird. It should have been said before that these animal heads on ewers and other utensils not only had an ornamental function, but originally an apotropæical significance as well. Griffins, lions, cocks, and eagles were entrusted with a wholesome power to frighten off the evil spirits, who might slip into these vases and mean harm to the consumer.

We have seen that the animal-headed ewer has apparently penetrated into Egypt in the days of Alexander the Great or in Ptolemaic times. And it would seem that there is no objection to the hypothesis that an Egyptian potter, having come to know of this foreign shape and the protection secured by the presence of the animal guarding the orifice, made these vases himself and entrusted the guardianship to sacred native birds, and that, without any proof to second the theory, this type has survived unto Fatimid times.

It may also be that, say in the eleventh century, there were serious economic difficulties in Egypt, and that the Sultan had appealed to his subjects to "buy Egyptian goods." That a Cairene potter, unaware of legendary Thoths and bennus, had walked on the banks of the Nile, pondering over the problem how he and his craft could profit by the exalted command, and with his foot had dislodged a pebble, which had rattled down in the tepid water. That the noise had disturbed an ibis in the act of mesmerizing a juicy frog, and sent him hissing (if an ibis hisses) angrily away. That this potter at the sight of this national bird *par excellence* had cried aloud, "Eureka," or at least its Arabic equivalent, and had run home to his wheel and modelled ibis-headed ewers. And that the poor mutilated fragment in the Cairene Museum was the only witness left to testify of that inspired moment. Who knows?

PRINCE DAMRONG: A GREAT STATESMAN AND SCHOLAR

By Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales

(Late of the Royal Siamese Service)

The recent retirement of H.R.H. Prince Krom Phra Damrong Rājanubhāb of Siam from the office of President of the Royal Institute at Bangkok affords an appropriate opportunity for an attempt to pay a fitting tribute to the life and work of this great statesman and scholar.

Prince Damrong is a half-brother of his late Majesty King Chulalongkorn, and was born in 1862. He was educated at the Royal School, Bangkok, and at an early age entered the army as a cadet. After several years' service in various capacities His Royal Highness was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in charge of the Royal Bodyguard, and acted as personal aide-de-camp to the King. Later he was appointed Major-General of the Headquarters Staff, but after carrying out the duties and responsibilities attaching to this high rank for two years, he resigned from the military service. Thenceforward he devoted himself to the great work of civil administrative reconstruction, and his name is intimately associated with nearly all the great reforms initiated in the reign of King Chulalongkorn.

The first work of this nature undertaken by Prince Damrong was the foundation of a Department of Education, with which end in view His Royal Highness was in 1891 sent on a special mission to Europe. He visited the courts of England, Denmark, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Greece, and Italy, and on his return journey to Siam toured extensively in Egypt and India. The result of this mission was the formulation by His Royal Highness, with the collaboration of the late Sir Robert Morant, of a scheme of national education which it has ever since been the object of the Ministry of Public Instruction to carry out and develop. The framework of such a scheme of education already existed in the elementary vernacular teaching available in every Buddhist monastery throughout the country. On to this the new structure was wisely grafted, the first object in view being the provision of a sound elementary education within the reach of everybody, the foundation for those intermediate and higher courses which have since been evolved.

Prince Damrong was not for long able to watch over the progress of the newly established Department of Education, for in

1892 the King undertook the complete reconstruction of the old system of administration, and as a result of this His Royal Highness was called to apply his initiative and energy to another sphere of work. In place of the old military and civil divisions of the Right and Left, ten chief Departments of State were created, each under the control of a Minister who was given a far larger share of real power and responsibility than had hitherto been allowed to even the highest of the King's advisers. From the moment of its establishment the Ministry of the Interior became a centre of great activity, and from its relative importance it was natural that Prince Damrong should be appointed its head. For more than twenty years he held this office, and it is to the work of this Ministry, prospering as it did with his guidance and active support during so many years, that much of Siam's remarkable advancement during recent decades is due. Indeed, it may be said with truth that it is this period of service as Minister of the Interior that constitutes the Prince's life-work as a statesman, for which his country must be everlastingly grateful.

To do justice to the details of Prince Damrong's administrative achievements between 1892 and 1915, when he retired from the Ministry of the Interior, would be an immense task, impossible of fulfilment here, but some idea may perhaps be given of the wideness of their scope. One of the first great reforms undertaken by His Royal Highness as Minister of the Interior was one that would naturally be expected to have occupied the early attention of the Ministry—the reorganization of the provincial administration, with the limitation of the powers of the provincial governors and the introduction of a system of village government modelled somewhat upon that in force in Burma. But when it is added that in later years the Departments of Revenue, Police, Criminal Investigation, Forests and Mines were all attached to the Ministry of the Interior, it will be realized that the latter had, in fact, developed out of proportion to all the other Ministries. Still more is this evident from the fact that the Ministers of Public Works and Agriculture largely depended on the support and assistance of Prince Damrong, whose influence was also felt in the matter of foreign affairs. After His Royal Highness' retirement in 1915, however, the Ministry of the Interior naturally lost much of its prestige, and it was deprived of many of its departments, which were distributed amongst the other Ministries, for these had by now slowly developed and become capable of shouldering their own burdens.

The Prince, who had now been appointed Lord Privy Seal, had no intention of taking advantage of the leisure afforded by the less arduous duties of his new post to enjoy a well-earned rest. On the contrary, released to some extent from the cares of State, he threw himself with renewed ardour into those scholarly pursuits to which he had all his life devoted his spare time. By becoming in 1915 the President of the National Library, of which he had been a Member of the Council since its inception in 1905, he was able at once to give added impetus to the furtherance of historical research in Siam. With the assistance of Dr. Frankfurter, who was succeeded by M. Cœdès in 1917—the year in which the Library was transferred to its present fine home—His Royal Highness has succeeded in building up a magnificent national heritage and a highly developed instrument for research of which any country might be proud. Not only has the Library a well-equipped department of European books relating to Oriental studies, but above all Prince Damrong has been instrumental in rescuing the national literature from oblivion, and the results of his efforts are to be seen in a valuable collection of manuscripts and stone inscriptions which have been brought together from all parts of the country.

In January, 1924, a Royal Decree created an Archæological Service under the direction of the Council of the National Library, and a further Royal Proclamation of April 19, 1926, established a Royal Institute of Literature, Archæology, and Fine Arts, with the National Library and the Archæological Service as its two component sections. By this means greater co-ordination and co-operation in the work of research has been secured.

In order to further the work of the Archæological Service, one of the first necessities was the establishment of a modern museum. This was attained by the complete reorganization of the old Bangkok Museum, already housed in that fine example of old Siamese palace architecture, the Wang Nā, formerly the residence of the "Second Kings" (Uparāja); and arrangements were made to incorporate in the new National Museum other collections existing in Bangkok. With the able assistance of M. Cœdès, the stupendous task of classifying, arranging, rescuing from destruction, and scientifically studying the archæological wealth of Siam, begun in November, 1926, has steadily progressed. Those who have watched the growth of the National Museum during recent years, and who have understood how dear to the Prince's heart the project has been, will appreciate the justifiable pride with which His Royal Highness regards an achievement perhaps unparalleled elsewhere. Within a very short space of time—as the lives of museums are measured—he has conceived and brought to fruition an institution which will prove of an inestimable value to posterity, whether regarded as a priceless national possession, an educational institution of the highest importance, or—as the complement to the National Library—a great centre for archæological and historical research.

Among the riches now securely housed in the National Museum —a feast for student and art-lover alike—special mention may be made of the magnificent collection of bronze figures, representative of every school of art found in Siam, the possession of which must arouse the admiration and envy of every other Oriental museum. Amongst this unique collection is to be seen what is undoubtedly the finest of all the National Museum's possessions, one of the most beautiful manifestations of Oriental art for all time. It is a magnificent head and torso of a Bodhisattva, of Śrivijaya period (ninth to tenth century A.D.), found by Prince Damrong some years ago on one of his official journeys at Jaiyā, in Southern Siam. And this is but one example of the many occasions on which the Prince has been able to make valuable additions to the national collection, either as a result of his own discoveries or from his efforts to interest and encourage the provincial governors in the work of preservation of the archæological remains and stone inscriptions brought to light within their domains.

During the period of his service as Minister of the Interior, and since then as President of the Royal Institute, Prince Damrong travelled throughout the length and breadth of the country and acquired a knowledge of its ancient sites and of every aspect of Siamese culture unequalled by any other living authority. He is an ardent photographer, and in the course of his many journeys he got together a unique collection of photographs which he has always been pleased to place at the disposal of those desirous of making known the many natural beauties of his country.

Another concrete result of His Royal Highness' intimate personal knowledge of the sites of the ancient cities of Siam is to be seen in the excellent work done by the Archæological Service since its inception. Excavations have been successfully carried out at the sites of the earliest Indian settlements in Southern Siam, while much headway has been made with the preservation and restoration of the Khmer and Siamese monuments scattered throughout the country, and local museums have been established wherever deemed advisable. This work, so well begun, will continue to occupy the staff of the Archæological Service for many years to come.

The vast knowledge and profound scholarship of Prince Damrong has found expression in more than a hundred erudite publications either written or edited by himself. Indeed, it is mainly due to his energy and enthusiasm that the National Library began to function fruitfully so soon after its foundation, and has ever since poured out a stream of valuable works bearing the indelible impress of his supervision or actual authorship. Funds for the publication of many of these were provided by the excellent custom, fostered by the Prince, whereby those desirous of honouring the memory of a deceased relative approach the Council of the National Library with a view to the selection of a suitable manuscript to be published at the expense of the benefactors. In this way a large number of historical, literary, and other classical Siamese works have been made available both for scholars and for the general reading public of Siam.

Space permits of the mention of only a few of the many important works on Siamese history and other branches of culture of which Prince Damrong is the author. For the obscure portion of Siamese history prior to the founding of Ayudhya in A.D. 1350 we are almost entirely indebted to the researches of this royal scholar and those of M. Cœdès, the résumé of the main facts given by His Royal Highness in his preface to his edition (1914) of the Royal Autograph version of the *Annals of Ayudhya* being the first connected account ever given of the early period of Siamese history and of the sources from which it may be studied. Another most valuable historical work published by Prince Damrong in the same year is his *History of the Second Reign*, a mine of information concerning the history of the early Bangkok period and the revival of the ancient culture and traditions after the fall of Ayudhya. Other important works in the historical field are his small histories of various Bangkok Buddhist monasteries and his commentaries and prefaces dealing with a variety of subjects in his two series of publications, *Manners and Customs* and *A Collection of Chronicles*. In the sphere of art may be mentioned *The Siamese Art of Dancing* (1924) and *Siamese Buddhist Iconography* (1927), both valuable treatises on their respective subjects. Besides these and numerous other works in the Siamese language, Prince Damrong has published articles and papers in English, especially in the *Journal of the Siam Society*, of which Society he has been the distinguished Vice-Patron since its foundation in 1904.

His Royal Highness has indeed always shown much interest in the activities of learned societies. He is Patron of the India Society, and was this year elected a Foreign Extraordinary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, in recognition of his great services to Oriental scholarship. Since 1888 the Prince has been an Honorary Member of the Royal Geographical Society, and, after having so frequently granted facilities to foreign explorers visiting Siam, he was in 1930 able to gratify a lifelong wish to be present at an annual dinner of the Society in London.

It is above all for his great personal kindness that Prince Damrong will be most warmly remembered by students of Siamese culture and, indeed, by all those who have been privileged to come in contact with him. His Royal Highness is always ready to give without stint of his boundless store of knowledge to all those who inquire from him concerning the history, archæology, customs, and religion of Siam, and in so doing he has spurred on many to undertake further researches of their own. And it is perhaps an even greater tribute to the Prince's breadth of outlook that, despite the depth of his own knowledge, he is always tolerant of those who venture to express an opinion differing from his own, provided only that their conclusions are founded on careful scientific investigation. How great is His Royal Highness' anxiety to impart his knowledge to others, and especially to arouse the interest of his own countrymen and instil into them a pride in the ancient traditions of Siam, is exemplified by his undertaking two years ago a series of lectures, in the course of which he explained to a large audience of the official class much that was unknown to them concerning the customs of their country.

In 1930 Prince Damrong, accompanied by his two charming and accomplished daughters, Princess Poon and Princess Pillai, paid his second visit to Europe. Their six months' tour was intended simply as a holiday, and had no political or other official significance, yet it could not but redound to the prestige of Siam. In every European capital that he visited His Royal Highness was not only lavishly entertained as became his high station, but—and this must have afforded him infinitely greater pleasure—was welcomed by hundreds of old friends—friends he had made on his first visit to Europe forty years previously and friends whom he had not seen since their retirement from government service many years ago. There is no space to dwell on his meeting with the Pope, or on his reception by King George and Queen Mary, just as he had been received by Queen Victoria on his former visit. But many are the interesting and entertaining anecdotes which His Royal Highness tells of his two European tours, and his apt comments on the changing times give food for thought.

Although in recent years Prince Damrong's interests and occupations have been pre-eminently those of the scholar rather than those of the statesman, the latter have been by no means entirely excluded. On the contrary, when His Majesty King Prajadhipok, at the commencement of his reign in 1925, saw fit to establish a Supreme Council of State to advise him in the highest matters, the veteran Prince's name appeared amongst those of the five statesmen selected for the honour of this supreme position of trust. Thus right down to the recent change in government Prince Damrong continued to place at the disposal of the State the benefit of his ripe wisdom and sound judgment.

Only two days before the *coup d'état* His Royal Highness celebrated his seventieth birthday, and the assembly of members of the royal family, high officials, and friends gathered in the grounds of Varadis Palace to offer the Prince their congratulations is said to have been the largest ever seen on such an occasion. A book published to commemorate the event contained tributes in prose and verse to His Royal Highness' life and work from the pens of members of the Authors' Society of Siam. In wishing His Royal Highness many more years of good health and continued activity in his various fields of interest, it may not be unfitting to conclude by quoting the tribute paid, in the above-mentioned book, by Prince Bidya, who is Prince Damrong's successor at the Royal Institute. This took the form of the translation of a stanza from *Cato Major*, a work of Sir John Denham, the seventeenth-century poet, which runs as follows:

> The spring, like youth, fresh blossoms doth produce,
> The autumn makes them ripe and fit for use:
> So Age a mature mellowness doth set
> On the green promises of youthful heat.

MR. GANDHI AND THE COMMUNAL AWARD

By Stanley Rice

(Author of *The Challenge of Asia, Life of the Maharaja of Baroda*, etc.)

From such accounts as we have received in England, the Communal Award appears to have had the reactions which might have been, and, in fact, were, expected. Each community began by exclaiming, more or less vociferously according to its nature and the measure of its particular disappointment, against the injustice of the award. It was, of course, recognized that no compromise ever has pleased or ever will please everybody, and there is nothing unusual or peculiarly Indian in the inclination to criticize from the unitary standpoint. That is what happens every day in the Law Courts, and that is the reason for the well-known cautionary saying that you must consider your adversary's case from the standpoint of his strength and your own weakness. The surprising thing is rather that, after the first natural outburst, the country seems to be settling down so quickly to acceptance. Even the irreconcilables, always ready to use anything handy with which to attack an unrepentant Government, are unable to find any but the most flimsy arguments to do the duty of opposition. There are, as everyone knows, two fatal weaknesses in any reasoned case for rejection. It was only very reluctantly that the British Government undertook the thankless task at the invitation of those leaders of the communities who were unable to agree among themselves. Yet even now the door to such an agreement has not been shut, and the Government award stands open to drastic modification, and even to complete withdrawal, if another agreed settlement is produced. Indians not blinded by fanaticism—and that means the large majority of the country—are not unreasonable. The very fact that the compromise pleases no one entirely is evidence of its impartiality, for if anyone had been entirely pleased the Government would have been denounced at once as favouring that community at the expense of the rest.

The whole difficulty over the settlement arose from suspicion and dread of the unknown. It cannot be said that the question was chiefly concerned with religion, though it was argued by some writers in England that Islam and Hinduism were incompatible and that the Sikhs as Hindu Protestants were as far removed from Islam as the German Lutherans, or, in more poetic language, that Islam is of the desert and Hinduism of the jungle, and desert and forest can never exist together. That is not the true nor the immediate cause of the difference. It may be granted that the division of the communities was originally based upon religion, that the Mussulmans have maintained their own faith as persistently as the Hindus have clung to theirs, and that the Sikhs by separating themselves from orthodoxy have become a distinct community. The result, however, of this religious persistence has been the evolution of separate cultures, and no doubt the memories of past times have accentuated the differences. The rule of the majority which is the accepted canon of democracy is distasteful to that community which once was as supreme in India as ever were the Normans in England after the Conquest, and that small community which grew out of the quietist teachings of Guru Nanak into the militant people of Har Gobind once ruled the Punjab with unquestioned authority. Each views with some dismay the prospect of being overborne by the weight of numbers.

The Hindus, strong in the knowledge of their majority, were tenacious of their ideal of national unity; they maintained—and from their point of view quite reasonably maintained—that to agree to separate electorates was to sacrifice this great ideal to what they regarded as a question of quite secondary importance, and they feared that the chance might never occur again. The Mussulmans, while equally insistent on the need for national unity, talked of political extinction if they gave way on what was to them the all-important point. The Sikhs, conscious of their importance in proportion to their numbers, seem equally to have feared that in the Punjab they would become as submerged as are the Jains and Parsis in the Hindu masses of Western India. While, therefore, the original division was on the basis of religion, and while religion still serves to maintain the communities as separate entities, the roots of the present dispute are cultural and political.

The Constitution of India is not irrevocable. Even the United States with its written constitution has suffered change, and there is to-day talk of modifying or repealing the Eighteenth Amendment. There is therefore nothing to prevent the realization of the national ideal in the future, if that ideal can be attained by Federation and General Electorates. But can it? Nationality is an elusive thing; it is not determined by written documents or by any conceptions of machinery. It is in the main a spiritual thing, and though unitary government may contribute towards it, it is only one of many factors. India has already much that tends towards true nationality, but nationality such as we know it can never be achieved as long as the communities remain apart in spirit, and that breach cannot be healed by an apportionment of seats in an Assembly or by methods of election. The Hindus, however, apparently hold that political unity must come first in the conditions of India, and that that obstacle, once removed, the rest will follow.

On the other hand, the Mussulman fears political extinction; perhaps it would be more precise to say that he, too, puts an almost pathetic value on the formidable power of the vote and of unreserved seats. The Government of England is carried on by a Cabinet assisted by a permanent Civil Service, backed by a Parliamentary majority and criticized by an Opposition minority, of whom some few are vocal and the rest are silent voters. The Government of India will likewise be carried on by a Cabinet assisted by a permanent Civil Service, and it is unthinkable that the minorities will be quite unrepresented by a spokesman. If in spite of eloquent championship the case is lost, that is the inevitable result of government by majority, and in the Centre and in most Provinces the Hindus are bound to be in the majority. But, whether at the Centre or in the Provinces, every Government must exist on sufferance. Whatever may have been, or may be, done under an autocracy, a democracy, full-fledged or embryonic, will not, if it at all realizes its own power, submit to glaring injustice. And in this respect the conditions of India are peculiar. The masses, the uneducated peasantry, will suffer much without complaint, because as masses, as peasantry, they are not organized. The labour proletariat of the cities will express their grievances in the newly found Western way of the strike, because their peculiar grievances will be as elsewhere between master and man. There will be no clash of bourgeois and noblesse, of moujik and kulak, of industry and capital. But India is organized upon the lines of caste and race, Brahman and non-Brahman, and Mussulman and Sikh; and the community injured in one corner of the country will thrill throughout with the sense of injustice. A wrong done to the Mussulmans of Calcutta would find a response in the bazaars of Lahore and Delhi and Bombay; the echoes of an injury done by a Brahman oligarchy to non-Brahmans would resound in Madras, in Cawnpore, and in Ahmedabad. Any Government, founded upon an oligarchy of whatever complexion, would be swept away, if not by the vote, then by the cruder method of riot and the sword, if that oligarchy were glaringly and unblushingly to do manifest injustice to the advantage of its own party.

The change in the Indian States—a change so great that if the Princes of a century ago could come to life they would not recognize the places they once ruled—is surely some indication of the methods which any new Government would adopt. Religious worship is not disturbed; the Mussulman may worship at his mosque, the Christian at his church, the Hindu in his temple, without let or hindrance. There is no noticeable bias in the schools; customs are untouched. At a large gathering in Baroda on the birthday of Muhammad, there were Brahmans and Sudras and Englishmen present, and the lecture in English was delivered by a Bengali Brahman who followed the doctrines of Keshub Chunder Sen and Ran Mohun Roy. What exactly the grievances were in Kashmir we need not now inquire. They would, however, appear to have been agrarian and economic rather than religious, and they roused the anger of Mussulman Punjab against the Hindu ruler because the aggrieved parties were Mussulman. This is an instance, not, as might be thought, of the oppression of one creed by another, for it is quite likely that the same things would have happened to a Hindu peasantry, but of the solidarity of the communal feeling. Had the peasantry been Hindu, no Punjabi Mussulman would have lifted a finger, but the Hindu agitators might have found a congenial soil for propaganda.

That the new Government will make mistakes may be taken for granted; all Governments do. But that any Government will be so foolhardy as deliberately to provoke resentment is more than can be believed. It is, of course, possible that the party in power will favour its own comrades in caste or creed, so that an undue number of offices will be filled by Brahmans, or Sudras, or Mussulmans, as the case may be. That is a complaint that is heard not seldom even now. The danger does not lie in the monopoly of power, but in the abuse of it, and that is more likely to happen the farther we go down the scale until we reach those who are actuated by personal gain or personal prestige and popularity and not at all by any public spirit. Just as it is—or used to be—said that the English offender was treated by his own countrymen with greater leniency than an Indian, so we may expect to hear murmurs of undue favour being shown by this or that officer to his fellow in caste or creed.

That, however, is a danger which cannot be remedied by any system of communal representation. It is a danger which has existed all along and has been kept in control only by the vigilance of the higher officials, British or Indian. It is doing high-principled Indians an injustice to suppose that they will knowingly wink at favouritism of this kind. And it seems, therefore, that Indians have given an exaggerated importance to this communal question—an importance which grew greater with the tenacity with which each side clung to its own opinion. To scrutinize the award in any detail would seem to be superfluous, for any award with such possibilities of permutations and combinations would be open to criticism, and the readjustment of a few seats here and there could make very little difference. The main thing was to clear the obstacle out of the way by making an award which should be, as the Prime Minister claimed, as fair and honest as a sense of fairness and honesty could make it, and then to get on with the making of the Constitution. That is, it seems, the view taken by the more thoughtful of the Indian leaders, and considering "the tumult and the shouting" that have arisen over the question it is to their credit that they have kept the larger issue in view and not allowed their vision to be obscured by the smaller.

That it is the smaller there can be no doubt. There has been a tendency all along to confuse the machinery with the working of a Parliament. Indians may repudiate this, and to their judgment, as of those who know the inner workings of the Indian mind, the outside observer must bow. One sees, of course, that men will be impatient of anything which hinders their advance towards an ideal, that separate electorates do tend to keep the communities in watertight compartments, in so far as politics are concerned, but is it not true that partly owing to the caste system, partly to racial affinities, Mussulmans even now consort with Mussulmans, Hindus with Hindus? As long as the communities remain in social compartments, the mere machinery of election can do little to induce that sense of solidarity which is so necessary to the making of a true nation. As long as suspicion and distrust permeate the discussions, so long will the Mussulmans feel that with general electorates they are heading for political extinction. Suspicion begets suspicion, distrust distrust. When the Constitution is really working and it is seen that those fears were groundless, then will be the time for a new move forward towards political, and thereby, it is to be hoped, to social and eventually national unity.

The greatest service that the communal award has done is, therefore, that it has shown that, even if some of the details could be bettered, the whole miserable question was, after all, not so formidable as it seemed. No one supposes that it is meant to endure for all time. As a working hypothesis it answers reasonably all that is necessary, and as such it seems likely to be accepted eventually. But Gandhi does not think of it as a working hypothesis. It is apparently in the same spirit of aspiration towards immediate national unity that he has made his now famous gesture. He has said that his life is bound up in the welfare of the Depressed Classes and that he regards separate representation as disruptive of Hinduism, and therefore a moral and religious rather than a political question. When his correspondence with the Prime Minister was published on September 13, it is safe to say that the first thought of the average English reader was, "What nonsense!" To starve to death for the sake of abolishing something which the party most directly concerned did not want abolished seems to be fantastic to the point of fanaticism. Evidently the Assembly at Simla took this or a similar view, for we are told that the gesture roused but little enthusiasm in the House, in spite of some impassioned rhetoric. Whether or no the House would have been so apathetic had the gesture been made in respect of some more popular prejudice or in defence of some orthodox scruple we need not speculate. A little reflection will, however, show that the gesture harmonizes with the idea of renunciation which is of the essence if it is not the foundation of Hindu ethics, translated into terms of modern thought. The fakir who stands with uplifted arm until the muscles have grown rigid has in his own way so renounced the world that his body has become useless for the work of every day. We in Europe call that mediævalism; it reminds us of Simeon Stylites on his absurd pillar, and we left it behind there and with the other ascetics who, as we should now think, misused God's gracious gift of a healthy body. But we applaud the Christian martyrs who to all intents and purposes threw away their lives for an idea. That is probably how any non-Christian would regard their sacrifice. Gandhi seems to be a combination of this kind of mediævalism and of that ultra-modernism which in India is moved by the degradation of the Depressed, both for the misery and inhumanity which it entails and also for the slur which it casts upon Hinduism generally. If he is willing to lay down his life for an idea, it is clear that to him at any rate that idea is worth while. It is quite possible to conceive, even in these days, an idealism which blinds the thinker to everything else, even to the obvious fact that he is mistaking a part for the whole, a means to an end for the end itself. That is not inconsistent with some aspects of Hindu character, and, as was said above, Gandhi is only the extreme and sublimated form of it.

He is mistaken in thinking that he is serving the cause he has so near to his heart, except upon the assumption that he is a better judge of its needs than the community itself. He is mistaken in thinking that there is any intention to disrupt Hinduism or to undo the work of reformers. He is mistaken in thinking that the representation outlined by the award, even though conceived innocently and with the best motives, will have any such effect. He is, in fact, confusing again the soul with the body. The Outcastes—the Fifth Caste (Panchamas), as Telugus calls them—are still part of the Hindu body politic. When attempts are made, as in Baroda, to amalgamate the caste and the no-caste schools, religious prejudice is at once paraded, though the no-castes may be technically called Hindus. You cannot scale Parnassus at a bound, much less Everest. The approach to the demolition of caste prejudice must be slow. You must face facts as they are, not sublimate them into ideas. Gandhi apparently sees in the award the imprimatur of the Government upon the separation of the outcastes from the body politic. It is, in fact, the first approach in the political sphere to the due recognition of these unfortunates in and by an Indian Government. If those who have worked in the field, English and Indian, were asked what they thought of this modest representation, coupled as it is with the power to vote in general constituencies, can anyone doubt what the answer would be? Gandhi would appear to be alone in his wisdom—alone save for those followers in whose eyes whatever he does or says are as the acts or words of a divine incarnation. While some may admire the courage and sincerity of the gesture, yet according to such wisdom as is in us we must deplore the unworthiness of the object.

HINDUISM IN TOLSTOY

By Ranjee G. Shahani, B.A., D.LITT.

Of all the Russian writers known to Western Europe, undoubtedly the best known is Leo Tolstoy. He is admired on the one hand as a great literary artist, and on the other as the bringer of a prophetic message. It is seldom perhaps that we find the two preferences in the same reader.

Let us linger awhile on Tolstoy as prophet, for this is the aspect about which there is manifestly a great deal of misapprehension. How many of his admirers, we may ask, are accustomed to consider him in relation to the great religious teachers of India? It seems to have passed almost unnoticed that by his own admission—shall we say confession?—the connection between his own teaching and that of India is singularly close. What Western Europe has pointed to as evidence of his own profound intuition turns out, after all, to be nothing else than a transcript of Hinduism. It is the intention of the present article to substantiate this statement, not by mere inference, but by direct evidence.

But we should do well to dwell a little on certain ethnic considerations. Most anthropologists admit a certain kinship between the Russian and the Asiatic. Even literary critics, whose studies are not entirely limited to æsthetic problems, have remarked the affinity between the two peoples. M. de Vogué was the first to draw attention to this.* M. Henri Massis goes even so far as to affirm that he recognizes "dans le type intellectuel slave, la survivance du type hindu."† Mr. Edward Garnett, too, makes a passing reference to this affinity in his fine study on Turgenev.‡ But apart from such incidental touches, we find no penetrating examination of the fundamental phenomenon that we have in view. We shall find it repay a closer scrutiny. Indeed, Russian literature cannot be understood without a deeper comprehension of the racial question.

The Slavs, like the Hindus, are obsessed by a kind of vague idealism which leads them to conjure up visions of the Divinity, utterly negligent of and totally detached from all logic, all intellectualism, in a strange abdication of the claims of the practical will—what Kant would call "the practical reason"—which resolves itself into a cheerfully acquiescent fatalism, a serene passivity, disdaining all ambition, all militant self-assertion, every trace of brutishness. Burnouf has translated the word *Nirvana* by *Nihilism*, the word Turgenev adopted to portray the soul of his race. Little did the Russian master realize that by appropriating the word he was unconsciously confessing his affinity with the genius of India. But, thorough-going Westerner as he was, he stressed the privative side of the Nirvana concept. How strange it seems that he should have gone so far as to identify Nihilism with positive science! We cannot help feeling that by making Bazarov emblematic of the destructive spirit of science he was surrendering to some of the apprehensions that accompanied the infancy of the new knowledge. The nineteenth-century European had a somewhat bizarre conception of the significance of science. Nevertheless, Turgenev's instinct did not mislead him altogether; for, though not fully aware of it, he had chosen the very epithet that stood for the Russian spirit—the spirit which, like that of the Hindus, rejoices in negation.*

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* *Le Roman Russe.* † *Défense de l'Occident*, 122.

‡ *Turgenev*, 172.

Another writer, Maxim Gorky, has pointed out his countryman's addiction to reverie and dream, his repugnance to action, his will-lessness. The word "Oblomovism" covers this phenomenon. But it is to Tolstoy that we are indebted for a more adequate envisagement of the Oriental factor in the national complex. He has endowed many of the children of his fancy with this fatalistic ethos of "non-acting," not through weakness, but by a realization of the futility of all action (such is General Kontonzov) and often through a conviction of the meaninglessness of all achievement. In the great novel *War and Peace*, we have two characters, Pierre Bezonkhov and Platon Karataeyev, permanent types of this renunciation of all earthly striving for the sake of the quest of the Kingdom of God.

This subordination of mere action to the life of the spirit has an appearance of humility (possibly illusory) which finds its pride in imagining a direct contact with the Creator. "It is from its humility, from its lowliness," says Henri Massis, "that the Russian spirit builds up its conception of greatness"†—a mental adventure that throws light on the disdain of the Oriental for Western materialism. Dostoievsky's major novels are penetrated through and through with the same spirit; and here we have a clue to his aggressive "Slavophilism." Neither *Memoirs from Underground* nor *Crime and Punishment* nor *The Possessed* can be fully comprehended without an adequate knowledge of the writer's opinion of the civilization of the West. Here Dostoievsky, however different in other respects, is on common ground with Tolstoy. To the "Westernizing" Turgenev, ridiculed by Dostoievsky in *The Possessed*, the supposed pre-eminence of the humble and meek seemed nothing less than a theological shibboleth.

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* M. de Vogué: *Le Roman Russe*, 4-5.

† *Défense de l'Occident*, p. 117.

Now be that as it may, the same minimizing of mundane things has engendered in the Asiatics and the Russians a tendency to what—for want of a better term—we may call universalism. In other words, they have a different attitude towards race or colour, and at heart see in every human being a man and a brother. This is why Pushkin and Turgenev have been able to portray the peoples of other races with such sympathy and insight. Dostoievsky drew particular attention to this faculty of his own folk in his lecture on Pushkin. According to him, in this *résonance universelle*, in this power of spiritual metamorphosis, lay the mystery of the magic appeal of the poet. Precisely here lies the secret of the greatness of Hinduism. It has an infinite capacity for assimilation, and builds the mansion of the spirit out of all elements that fate flings at its feet. This ignoring of lines of racial demarcation is a characteristic trait of both peoples. Tolstoy displays it not so much in his creations as in his considered speculations.*

Tolstoy, contrary to what is often stated, does not discourage men from action, but rather advocates it. He has even protested against the lethargy of his compatriots. He thus repudiates non-action; but the very action he recommends is a course of conduct that is passive and non-violent. His advice reflects the spirit of his race, and is clearly linked with his conceptions of fatalism and nirvana, which are often ignorantly confounded with sluggishness and utter self-annihilation or pure negation. This theory of action is truly representative of the Oriental spirit. In what manner, we shall see as we proceed.

This similarity of outlook that characterizes Russia and India is ethnically inevitable. But in the case of Tolstoy, when we compare him with Indian thinkers, we find a more personal ground of agreement. It is not merely the racial affinity that accounts for it, but rather a penetration of Hindu speculation into the meditation of the Russian master.

It is possible to trace the Oriental influence as far back as the childhood of Tolstoy. It began when the blind old family servant Stepanitch related the stories of *The Thousand and One Nights* to the eager youth in the home of his grandmother.† The magic world that the charmed words of Scheherazade opened up never lost its influence; for, in 1844, when Tolstoy entered the University of Kazan, it was in the Faculty of Oriental Languages and Literatures. In 1847, while in residence at Kazan, he had as fellow-patient in the same hospital ward a Buddhist Lama. "He told me his story," writes Tolstoy. "While travelling by sledge across Siberia, he was attacked by robbers. 'What did you do?' I asked him. The Lama replied: 'I folded my arms and prayed the Holy Buddha to forgive the evil-doers.'" And Tolstoy commented: "Here is a lesson for Christians,"* words that reveal the interest he already felt for the religions of Asia.

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* *La Pensée de l'Humanité.*

† P. Birukof, *Tolstoi, Vie et Œuvre*, I., 34-36, 134.

The same appeal of the East manifests itself in his pictures of the manners and customs of the mountaineers and dwellers of the savage steppes that he gives us in *The Cossacks* and, later, in *Hadji Murad*. In these primitive, unspoilt children of the wild he made his first contact with the Oriental. No doubt he felt the fascination during his stay in the Caucasus and in the wild country of the Bachkirs.

Between *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* (say, about 1870) he read the legends and stories of various nations, particularly Indian and Arabian. And yet, in all this, we see only the reachings forth of a supremely inquisitive mind, a mind finding interest in all things and studying all things. So far, we find only infiltrations of Orientalism: Tolstoy is still first and foremost a Western at heart.

It is at the age of forty-eight, a time of moral crisis in his life, that the West appears to him bereft of all meaning, incapable of unravelling the enigmas of life that alone concerned him. He searches for a solution; and from this time onward he devotes himself to an intensive study of both Christianity and the great religious faiths of the East. In his *Confessions* he recounts his anguish of soul at this period; and compares his mental condition with that of Gautama before his illumination. The youthful prince had been oblivious of the existence of the miseries of life, but in the course of three short rambles† he encountered the grim spectres of Sickness, Decrepitude, Death. No work of Tolstoy subsequent to this epoch fails to exhibit the impress of Indian teaching. Even when he turns definitely to the Christian Gospel, it is not a Christianity of Judæa and Egypt that he gives us, but a Buddhistic Christianity—a Christianity permeated by Hinduism. He has admitted, as Emile Sénart records, that "by its inculcation of moral goodness and human kindness Buddhism invites comparison with Christianity."‡ The words of Jesus appear to him far more true and far more lovely when he finds them in the Vedas and the Upanishads. This is not surprising, because, as we know, his dominant interest is the religions of the East. We find him corresponding with notable Indians, among whom we may mention Gandhi. Moreover, we note how a little before his death, when he wrote to W. A. Posse a letter on *The Study of Ancient Religions*, he displayed an intimate acquaintance with the great religious streams of the East, especially the doctrine of Krishna, one of the oldest creeds of India.

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* *Journal Intime*, 1846-1852, note 2.

† *Confessions*, XIX., 53-54. For a fuller account P. Birukof's *Tolstoi und der Orient*, 221-227, should be consulted.

‡ *Appels de l'Orient*, 8.

It was with zest that Tolstoy brooded over the works of Schopenhauer, a thinker who was saturated with Brahminical and Buddhist thought. And this study of the Indian avatar in a Teuton of his own day awakened in him so great a joy that he cried out: "Schopenhauer is the greatest of men!"*

Further, he delved in the tomes of Burnouf, the great Indianist, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the "way" of the Buddha. To Tolstoy, the meaning of life was infinitely more important than life as a spectacle. In this attitude towards life he is poles apart from another great spirit—Shakespeare. The Englishman contemplated life from the window of his study, the Russian, having lived it, brooded over it in the dim religious light of a Gothic cathedral. It marks the difference between the Oriental and the European.

But let us take note of the Indian books that Tolstoy read. He was delighted with the work of Swami Vivekananda on the *Philosophy of the Yogas*;† with the study of Baba Premanada Bharatis on *Krishna Lord of Love*;‡ with the essay of Acharya on the *Philosophy of the Vedanta*;§ with the *Bhagvad Gita* as translated from the Sanscrit by A. Kamenkaia. In the library at Yasnya Polyana we find numerous volumes annotated by his own hand, his pencil marks showing passages that he actually made use of in his own works. His secretary, M. W. F. Bouglef, has compiled a lengthy list of Eastern books, by no means complete, that Tolstoy consulted. M. Birukof cites forty-eight further volumes that the Russian master made use of. Among these, we may notice in passing, is one ascribed to Gandhi.

This intimate knowledge of India further shows itself in the bulky correspondence he maintained with Indians like Toda.¶ In the famed *Letter to an Indian*, Tolstoy quotes numerous thoughts from Hindu sources, particularly from the Upanishads.**

In 1901, on the occasion of a visit to Yasnya Polyana by a group of young intellectuals belonging to the *Arya Samaj*, he displays, in conversation with Rama Seshan, a profound knowledge of Jainism and the poet Kabir.†† To Baba Premananda Bharatis, whom he affectionately calls "dear brother," he expresses his admiration for his work on Krishna and confesses to the deep influence exercised on him by that book and the Krishna doctrine.* To Gopal Chetti, editor of *The New Reformer*, he admits the lasting impression made on him by the thinkers of India.† Indeed, numerous passages in his book *La Pensée de l'Humanité* are literal renderings of Hindu speculation.

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* *Journal Intime*, 1895-1899, 14.

† *Journal Intime*, 1895-1899, 90.

‡ *Op. cit.*, 1895-1899, 121.

§ P. Birukof, *Tolstoi und der Orient*, 13, 31.

‖ *Tolstoi und der Orient*, 258-263.

¶ *Journal Intime*, 1895-1899, 90.

** P. Birukof, *op. cit.*, 50, 52, 55, 58, 60, 63, 66, 68.

†† *Id.*, 24.

A bulky volume might easily be filled with further evidences of Tolstoy's direct obligations to Indian thought; but what we have adduced should suffice to substantiate our main thesis. The political, social, and religious writings of the sage of Yasnya Polyana are nothing less than a mirror of Hindu thought held up before the modern world of Europe. Tolstoy, like Romain Rolland today, is the closest interpreter of the East to the West.‡

The whole of Tolstoy's teachings is expressed in the following story by Rama Krishna, which might almost have been a parable from the mouth of Christ. "While passing through a crowded street," relates the Indian seer, "a holy man's foot struck a ruffian, who beat him and laid him senseless on the road. With great difficulty the disciples revived their guru. 'Master,' they asked, 'do you recognize those who tend you?' And the saint replied: 'It is he who has beaten me,' giving them to understand thereby that he made no distinction between friend and foe."§ This is the source of Tolstoy's doctrine of non-resistance.‖ "If," he says, "a man wishes in the morning to do evil to some one, that very evening he shall suffer that evil." Again: "The punishment of those who do evil is to lead them by good deeds to despise their actions." Once again: "The just man is known by his doing no wrong, even to those who injure him."¶

Strange is the destiny of ideas! Gandhi is reputed to be a slavish follower of Tolstoy. It reminds us of the footprint that Eddington tells us man has found in Nature. "Lo, it is our own!" So, in Tolstoy, Gandhi has seen the features of his own race. But the fact is ignored that the Christianity of the Russian sage derives directly from Hinduism; and it passes without recognition that what seems to Western Europeans a new message is in a new guise the thought of India. Surely, this gives us food for thought.

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* *Id.*, 31-33.

† *Id.*, 46. See letter of May, 1907.

‡ *Paroles d'un homme libre*, p. 141; *Que devons-nous faire?* 215-366.

§ Max-Müller, *Rama Krishna: His Life and Writings*, III.

‖ See *My Religion*.

¶ P. Birukof, *Tolstoi und der Orient*, letter to a Hindu.

JAPAN, CHINA, AND MANCHURIA

By O. M. Green

(Late Editor of the *North China Daily News*.)

With Japan's formal recognition of Manchukuo a new State has been born into the world, as big as France and Germany and packed with natural wealth not half developed. It may be only a puppet of Japan's, as its opponents bitterly cry, though on that there is more to be said than is generally supposed. But short of some violent upheaval, no particular change appears likely in the situation crystallized by the signing of the protocol on September 15, at least for some years to come. The Powers may not recognize the new State, but it is going to be very hard for them to act otherwise than as if they did.

In attempting to set out the facts, no question of passing judgment is considered. Most cool-headed observers have long ago come to the conclusion that no black-and-white judgment is possible. In any case, the Lytton Report will probably be out before these pages are. But one thing may be emphasized—namely, that it is hard facts alone with which the world at last is compelled to reckon; what Rengo, the Japanese official news agency, when bidding good-bye to the Lytton Commission, elegantly described as "formalism and theory" simply won't wash. Unless someone makes war to turn Japan out of Manchuria, she is mistress of the situation.

That does not mean that there will be nothing in Manchuria for anyone else; in fact, there should be a good deal. But it does mean that Japan is absolutely convinced that she is and always has been wholly in the right. Count Uchida's speech on August 25, to demonstrate that Japan, having acted only in self-defence, has violated no international pact, that Manchuria's declaration of independence was spontaneous, and that the Nine Power Treaty in no way forbids Japan to recognize it, was indeed the voice of the people of Japan. Attempts to prove her wrong, still worse moral objurgation, will simply play into the soldiers' hands.

One other factor of enormous importance is the twin nature of Japanese counsels, none the less real because the soldiers appear momentarily to have the bit between their teeth. The Liberals are not negligible. With Baron Shidehara as Foreign Minister they tried hard for two years before the explosion at Mukden to be conciliatory to China, and it was not their fault that they failed.

The business men, too, looking anxiously at the low state of the yen and of those two great props of Japanese commerce—cotton in China and silk in America—begin to fear that their militarists will run them to ruin. In the past twelve months Tokyo can be seen on more than one occasion striving to check the too-forward men in Manchuria, and not without effect. All parties are agreed in acting towards Manchukuo on what Count Uchida calls "the solid basis of the realities," eschewing "sentimental propositions and abstract theories." But within that view many modifications are still possible if the Liberals are not hamstrung by over-zealous unofficial champions of the League.

The germ of Manchuria's declaration was the Chinese Peace Preservation Committee, formed to take charge in Mukden after the Japanese *coup* of September 18, 1931, and subsequently expanded into an administration for the whole province of Liaoning. The Chairman, Mr. Yuan Chin-kai, a much-respected scholar and man of the world, made no secret that he took office in order to keep up the Chinese end in Manchuria. Nothing is more noticeable than the high character of all the chief personages in the Manchukuo Government, men who may have to endure dragooning, but would not be seduced by office nor deliberately sell their country. More must be said presently on this point, which is significant.

In November it was publicly announced that Manchuria was about to become a monarchy, with the Ch'ing Emperor, Hsuan Tung, now known as Mr. Pu Yi (*not*, by the way, "Mr. Pu," still less "Henry," which never has been his name), on the throne. Taking all things into consideration, one may believe that there was a good deal of spontaneity in this movement. The Manchurians, being Northerners, always hated the Southerners who mostly form the Nanking Government, and the expulsion of the pro-Nanking Governor, Chang Hsueh-liang, had in any case long been inevitable. Not improbably, seeing the confusion of China and that there was no help from her, the Manchurians thought their best course would be to cut the painter and make their own terms with Japan.

One thing is clear—namely, that Tokyo sent explicit orders that Japanese in Manchuria were to have nothing to do with the movement. Whether these orders were obeyed is another question. But Tokyo was undoubtedly sincere. No particular brains were needed to foresee the "puppet Government" charge; Manchuria, not yet wholly occupied, was giving infinite trouble, and Tokyo was having hard work to defend itself at Geneva without courting further accusations.

That the actual declaration of independence was delayed till March 1 is at least partly due to the Manchurians being divided between a republic and a monarchy. They compromised on a system not unlike that of Hungary, with the ex-Emperor as Chin-cheng, or Chief Executive, for life, leaving it to time and circumstances to decide the final shape. Hsuan Tung's installation took place a week later, and almost immediately a statement of policy was sent out to seventeen Powers, promising just administration, observance of all treaties made by China, the "open door" and equal opportunity for all, and inviting the co-operation of foreign States in the development of Manchuria's resources.

It was obvious that, in their own interests, the Japanese could not leave the new Government to run itself. (It is not suggested that they wished to do so: the only purpose is to set out facts and to show how one step has inevitably led to another.) The only alternative was annexation. With no money, no army, harried by guerrillas and the agents of the Kuomintang, the Chief Executive and his Cabinet could not have lasted a month. So the Japanese proceeded, as one of their spokesmen has euphoniously described it, to "insert a steel frame" in Manchukuo. But General Araki, Minister of War, has an effective reply to critics. "New independent countries," he says, "need positive support directly or indirectly in their early days;" for example, "the story of the independence of Cuba, the formation of the republic of Panama, and of many other new countries formed in Europe after the Great War." Japan can always quote a precedent for her own actions from the record of the Powers, some of them decidedly uncomfortable. She takes a peculiar, and certainly very human, delight in digging up parallels from America's doings in Mexico, the Philippines, and Nicaragua, and instances of "imperialist aggression" in the interpreting of the Monroe doctrine.

The "steel frame" is certainly as thorough as the thorough Japanese nature can make it. They control all Manchuria's railways, finances, and army. They have "advisers" in every office. They are planning a new port at Rashin in Korea as terminus of the line from Kirin to Kanei on the Korean border, and this will give them command of the three chief avenues to Manchuria, Dairen, Fusan, and Rashin. They have taken over the line from Ssupingkai, on the South Manchurian Railway, to Taonan, Anganchi, and Tsitsihar, across the Russian-controlled Chinese Eastern Railway, on the plea that there was no other means of recovering the money they had lent to China for its construction. If Russia ever turns nasty, they can effectively bottle up any Russian troops in North Manchuria or Vladivostok and block the advance of others from the west at Tsitsihar. And by the protocol of September 15 they may station troops where they please in Manchuria, while all their claims "by virtue of Sino-Japanese treaties, agreements, or other arrangements, or Sino-Japanese contracts, private as well as public," are recognized. Meanwhile the control of all Japanese services in Manchuria, civil as well as military, is centred in one Special Envoy, General Muto.

There is little use in counting the years of a dead child, as the Japanese say. The proposal for Dominion status for Manchuria, with a Nanking-appointed High Commissioner, local autonomy, and all Japan's rights guaranteed by the League, which the Lytton Commission took to Tokyo (and Japan would have jumped at it six months ago), fell flat before Count Uchida's stonewall decision that in recognition was now the only hope of a permanent solution.

There are but too many indications that the League is powerless to sway Japan. The question is whether and what America may do. She has made no secret of her disapproval. On January 7 Mr. Stimson wrote both to Japan and China that America would recognize no changes effected by force. On August 8 he minutely defined the American reading of the Kellogg Pact and Nine Power Treaty, with a palpable hit at Japan. If all this does not presage strong action, it is very bad tactics: the disappointment of China's hopes would be a serious matter for America, whose increasing appetite for Trans-Pacific trade has been accompanied by sedulous courting of Chinese goodwill. But American policy in the Far East has continually vacillated—feverish insistence on her share in the China loan field under President Taft, hasty withdrawal by President Wilson, loud threats over the Lincheng and Nanking outrages of '23 and '27, but nothing done about them. Japan, at least, does not seem to think she has much to fear from America. Equally does she seem at ease with regard to Russia, though she has filled Harbin with armed men and campaigned after bandits into the Russian sphere of influence. Except for a few peevish words by *Izvestia*, Russia's attitude has been singularly mild.

In seeking for a solution, there are three dominant factors which have never received the consideration they deserve; but through them alone can an avenue be found to ultimate harmony. They are the internal condition of Japan, of China, and of Manchuria.

The keynote of all Japanese policy is a desire for security more intense than that of any country. The author of a very able book lately published in New York* suggests that this may be unconsciously due to the haunting, sinister shadow of the earthquakes, which average about seventeen a day. Many Japanese believe that Japan will one day slip bodily down the slope she stands on above the Pacific deeps. Dr. Nitobe says that Manchuria and Korea are to Japan what Belgium has always been, in history, to England. She fought China and Russia because she feared a hostile domination in Korea and Manchuria respectively. Count Uchida frankly calls Manchuria her "first bulwark."

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* *The Tinder-box of Asia*, by George Sokolsky.

Today Japan feels herself particularly insecure. The breakdown of old family ties due to industrialism, the misery of starving peasants ground down by absentee landlordism, taxation, and excessive costs of production, the heartlessness of capitalists, the ineptitude and weakness of politicians, the "dangerous thoughts" of thousands of unemployed students—all these combine to make a veritable revolution as momentous as that of the Meiji era. In revulsion, a powerful party, headed by men in the Army, is preaching that all Japan's troubles are due to her "surrender to Western civilization," and that she must "return to her own spiritual life and seek to preserve Asia in accordance with her own spirit." These are passionate words, but not to be ignored. Through them one sees Japanese policy actuated by two currents—the Army element harking back to the spirit of the Daimyos who gathered round, in the sixties, against the Westernizing Shogun, and the men with the practical view, who know that Japan cannot swallow so large a morsel as Manchuria, but are resolved to have the first claim on its output for their mills and a fair return for their £200,000,000 investments.

Naturally, on account of her internal unrest, Japan dreads Communism above all things; and across the Yellow and Eastern Seas the Red power looms alarmingly. Mongolia is simply a Russian province. In Northern Manchuria, since the struggle with China for the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1929, Moscow's influence has waxed very large. And in Central China the Communist organization has undoubtedly become the gravest menace that confronts Nanking. Manchuria is, after all, mainly an affair of "face." But Communism, now extending its influence over some 300,000 square miles of the best, most thickly populated parts of Central China, threatens the very foundations of society. The bulk of the Communists are, of course, merely bandits. But there is a well-defined organization at the top, with branches and cells in most of China's chief towns; and, more and more, Communism is winning over the young intellectuals, disgusted by Nationalism's failures.

In the *Asiatic Review* for July 1, I had the honour of describing the aims of the realist group in Nanking. These men fully understand that the one issue before China today is Nationalism or Communism, and that the latter can only be vanquished by reforming the Government and concentrating on the revival of peace and prosperity in the Yangtze Valley, where the Red grip is strongest. If the realists had a free hand, there is very little doubt that they would patch up some sort of compromise with

Japan and Manchukuo. But the issue has become too public, Manchuria has been too long a "running sore," and it is to be feared that Nanking, against the better judgment of its best men, may be pushed to some extreme action.

The special apprehension of the immediate future is that the danger centre may once more swing back over Shanghai, where the boycott has revived strongly and the Chinese judges, as before, refuse to punish the anti-Japanese agitators. The Chinese Mayor of Greater Shanghai is doing his best, but, if public temper gets out of hand, it is by no means impossible that the Japanese Army might return, and this time it would not leave so easily as it did in May. It is most regrettable that the Powers did not seize the golden opportunity presented by the Armistice of inviting China to a round-table conference to undertake the long-overdue task of reforming the constitution of Shanghai satisfactorily to the interests of both parties, and putting the security and rule of law in the great Settlement beyond jeopardizing by every political dust-storm. As often happens, the diplomatists deemed the moment "inopportune." One can only pray that they will not have added another to the many instances in China of "too late."

Of one thing one may be perfectly certain—that the storms of the Far East will never subside until diplomacy nerves itself to take practical notice of China's helpless condition and assists her to find a way out. The existence of the realists in Nanking and their undoubted earnestness make this possible even now. Here at least, and now, is practical work to be done, with definite results of the highest value assured.

To return to Manchuria. Apart from what Rengo calls "formalism and theory," the Powers' chief concern is the open door and Customs unity. The Japanese strenuously assert that the door always has been open, and point to the fact that in the growth of Manchuria's trade from Tls. 100,697,157 in 1908 to Tls. 703,068,676 in 1930 (the last completed figures available) the share of other nations than Japan is no less than Tls. 524,348,074; that is, in 1930 alone. Latterly some rather serious complaints have been heard of direct discrimination against foreigners in Manchuria. Representations have been made in Tokyo, and, it is believed, with good effect. There is, of course, no question but that Manchuria's trade is worth an effort. Three times in the past year Japan has renewed her pledge of the open door in most explicit terms, and, if Manchuria develops as appears likely, it would be impossible for Japan to supply all the needs of the accompanying growth of population.

More serious is the Customs question. Nanking refused to enter into the same compromise that she has accepted with other rebel governments of allowing Manchukuo to pay her quota to the loans secured on the Customs and keep the rest of the revenue for herself; and at the end of June Manchukuo retaliated by seizing all the accumulated Customs funds and evicting the foreign staffs.

The only ray of light in a most unpleasant chapter is that the very positive reports current in June that Manchukuo was about to instal a Japanese Inspector-General and her own service have died down. Here again the wiser influence of Tokyo may be traced. With Manchukuo a recognized State, it will be very hard for her not to put in her own service. But it is conceivable that some face-saving compromise might be devised. Once the Chinese Customs is split at one point, other recalcitrants might follow suit, and the last solid financial asset of China would disappear. Japan, with her big interests in China Proper, should be as keen as anyone on preventing that. Meanwhile, Manchukuo has paid to Shanghai Tls. 843,675 of the revenues seized at Dairen, and subsequently 1,140,101 yen against her share in the foreign loan service.

Throughout all the murk and bitterness of conflict one character stands out serene and unblemished, the Poet-Premier of Manchukuo, Mr. Chêng Hsiao-hsü. Until recently very few Europeans even in the Far East had heard his name. But he is reverenced from one end of China to the other. He is among the finest of her scholars; his handwriting is so beautiful—and in China calligraphy ranks as an art—that specimens of it are sold as models for students; his poems vie with those of the best classical periods; and in character he embodies the purest ideals of the Confucian spirit. Under the Manchus he held high office, but has steadily refused the most tempting offers from the Republicans, convinced that their principles could bring nothing but trouble on China, and preferring to serve the young ex-Emperor as tutor and controller of the household, without accepting a penny for it, living very modestly by the sale of his poems and writing.

There can be no question that Mr. Chêng accepted the Premiership of Manchukuo solely to be near the ex-Emperor, and the good opinions which the latter has earned are probably not a little due to his old tutor's guidance. But perhaps Mr. Chêng has other visions. No one knows better than he how often China has for a while been conquered by virile invaders, yet has ended by absorbing her conquerors. If we look ahead a few years, to the peace which Japan will restore in Manchuria, we can see the Chinese population growing and growing till the sixteen millions of 1908, the twenty-nine of to-day, may in a decade or so rise to forty or fifty. Nothing can so much tend to put reality instead of the "steel frame" into the Manchukuo Government, and the very efforts which Japan makes to restore prosperity may be the undoing of her domination.

This indeed is a long view. But it is doubtful whether such a man as Mr. Chêng, and, it may fairly be believed, his colleagues too, would have accepted office without some such hope. Moreover, the long view is now the only practicable one. Unless the world is conscientiously convinced, on impartial consideration of all facts and having heard what Lord Lytton has to say, that war (economic sanctions mean the same thing) is the only honourable course, there remains nothing but to concentrate on actualities, to help the Chinese realists to restore order in their distracted country, to keep open the door in Manchuria, and not to make the task of the Manchukuo Ministers, who, all unrecognized, appear to be playing a truly patriotic game in great difficulties, harder than it need be by compromising the Japanese Liberals with empty condemnation of their country. Most of the League's embarrassment arises from its having treated the conflict as if it were a momentary ailment instead of the deep-seated malady it is, going to the very foundations of all concerned.

It is likely that the Japanese will propose at Geneva that the whole question be postponed for reconsideration, say, five years hence in cooler mood, they themselves promising to withdraw their troops as early as possible, and China to abstain from aggression. Coming from Japan, such a suggestion would probably raise a storm, but it is none the less a wise, perhaps the only sound, one.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

SOME SCANDINAVIAN VIEWS ON ASIATIC AFFAIRS

By John de La Valette

In recent years the contributions by Scandinavian writers to the literature on Asia and Asiatic problems has been steadily growing. Addressed as they are to their countrymen, few of whom are likely to have had first-hand experience of the countries and peoples described, these books naturally contain much which to the average British reader is—or should be—elementary information. Nevertheless, the very fact that the authors belong to nations which possess no colonies, and are not involved in controversies about systems of colonial government and administration, gives them a freshness of vision and an absence of bias which are the foundations for interesting judgments. Even when the facts they recount are known, their judgments therefore may have the value of opening new avenues for thought.

Among Scandinavian travellers who have observed Asiatic countries, Dr. Aage Krarup Nielsen, a Dane, had already breezily conducted us *Through the Tropics to the Arctic* in search of whales and *Halfway around the World*—that is, by sea to China and back overland through Siberia—before he discovered not so much the "sunshine island" of Bali as a forgotten fragment of its history. The outcome is a most interesting account of the *Life and Adventures of an East-India Trader in Bali.* This adventurous trader, Mads Lange, a seafaring countryman of the author's, lived in Lombok from 1834 to 1839, when he transferred his trading headquarters and residence to the neighbouring island of Bali. During more than twenty years he took an active part in the trade between these islands and Singapore on the one hand, China and Japan on the other, skilfully playing off the British and Dutch interests against each other, supporting or opposing local chiefs and princes, engaging in private wars, rising to great wealth and power, sinking down into complete penury, working himself up once more, and finally dying in Bali in 1856, just as he was contemplating returning to his native Denmark. Not only has Dr. Nielsen resuscitated from the archives at Singaraja, the capital of Bali, a thrilling story of stormy colonial trading history, he has also skilfully linked the historic past with the fascinating present, and the Dutch edition of his work* contains numerous delightful illustrations of this enchanting island and its people. For the British reader there is an even more direct interest in this work through the living links which still exist with Mads Lange. He first married a Balinese lady, by whom he had two sons; one died young. The other was educated at the Raffles Institute in Singapore, and became secretary to the first Raja Brooke of Sarawak. His descendants still live in Singapore. Mads Lange's second wife was the daughter of an important Chinese trader with business connections in Singapore. By her he had one child, a daughter, Cecilia Catherina, who was born in Bali in 1848, is still alive, and is Her Highness Inche Besar Zebeidah, the mother of the present Sultan of Johore. After her father's death in 1856 she was sent to school in Singapore. She was ultimately adopted into an English family, who took her to Calcutta and subsequently to England and France. On her return to Singapore in 1870 she met Sultan Abu Bakar of Johore, who promptly fell in love with her charm and beauty and married her. When Dr. Nielsen, on his journey home, met the Dowager Sultana of Johore, he found that the graceful and dignified little lady of over eighty retained undimmed many memories of the romantic but disturbed days of her adventurous father and his brothers.

About the same time another Scandinavian, a Swede, was gathering impressions of some little-known parts of Borneo. Unlike the breezy Danish author, Dr. Eric Mjöberg was not a globe trotter, but had lived seven years in the East Indies, three of which he spent in Sumatra as a biologist in Dutch Government service and the last three in Sarawak as curator of the Museum at Kuching. Some of his earlier experiences have appeared in an English translation under the title of *Forest Life and Adventure in the Malay Archipelago.* During the later period of his stay in the East he made an expedition into a little-known part of Borneo, ascending to the top of Mount Tiban. The somewhat sensational style of the book, exemplified in its title, *Borneo, the Land of the Head-hunters,*† should not be allowed to detract from the interesting contributions which Dr. Mjöberg frequently makes to our knowledge of the people of that part of Borneo which he personally observed. In fact he is most interesting when he deals with his personal observations, even though his deductions in the field of social ethnology are unlikely to be invariably shared by the experts. When he expands into generalities he would appear to lack familiarity with Dutch writers of authority on these subjects. Nevertheless, there is so much that is interesting in his book, and his illustrations are so excellent, that it is a pity that a revised edition of the work has not been published in English. It seems, however, quite a mistake to have spoilt an otherwise attractive book by the inclusion of a "grousy" chapter on Sarawak, which Professor L. van Vuuren in his preface to the Dutch translation has qualified as a mere "chronique scandaleuse," adding: "For the general reader it is without importance. It fails moreover in the object for which it has been written. If Mjöberg had wanted to improve conditions in the private kingdom of Raja Brooke, he would have achieved his aim better by addressing a well-substantiated Memorandum to the British Government." This apparently he did not do. Be that as it may, it would be well worth producing an English edition of the material portions of this book, after removing some of its useless padding, for it does give in many parts a very clear impression of certain little-known races in Borneo and their habits, and shows beautiful examples of their artistic crafts, which display high decorative qualities.

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* *Leven en Avonturen van een Oostinjevaarder op Bali,* by Aage Krarup Nielsen. (Amsterdam: *Em Querido.*)

† *Borneo, Het Land der Koppensnellers.* by Eric Mjöberg. (Zeist: *J. T. Swartsenburg.*)

More recently another Swedish traveller, herr Paul Mohn, made a journey into Afghanistan* towards the end of King Amanullah's hectic reign. He would appear to have left the country just before Habibullah Ghazi's short-lived régime started, although there is included among the illustrations a somewhat gruesome snapshot of the erstwhile "Bacha-i-Saqao," dangling rather dismally from a rope, in company with a number of his henchmen. The author's account of his journey through Caucasia and Russian Turkistan, over the Hindu-Kush to Kabul and its prolongation via Ghazni to Kandahar, yields little of special interest to the British reader who has more numerous and fuller sources of information available to acquaint him with those regions. The general summary of the history of Afghanistan is also rather elementary. It is only when we come to the reign of Amanullah that we get quite a useful summary of this energetic but short-sighted King's career. Especially interesting is a vivid account of Amanullah's six days' speech to his newly constituted national assembly, after his return from Europe, in which he outlined his reforms. We see the tears of emotion rising in the King's eyes; we watch his audience being intrigued, bewildered and bored in turn, or faintly revived by an occasional joke, and, like them, we survive the ordeal, emerging puzzled no doubt, but all the same interested in what is to come. The ultimate outcome is well known, the collapse of a régime which had ignored the need for solid military support in a country like Afghanistan, a factor which King Amanullah overlooked when he ventured upon a course not a little inspired by the achievements of the Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha in Turkey. A useful reminder as to the after effects of political mistakes is the reference to the four weeks' "Afghan War" of 1919. To the general public in this country this campaign—or war, for after all it was a war—of 1919 has remained largely unknown, occurring as it did during the period of lassitude from all martial activities which followed the conclusion of peace. Not only, therefore, would it do no harm if this episode were a little better known, but it may be useful to learn how our action struck a disinterested observer. "The English at that time," says the author,* "were tired of war and wanted peace, even if it had to be secured by a loss of prestige." They knew from long experience that an expedition to Kabul was a costly undertaking, the losses involved in which could in no way be offset by the problematic advantages that might be reaped. "The British interest in Afghanistan derived from that country's marching with Russia. As at that time the Tsarist power had just collapsed and that colossal empire seemed to be facing a period of chaos, intervention in Afghanistan seemed less called for." England, says the author, therefore considered that it might safely let the Amir Amanullah have his way. "That conception might well be correct, but one ought to have reached that conclusion before engaging in hostilities. To carry on war for four weeks and then to withdraw, without having achieved any great honour, cannot be considered wise policy. The hesitating uncertainty which characterized this action was far from advancing the English interests." As for the settlement which followed, "There is no doubt," says the author, "that Afghanistan was the winning party in that conclusion of peace."

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* *Resa till Afghanistan*, by Paul Hohn. (Stockholm: *P. A. Norstedt and Söners Förlag.*)

Events have moved since then, and the failure of Amanullah's attempts to remodel his country overnight have prevented his initial advantage from being lastingly turned to British detriment, as it might well have been had he possessed a more practical sense of the fundamental means required to rule in Afghanistan. As it happened he fell, and with it returned our chance to undo, to some extent, the results of our earlier mistake. Still, it does no harm to have our mistakes pointed out by a friendly critic.

More recently another Swede, herr Rütger Essén, travelled through various parts of the East, both Near and Far, and has given us the results of observations made by one trained in the intricate reactions of international politics. In his country herr

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* *Op. cit.*, p. 289 *ff*.

Essén is well known for his readable and sound surveys of *Europe and the World* and *Europe's Convalescence*, which appeared in 1926 and 1929 respectively. Since then he extended his writing to the Near East, publishing last year a book describing what one meets *Behind the Gates of Asia*."* In this book he surveyed the changes that have been wrought in the countries of the Near and Middle East during and since the war, and generally reaches the conclusion that they will play but a subsidiary rôle in the world's history of the near future. In his latest work, the outcome of his recent travels through India and the Far East, he brings us his impressions *From Asia's Centres of Unrest*.† The task of estimating the extent of recent changes in these parts of Asia was facilitated for the writer by his previous travels in the same countries undertaken during the years 1919-22, and the opinions he expresses have, therefore, an element of personal judgment in them, which is so frequently lacking in the work of writers who generalize glibly on slender acquaintance with the countries that are being dissected. The author succeeds in placing the numerous contradictions summed up in the term "India" before his readers with telling clarity. If he uses few ingredients beyond those that are to be found in the Simon Report, that meteoric "best seller" that has since been so abruptly forgotten, his sense of peoples and problems, a quiet, balanced judgment and a clear mode of expression, free from any attempt at being sensational, make his descriptions and summaries attractive and his views worthy of attention.

In his effort to determine to what extent there is any national or cultural cohesion between the many peoples of India, the writer says: "If one leaves out the 70 million Muhammadans and a few smaller groups, one must admit the existence of a common Indian civilization. Hinduism . . . gives a joint cultural basis and a similar outlook upon life to the majority of India's otherwise so heterogeneous people." Much the same might be said about Christianity in Europe in the past, but in this connection the writer observes that "whereas Christianity had a socially and politically unifying effect . . . Hinduism holds a view which tends towards social and political differentiation. Its essence stands in the sharpest possible opposition to fraternity and equality, for a Hinduistic community must always be more or less theocratic, built up out of . . . mutually exclusive social sections, and crowned at its top by a Brahman caste-oligarchy, which is the last thing one can imagine as the basis for fostering a political and social sense of unity." Consequently the strongest and most widely held religious and cultural views "do not operate towards unification, but towards differentiation," and, adds the author, "in addition we simply cannot overlook the 70 million Muhammadans which are excluded from the system of Hinduism."

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* *Europa och Världen* (1926), *Europas Tillfrisknande* (1929), and *Bakom Asiens Portar* (1931), by Rütger Essén. (Stockholm: *Albert Bonniers Förlag*.)

† *Från Asiens Oroshärdar*, by Rütger Essén. (Stockholm: *Albert Bonniers Förlag*.)

In analyzing the nature and essence of the form of nationalism which is at present being manifested in India, herr Essén seeks most of it in the "English-coloured education," which the intelligentsia of India has, on the whole, received during the last one or two generations. As the moral foundation of the national consciousness, which has in a large measure resulted from this education, he sees "a curious blend of mid-Victorian liberal-democratic principles after the manner of John Stuart Mill and the recent war-propaganda theory about the absolute right of nations to self-determination, combined with an age-old pride in the cultural achievement of Hinduism." That much has grown out of date in the Western ideas which the "English influence on education in India continues to instil, is unknown to the Hindu classes who have been half-educated in the Western manner." And so the author sees something fundamentally unreal in the admittedly quite sincere aspirations of those classes in India who stand for the political movement called nationalist. He admits that there is an "Indian nationalism," which has its roots much deeper, but this is something quite different from the movement which has in Europe been linked with democratic progress. "This real and living Indian nationalism is what would in Europe be called outright reactionary. It is an Oriental reaction against the encroachments of an enforced Western civilization, a feeling of resentment towards efficiency, hygiene, and a mechanically honest administration; a longing back to Ancient India, under the Brahmans' undisputed rule; with temple bells, and long holidays and time for quiet meditation; with famine and epidemics and oppression; but also with opportunity for services of love and brotherliness" and "with fresh paints of many hues daubed across that Western invention which is called the struggle for life."

From the economic point of view the writer sees in a return by India to these ancient ideals not only a cause for anxiety in England but also for the whole world, which in a greater or less degree has become concerned with the producing and with the purchasing power of India. Such a reversion to the ancient methods of living—assuming it to be feasible—"would mean the impoverishment not only of India but of Europe and of the world as a whole, an impoverishment so marked that it would certainly render necessary a lowering of the standard of living for the broad masses of the people in Europe. India would go the same way towards economic isolation and dwindling importance in the world's trade as Russia has done under Communism." With this difference, that Russia had never developed to anything like the level which India has reached. Hence what in the case of Russia has been a mere loss of future opportunities would in the case of India "become *damnum emergens*, a real retrogression from a level already attained and a noticeable loss, felt by all the civilized nations." It stands to reason, proceeds the writer, "that the Indian Nationalist leaders do not admit that these fears for the future are in any way justified. According to them all this is merely inimical British propaganda." For everything which India has achieved under British administration is considered as having been acquired outright and as being "as secure under a Hindu régime as under that now in force," a proposition which the writer does not accept.

The desire for self-government the author considers as not a natural impulse, inherent in the peoples of India, for their traditional tendency, in common with that of all Oriental peoples, has rather been to look upon the task of governing as a "low craft, whilst the things that really matter lie on a different plane." The modern desire for self-government, the author considers, has been artificially fostered by the peculiar outlook of the British, who seem to hold "that it denotes something inferior and humiliating for a people not to govern themselves through a so-called 'responsible' Government."

If one considers self-government and democracy as indissoluble and indispensable to all higher civilization, one can only wish the Nationalist leaders of India a rapid success. But if, says the author, one shares his view "and has come to the conclusion that this form of government is and will remain a highly circumscribed phenomenon, both geographically and in point of time, and especially if one feels that it goes against the whole spiritual life of the peoples of India, then one can only see in the present entangled situation in India the unfortunate outcome of the artificial grafting of inherently incompatible ideals on a passive civilization which has always lacked the necessary organizing power to construct its own form of rule."

Of "Englishmen in India" the author writes with a sympathetic understanding which does not exclude either critical consideration or accurate appreciation of those peculiar aspects which tend to make the life of the English in India "more English than it is in England." According to the author, there are in the world few "forms of human existence more artificial than the life of Englishmen in India. They are there as an isolated group of alien specialists: specialists in imports and exports, in navigation or engineering; in matters of international credit; in the waging of war or the exercise of government." And what is worse, the author observes, "they neither get born nor die in the country, except by sheer accident, and they live there only half their lives." In the end their existence in India tends to be "as isolated from the alien ocean of people which surges around them, as the life of first-class passengers on an ocean-going steamer" is remote from the sea. It is almost bad form, and in any event tactless, to talk too much in a military mess or in a drawing-room, in the business office or when in the company of officials, about the strange world of people by which one is surrounded. For, after all, "in a steamer's saloon one does not discuss the scrubbing of decks or the firing of boilers." Often this wilful isolation of the British in India is looked upon as a sign of "the notorious British arrogance." The author asks himself whether it is not rather a "defensive attitude, an instinctive protection, to ward off the risk of confusion and despair, a wall against the danger of becoming submerged in the ocean of these seething Indian masses." And his verdict is that "undoubtedly it is that before all else."

For all that, the author admits the claim of British administration in India to being "the finest bureaucracy in the world." He analyzes the reasons for this, and concludes: "The result was good, and practically all the progress which has been made in India since 150 years can be more or less attributed to the merits of the Anglo-Indian system of administration." Of the deterioration of the Civil Service personnel, he has heard so much that it seems "hardly worth while to contradict it." Yet he feels compelled to add that his "personal impression, on the contrary, has been that the higher personnel of the British Civil Service in India still is excellent and displays to a high degree competence, judgment, natural authority, and sterling personal qualities," whilst his impression of the Indian Army is that it still attracts "a first-rate human material," notwithstanding the hardships, and on the whole the lack of amenities which it holds out.

And yet, if at this moment the English were to disappear from India, the author considers that their rule of a century and a half "would not leave behind many externally visible signs. A few railway bridges, a few Government buildings in Delhi and Calcutta, which would look rather cheap by the side of the monumental relics of the Moghul emperors and other conquerors." How much would survive of their moral influence is problematic, but probably, after a whole generation, very little. "But," continues this Swedish observer, "the work which has been done, and which is by no means ended, is nevertheless one of the noblest achievements in the history of the world, both from a civilizing point of view and as a work of peace. As everywhere mistakes have been made, and even great blunders committed, but taken all in all Britain's activity in India is one of the finest and proudest pages, not only of her own history, but in the whole history of the white race. Let us hope that that part of the work which still lies in the future will not mar the picture."

Compared with conditions in India, which, notwithstanding all the troubles of recent years, has continued to be "well administered and orderly," the author sees conditions in China as "extraordinarily dark and gloomy." And yet he holds that "there can hardly be any doubt but that, in the long run, China's future appears brighter and clearer than that of India." For in China he finds all that which he sought in vain in India: "an established tradition of government; a common history and a common civilization; a practical outlook and inborn political sense together with a common desire towards the same future aims in the *élite* of the nation." Neither does he consider the spiritual crisis in China quite so "chaotic" as in India. "The Chinese people have a sense of proportion in spiritual matters and strong nerves, and they can therefore put up with a good deal for the sake of spiritual assimilation." And, finally, "China has its future entirely in its own hands." The conception of protectorates has since two decades been "removed from the agenda," and the system of privileged nationalities has been or is in course of being eliminated. "China thus stands at the beginning of a new period of her history. Her rôle in the world's history during that period may be expected to become increasingly vast and important," but it is hard to forecast what exactly China's future development will be. Still more, however, does the author hesitate to outline that of Japan. The position of Japan as a great power he sees as based: *inwardly* on "strong political discipline, national ideology, and a concentrated capitalistic system of production in a densely populated country in which a third of the population is dependent on export and foreign trade"; and *externally* on "military and naval power, and a diplomacy based on prestige, spheres of interest, and capital investments on the mainland of Asia, together with an aggressive policy of commercial expansion, supported in various ways by Government subsidies." This position, the author considers, it will be hard to maintain "in such a dynamic part of the world as the Pacific constitutes nowadays." Each political mistake "may become fatal, each shifting of the balance of power must become dangerous."

For all these reasons it is in India, China, and Japan that the author sees the deciding factors in the great Asiatic world of today. The sparsely populated countries which form transitions to the Near East and to Russia-Siberia "mainly serve as pressure-reducing buffer territories." Further—India and the bridge of the Malay Peninsula and Insulinde he looks upon as still mainly dominated by Western colonial policies. "The populations of these countries would moreover seem to be destined to play politically a secondary part." But as these South-Eastern countries are among the richest producers of the tropics, they will in course of time come to form one of the major world problems, in the background of which looms "the uncertain future of a 'white Australia.'"

To Russia's rôle in the Asiatic crisis the author does not attribute the importance which is often attached to it. Russia might certainly be quite eager to take over Britain's place in Asia, and "although hitherto without risking very much, she uses every conceivable opportunity to make herself felt in Asiatic affairs"; but "she will never be able to undertake the colossal task of pan-Asiatic domination." China has already "wriggled out of the temporary Russian grip and is unlikely ever to revert to it." But in the author's opinion Russia's strength will increasingly be absorbed by her gigantic internal problem.

Looking back at the remainder of the world, herr Essén sees Europe's problem mainly as one of self-defence, America's as one of adaptation; "but Russia and Asia are the broad roadways of the future, and the development of those countries will change the world to a greater degree than those now living can conceive."

Whether one agrees in every respect with the details of the author's views and opinions or not, there can be no doubt that his intelligent outlook and unbiassed judgment have enabled him interestingly to survey some of the great problems that face the world today.

SOME ASPECTS OF HINDUISM

François Bernier, traveller, doctor, and courtier, to whom the fortunes of the Moghuls meant so much more than the episodical existence of a few millions of "Gentiles," thus summed up what was probably the typical view of the Hindu religion, if indeed any view can be called typical when there were so few to know and still fewer to care:

> "Now, sir, what think you? Had I not reason from all this great tissue of extravagant folly on which I have remarked; from that childish panic of which I have spoken above; from that superstitious piety and compassion toward the sun in order to deliver it from the malignant and dark Deüta; from that trickery of prayers, of ablution, of dippings and of alms, either cast into the river or bestowed on Brahmens; from that mad and infernal hardihood of women to burn themselves with the body of their husbands whom frequently they have hated while alive; from those various and frantic practices of the Fakires; and lastly from all that fabulous trash of their Beths and other books; was I not justified in taking as a motto to this letter . . . 'There are no opinions too extravagant and ridiculous to find reception in the heart of man'?"

So spoke the seventeenth century. The Hindus, however, went on their way and cared for none of these things. If anyone wanted to know, they did not care; and if no one wanted to know, they did not care either. And then came the Sanskrit scholars—Jones, Colebrooke, Max-Müller, and a host of others—and founded a school which has led to the enlargement of our knowledge and the convergence of our thought.

Professor Radhakrishnan* is among the prophets of this larger outlook. He may be said to be the heir of both the East and the West, since it is evident that, while he is a thoughtful interpreter of philosophic Hinduism, he is also a wide reader in the Sacred Books of the West and the commentaries thereon, in which are included Plato, Aristotle, Hegel, Kant, Bradley, William James, and many other writers on morality, science, psychology, and what is known by the more generic name of philosophy. His lectures, delivered in language of which any Englishman might be proud, form a comprehensive and ordered whole. The main argument is that while science, which is concerned with phenomena and is therefore an affair of the intellect, has much to say in refutation of accepted dogmas, there is a knowledge higher than the intellectual—the intuitional knowledge which leads to the realization of God as the Ultimate Reality. It is impossible here to follow Professor Radhakrishnan through the steps leading to his conclusions, and yet it seems unfair to attempt to summarize his work in a few sentences. To take any passage or any one theme out of its context is to run the risk of falsifying the perspective. But he is, after all, a Hindu, and his views of Hinduism naturally have a special importance. With his wide knowledge, however, and his wide outlook, his references to Hinduism are no more obtrusive than those to Greek, German, English, and other writers and to the New Testament. What he is opposed to is unintelligent dogmatism, whether Hindu or other.

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* *An Idealist View of Life*, by Professor Radhakrishnan. Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.

"Science and criticism," he says, "have nothing to say against a religion which proclaims an invisible church of spirit which will be a brotherhood of men and women of good will, who find nothing hateful but hypocrisy, nothing immoral except hardheartedness. But religion as it is practised today has a long distance to travel before it can reach this goal. . . . Science which deals with discoverable facts and religion which revels in unverifiable hypotheses become opposed to each other. . . . The mass of men still cling to superstition in the name of religion and believe in priests who affirm that they know the nature of life beyond the grave, the complexion of God and his followers, why precisely the stars are hung in the sky and why they are kept there and what exactly their influence is on the destiny of man. . . . We become more religious in proportion to our readiness to doubt and not our willingness to believe. We must respect our own dignity as rational beings and thus diminish the power of fraud. It is better to be free than to be a slave, better to know than to be ignorant. It is reason that helps us to reject what is falsely taught and believed about God, that He is a detective officer or a capricious despot or a glorified schoolmaster. It is essential that we should subject religious beliefs to the scrutiny of reason."

This understood, we may pass on to his exposition of the controversial doctrines of Karma and Samsara. Karma is said, chiefly by missionary students, to hang like a dead weight round India's neck; and to Samsara, the principle of rebirth, is attributed the so-called pessimism of the Hindu faith. The lecturer will have none of that. Man, he argues, is the victim neither of blind chance nor of an inexorable, extrinsic Will. Man is the master of his own fate; but if he has the choice he must abide the consequences. He will reap as he has sown as surely as water will boil upon a hot fire. If a boy be bred to be a soldier he will inevitably tend towards the soldierly type, which is not the literary or the business or the clerical type. This result is not the result of any one catastrophic action or event, but of the cumulative effect of his training. And so in the larger sphere of life a man tends towards a particular type, it may be of good or of evil. As he began where he left off, so according how he shapes his present life he will again begin where he left off. Karma is therefore not a doctrine of rewards and punishments, but of continuity.

And rebirth is thus a corollary. The Hindu cannot admit that the soul was created with the body. To him it is illogical that that which has no end should have a beginning. Admitting that this life is a preparation for a higher ultimate life—eternal we may call it, though the professor has something to say about that—the Hindu holds that the short span of human life is inadequate to such a tremendous result. The theory of Karma and Samsara is a reasoned attempt to account for free will and the existence of evil. It is, of course, more than that, and very excellently it is expounded. This short summary does not do the subject justice, but it must suffice. It is evident that the intellectual Hindu looks at the matter very differently from the intellectual missionary, who is perhaps unable quite to disentangle his mind from the ideas of Atonement and Vicarious Sacrifice, which are part of the mysteries of the creed. Bernier spoke with men who were unable or unwilling to expound the higher aspects of their creed; Professor Radhakrishnan speaks to men who, bigotry apart, can appreciate, can criticize, and can discriminate.

The book is one to be studied and digested. A cynic might say that since philosophic speculations are not proved, but only probable, the arguments of philosophers are exercises in reasoning by which each seeks to show that the other is wrong. But the nature of God, His existence, the value of authority, the personality and destiny of man, immortality, and the Ultimate

Reality will continue to attract thinkers in the future as they have done in the past. These things lie in the primitive instincts.

And it is just because of this that Mr. Jagadish Chatterji's short essay* has value. The Sacred Books of the East are so overlaid with archaic imagery—and to the normal mind so full of obscurity—that a modest summary of the main lines of Hindu thought expressed in language more familiar to the Western mind is very welcome. Professor Radhakrishnan surveys the whole field of idealism from the philosophical point of view; if, as was already contended, his argument gains by bringing Hindu thought to bear upon the subject, Mr. Chatterji's little work may be said to fill the gap by explaining to us what Hindu thought really is. He does more than this, for this too is an attempt to reconcile ancient Hindu ideas with modern thought and to bring it into harmony with the foundations of belief, common to all races, however far removed may be the tenets of Hinduism from our own creed.

Professor Radhakrishnan is a philosopher; Narendranath or Swami Vivekananda was a prophet. The one founds his conclusions upon ratiocination, and it may well be that ratiocination will appeal to an intellectual but not to an emotional world; the other is inspired by his enthusiasms, and like all enthusiasts he seems to fall into inconsistencies and even into errors of fact. Mr. Athalye,† inspired by an enthusiasm for his hero equal to his hero's own, would not admit this criticism. To him the Swami is the embodiment of all that is noble and beautiful and strong. It is undeniable that he had a quite remarkable success in America, where hard-headed business is strangely mixed up with a sentimental emotionalism and a tendency to run after "strange gods," or, as the Professor would say, "substitutes for religion." It is undeniable that the Swami made for himself a great and deserved reputation in his own country. But there is in his teaching something of that vagueness which is habitual with inspired prophets, not excepting the clergy of the Anglican Church. The Swami was asked in the West: "Is Vedanta practical?" In other words: "How can it be expressed in everyday life—in duty towards God and towards one's neighbour?" There is nothing to suggest that the question was asked "exultingly," but the answer recorded seems to Mr. Athalye to be a triumphant refutation of an attack. The core of the reply, which is too long to quote, is in the words: "That society is greatest where the greatest truths become practical, and if society is not fit for the highest truth, make it so, and the sooner the better." That may satisfy the Eastern mind; perhaps it satisfied the inquirer's. But it does not sound very helpful to the average Western mind.

It is a pity that with so much good material to choose from Mr. Athalye has allowed his zeal to run away with him. Swami Vivekananda was profoundly convinced of the pre-eminence of the Vedanta and did his best to bring others to his way of thinking, in spite of his tenet that the best part of all religions is fundamentally good and that there will and ought to be diversity of dogma. He was a remarkable man—in his own country a great man—a man with a dynamic energy and a dynamic personality, whose aim was to adapt his beloved Vedanta to the needs and conditions of a changing world. A dreamer, perhaps; but have not all prophets been dreamers? It was the mission of Swami Vivekananda to rouse India to a living faith in herself and in her purified religion. What he may have done in the West was but secondary to this great idea.

It is perhaps with the same object of rousing his own people to a sense of what is wanted to fit themselves to rise in the material and the spiritual world that Mr. Luckmidas has collected a series of aphorisms which he has called a symposium of suggestions on problems of modern India.* There is something pathetic about this production. The reading of a multitude of short extracts, strung together on somewhat artificial strings and otherwise only slightly connected, is a tedious process which is not likely to commend itself to the impatient Western mind. We must acknowledge the zeal if we cannot admire the discretion which prompted the choice, but the book would have gained immensely if half the extracts had been omitted. It is no small labour to collect and select all these cuttings from the speeches and writings of great or distinguished or prominent men, but some of the authors must be surprised to find that *obiter dicta* from obviously occasional speeches are dignified by the name of modern Indian thought. It is rather pathetic, because if India really needs to be nursed upon what are platitudes in the West, her state must be worse than we had thought. No one, however, will believe that she does need such spoon-feeding.

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* *India's Outlook on Life*, by J. C. Chatterji. N. Y. Kailas Press. $2.00.

† *Neo-Hinduism*, by D. V. Athalye. Taraporevala. Rs.5.8.0.

But philosophers and prophets and interpreters cannot work without the raw material. The student of the Upanishads and other sacred or semi-sacred books of India must often be bewildered by the luxuriance of growth, the unfamiliarity of the diction, and the obscurity of the ideas contained in them. It is, of course, of the utmost value that they should be interpreted by Indian scholars of repute, since Western commentators too often regard them through the spectacles of Christianity, but that does not mean that the way should be entirely barred to Western thinkers who do not know the archaic languages. The Gaekwar's Oriental series, under the editorship of the genial Mr. Bhattacharya, usually reproduces the original text with perhaps an English Preface, but the fifty-first volume† is entirely in English, being the work of Miss Helen Johnson, who has conceived and is following up an admiration for Jain philosophy. The work is evidently a faithful translation of the text, and Miss Johnson does not seek to expound the Jain philosophy and metaphysics, except to the extent of some explanatory footnotes and in five appendices, of which the first and third are the most important. Jainism still survives, especially in Western India, but, like the religion of Zoroaster, it is so overshadowed by the four great religions of the world that it has been neglected, perhaps more than it deserved to be.

And as if in contrast to the abstruse speculations of philosophy and metaphysics, the masses of the country delight in the folk-tales for which India is famous and which have doubtless brought joy into an otherwise drab existence. Here we leave the high doctrines of the Atman, of Karma, and of Samsara, of which the masses have but little knowledge, for the unaffected enjoyment in the doings of kings with younger sons who always turn out to be the successful ones, in showers of pearls and rubies, of miraculous interventions, of all that satisfies the credulous. In bringing these tales together from the files of the *Indian Antiquary*, Messrs. Taraporevala‡ have not only contributed to the gaiety of nations, but have added to our knowledge of the mass-mind of India. Though we miss our old friend, the discharged soldier, there is much in these tales that reminds us of Grimm's collection. Fairy tales, and for that matter superstitions, as the *Golden Bough* has told us, are to be found the world over, and these tales should be valuable to the folklorist. To the masses of India the ideas of Karma and Rebirth are accepted dogmas, just as to the Christian masses the ideas of Atonement and the Trinity are accepted dogmas—accepted without question and without much understanding. But these tales, as well as others from the Epics and elsewhere, are the stuff the masses feed upon, and no one need deny them their innocent pleasure. To the student also they are intriguing, for they show much diversity of treatment according to the sources, geographical and racial, of their inspiration.

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* *Modern India Thinks*, by K. R. Luckmidas. Taraporevala. Rs.6.

† *Trisastisaláḱápurusacaritra* (vol. i., Adisvaracaritra), translated by Helen M. Johnson, Ph.D. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Rs.15.

‡ *Best Short Stories of India* (2 vols.) Taraporevala. Rs.4 each.

STANLEY RICE.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL

General Sir John Maxwell. By Sir George Arthur. Foreword by Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, K.G. (*Murray.*)

(*Reviewed by* Brigadier-General C. D. Bruce.)

It would be difficult to achieve a more enlightening summary of the career of General Sir John Maxwell than that which is to be found in the foreword to Sir George Arthur's very interesting book.

In a few lines H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught selects and emphasizes the salient points in Maxwell's character. At the same time His Royal Highness offers his personal tribute to a tried and valued Staff-Officer and devoted friend. "Maxwell," the Duke writes, "was my Chief Staff-Officer for a number of years. . . . No work ever came amiss to a most capable Staff-Officer who, moreover, had enjoyed a large experience of soldiering in many parts of the world and who kept himself closely informed as to the organization and training of armies alike in Europe and the East. . . . Maxwell was a delightful companion with a cheerfulness which never flagged and a wit which gave no wound; when he died I lost a dear friend in whom I had implicit confidence and whom I held in the highest esteem."

To a professional soldier no army in the world in the past offered such varied channels of advancement as did the British Army. No Continental army, not even the supremely efficient German war-machine at the height of its power, could provide such chances. When Maxwell joined these varied and various opportunities had, perhaps, reached their most extended limits. There was work for every kind of bent. For some officers the barrack square had its attractions, and soldiering at home—especially in London with three months' leave each year—its compensations. With others the first and dominant idea was to get abroad, to see life. Soldiering in India and Egypt tempted the keen men and those who were not too well blessed with this world's goods. For others, again, a "brass hat" had an inordinate attraction, so the Staff-College had to be faced. Some officers preferred the office stool, "files," and routine. Others the far places of the earth where fighting was sure to come their way and where a subaltern might be Commander-in-Chief of an expedition even if it consisted of only a few score faithful native troops and an old-fashioned Nordenfelt gun. At any rate, the subaltern was his own boss, and if he thought at all about such things could write his own despatches in his own inimitable manner.

To the Black Watch—the old 42nd—Maxwell was gazetted in 1879, and within three years sailed for Egypt to take part as one of the Highland Brigade in Sir Garnet Wolseley's summary suppression of Arabi's revolt. Tel El Kebir, September, 1882, was the young soldier's baptism of fire. For close on forty years Egypt and Egypt alone was Maxwell's chosen mistress, and he served her honestly and with his whole heart. From 1882, as a subaltern and A.D.C. to Sir Archibald Allison, down to 1920, including his appointment as Lieut.-General Commanding His Britannic Majesty's Forces in Egypt during the Great War, Maxwell gave the best years of his life to a somewhat exacting mistress. There were, of course, as there always are, times when the strain and press of work were almost overwhelming. At such times men long for change and release, as did some of Maxwell's Territorial troops stationed in Egypt early in the Great War.

One weary "Terrier" was heard to ask another: "When do you think we will be sent to France?" He was answered: "When the Sphinx pups."

After quitting the land of his choice in 1920 for good, Maxwell arrived in England not long before the serious outbreak in Ireland known as the "Easter Rebellion." That he should have been selected by Mr. Asquith's Government to proceed to Ireland for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion is, perhaps, the greatest compliment paid to Maxwell's talents during a long and distinguished career. How he carried out his most trying and responsible duties is well told by Sir George Arthur. That Maxwell was in time to save Ireland from the terrible effects of such an outbreak, which might have been prolonged for weeks, is a matter of history, and, equally a matter of history, however undeserved, Ireland became to a certain extent the grave of yet another reputation. But as one of a very gallant band who through long years of waiting, disappointment, doubt, and hard fighting, finally crowned with success, helped "K" to make history in Egypt, Maxwell's name will long be remembered. He had "fought with many men acrost the seas "and would have been among the first to agree with Kipling's well-known panegyric:

> "So 'ere's to you, Fuzzy Wuzzy, at your 'ome in the Soudan;
> You're a pore benighted 'eathen but a first-class fightin' man;
> We gives you your certificate, an' if you want it signed
> We'll come an' 'ave a romp with you whenever you're inclined."

RALEGH'S LAST VOYAGE. By V. T. Harlow, M.A., B.LITT. (*The Argonaut Press.*) 30s.

Mr. Harlow has made a notable contribution to the understanding of Sir Walter Ralegh's last voyage to Guiana and also of the complex political situation which affected it so deeply. The greater part of his book consists of a number of contemporary documents, some of which were not previously known, drawn from foreign as well as from English sources. These are preceded by a skilful introductory chapter in which the often conflicting evidence is carefully balanced and sifted. Even if Mr. Harlow's interpretation of his *data*, instead of being a model of caution and impartiality, had been marred by the partisanship which is not always avoided by students of so fascinating a figure as Ralegh or of so unsympathetic a figure as James I., the book would still have permanent value; it enables the reader to form his own judgment of events and of the personalities behind them by making a direct study of the materials of which all future biographers of Ralegh will have to take account.

The outline of the tale is familiar. On June 12, 1617, at a time when James was still hoping to arrange a Spanish marriage and was consequently anxious to show deference to the Court of Spain, Ralegh was released from his long imprisonment in the Tower and was allowed to sail for Guiana at the head of an armed force, with fourteen vessels under his command. His avowed object was to rediscover a gold mine which he had seen over twenty years before. But Ralegh had greater and ulterior motives; his heart was set upon provoking a war with Spain and on founding an English empire in the West.

The whole enterprise was anomalous and full of perils for its leader. Ralegh knew well enough, and everyone concerned must have known, that an English attempt to open the mine would be fiercely resisted by the Spaniards in the neighbouring town of San Thomé, and (as the event proved) he left England with no means of defending his conduct if the expedition failed and the peace with Spain had been broken. There is no doubt that he boarded the *Destiny* at Plymouth knowing that if things went badly the king would disown him and ruin him; and he knew also that the exact strength and destination of his fleet had been disclosed to the Spanish authorities.

Ill-fortune dogged him from the very start. On the outward journey a hundred of his men perished from disease, and when the fleet reached its destination Ralegh and his principal officer were ill. A detachment of troops was sent up the Orinoco under Laurence Keymis, who had been in the district before. Their only achievement was to capture and burn San Thomé. Ralegh's son was killed, no mine was discovered, and eventually, after an absence of eleven weeks, with only some plunder from the town to reward them, they regained the ships where Ralegh had been awaiting them, daily expecting to be attacked by the Spanish fleet. "You shall find me at Puncto Gallo, dead or alive," he had promised them. "For I will fire with the galleons, if it come to extremity; run will I never." With everything lost, after suffering desertions and mutiny, he at last reached Plymouth on June 21, 1618. On October 29 he died under the axe—as he said, "a sharp Medicine, but it is a Physician to all Diseases"—after once more stating his case with a masterly courage and ability.

Ralegh's enemies accused him of having invented the gold mine as the best pretext for an enterprise of which the true purpose was mere piracy and bloodshed; but Mr. Harlow maintains that Ralegh believed in it, supporting his argument with the acute suggestion "that the prospect of old age and death in the Tower drove him to convince himself, however flimsy the evidence, to believe emotionally while remaining intellectually sceptical." Whether the attack on San Thomé was in accordance with Ralegh's instructions to Keymis, whether he received anything in the nature of a Commission from the French king, and whether there was any secret understanding between himself and King James—these questions and others of equal difficulty and interest are all ably discussed by Mr. Harlow.

Mr. Walter Lewis, of the University Press, Cambridge, may be congratulated; the book is printed finely and plainly, without a trace of the prettiness that distinguishes "the book beautiful."

R. S. T.

NEW RUSSIA. By A. de Monzie. Translated by R. J. S. Curtis. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 12s. 6d. net.

This volume is dedicated by the author to M. Herriot and is a translation of *Petit Manuel de la Russie Nouvelle*, which was issued last year. M. de Monzie takes as his theme "the explanation of revolutionary Russia, which is the most urgent problem of modern times, if not the most difficult," and argues that "Europe is forced in her own interests and for reasons of self-preservation to gain an understanding of the present régime." He divides his book into two parts—the first giving the past history leading to the stabilization of the régime; the second half is devoted to a description of it. Much can be learned in it about the Five Years' Plan and foreign relations, especially with France. Two quotations made by the author are especially worthy of record:

"On leaving the barracks after a visit to a regiment, I reflected that the army must certainly be called Russian since its administration lay entirely in the hands of the Moscow Government and the words of command were given in Russian. But when I made a remark to this effect much surprise was shown. 'No, monsieur,' the colonel said to me, 'you have not seen a regiment of the Russian Army, but a regiment of the Red Army. Our army is not national but international. If Russian is still the only language spoken in it, well, that is only an accident" (Pierre Dominique).

In referring to February, 1917, he quotes Montaigne's phrase, which, he says, is not inapplicable to it:

"Those who shake the foundations of the State are naturally the first to be swallowed up in its ruin. The fruit of the trouble does not remain with him who stirred it up; he beats and disturbs the water for other fishermen."

He considers that China still remains the field for the great manœuvres of Russian Bolshevism.

FAR EAST

DIE CHINESICHE LITERATUR, by Dr. Richard Wilhelm, and DIE JAPANISCHE LITERATUR, by Dr. Wilhelm Grundert. (Wildpark-Potsdam: *Athenaion.*)

These two works, bound in one volume, are profusely illustrated with coloured plates and text illustrations, and offer the reader a learned but comprehensible description of the literatures of the two great nations of the Far East. The Chinese section commences with Confucius, passes on to Laotze and the Taoist literature that followed. Then come the second period (third and fourth centuries), the Han and T'ang Dynasties. The sixth period brings the narrative from 907 to the present day. The movement for a new popular written language is interestingly described, and the names are given of the pioneers in this reform. In this connection the author mentions the poet Hsü Tschï Mon, who, he says, has been inspired by Shaw and Tagore. We learn of a survey of the folklore and of the various dialects.

The Japanese part is handled in a similarly attractive and efficient manner by the Director of the German-Japanese Cultural Institute in Tokyo, and likewise brings the story down to the present day. These two parts are issued at the very moderate prices of R.M. 20 and R.M. 12.

In New Japan. By Aylwyn Bowen. With pen and ink sketches by Harold E. Woodcock. (*H. F. and G. Witherby.*) 12s. 6d. net.

This volume records, in the main, accounts of travels in Japan during recent years. His own narrative and experiences are uncommon and related in an unusual style, which make it a very fascinating record. The chief centre of the author's residence was Kobe, and from there he sallied forth to various parts of the country. One of his chief advisers appears to have been his hostess, of whose gentle and kind manners he has much to relate. The general impression left on the reader is that the author learnt to appreciate, if only in time and after many years' residence, the advantage of travelling abroad, and with it the good qualities of foreigners. The constant courtesy and friendliness of the Japanese shine on every page.

Le Japon d'Outre Mer. By M. Moncharville. (Paris: *Pedone.*)

This is a readable account of the peoples, the resources, and the systems of administration in Japan's oversea possessions. The author shows that Formosa, in spite of a large Chinese population, enjoys political calm. He gives an interesting account of the customs of the head-hunters and of the prosperous camphor industry. Japan's political record in Corea is on the whole approved, and much praise is bestowed on the South Manchuria Railway Company. Her mandated islands and Sakhalien are also described. M. Moncharville expresses admiration for her energy in developing her colonial possessions, but thinks that in some cases there should be a more progressive political development. He does not, however, advise a rapid extension of the suffrage.

NEAR EAST

A Tower of Skulls. A Journey through Persia and Turkish Armenia. By G. Reitlinger. (*Duckworth.*) 18s. net.

This handsome volume is the outcome of a very recent journey to the East and has, therefore, the advantage of telling the reader of present-day conditions as they actually are, experiences gained on a 4,000 miles tour, and all within a few months. There are abundant signs that Mr. Reitlinger went out in his Ford motor-car with a fair amount of general historical knowledge, and his style shows that lively mentality which charms the reader and yet may irritate the independent thinker. Fascism, republic, barbarism are expressions that are in the pen of the journalist and politician. We follow the author from Baghdad to Kermanshah, which are described in his half-humorous way. Hamadan and Ispahan are the next stages in which art and architecture find their place, and night life is studied. At any rate, after visiting the whole of Persia we find that our guide has provided us with a vast amount of knowledge, he has shown us the beauties and the drawbacks of Central Asia, he has entertained us, and all this to the benefit of intending travellers. The illustrations are splendid, a sign of a costly camera, and the map is very clear and useful, as the author's stopping-places are given on the itinerary lines. There is no doubt that Mr. Reitlinger could, if he would, write a more learned, though perhaps less entertaining, volume.

WELT-POLITISCHE BÜCHEREI. By F. Hesse. Vol. XXVI.: Persien. (Berlin: *Zentralverlag G.m.b.h.*) 3 R.M.

In a brief foreword, Mr. Adolf Grabowsky states that if Persia's present rate of progress continues she may perhaps again play a rôle in history similar to the one she has already played on several occasions in early history. The author has a genuine appreciation for the country and its people, and has written an eminently readable account, illustrated by six sketch maps. The section on Anglo-Persian relations is somewhat depressing, as also that devoted to the trade relations with India. Mr. Hesse hopes that the present Government in Persia will remain in power, in which case the hope expressed in the foreword may become realizable.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE ORIENTAL MSS. BELONGING TO THE LATE E. G. BROWNE. By Edward G. Browne. Completed and edited, with a memoir of the author and a bibliography, by R. A. Nicholson. (*Cambridge University Press.*) £2 2s. net.

There can be no question that the collection of these manuscripts is the result of the work of a great scholar. Professor Browne was able to acquire them thanks largely to his wide connections with the East. There are in all 468 works divided into 26 different subjects. The largest number are those appertaining to Persian poetry. Of the other classes one may mention the series of Shaykhi and Babi, Sciences, Theology, Mysticism, History, and Bibliography, besides Arabic and Turkish poetry. Many of the entries are given in great detail, together with their contents. Useful information is added regarding previous ownership. As the catalogue is divided into classes of subjects, it follows that the languages are generally represented together in each division. Another system would have been to separate the languages. The usefulness of the volume is increased by index of titles and of authors. The catalogue will be an indispensable work of reference to every student or library interested in Muslim literature.

LES ÉTATS DU LEVANT SOUS MANDAT FRANÇAIS. By Raymond O'Zoux. (Paris: *Larose*.)

The above volume is part of a series, "France d'Outre Mer," under the general editorship of M. Georges Hardy, and is an impartial presentation of the achievements of the mandatory power during the last twelve years. Reasons are given for the division of the country into separate states, the political and administrative systems are explained at length, and ample space is given to economic questions. When so much that is written of Syria is polemic, it is useful to have for reference a textbook of this kind. The book is illustrated and there are two folding maps.

THE DAWN-BREAKERS. Nabil's Narrative of the Early Days of the Baha'i Revelation. Translated from the original Persian by Shoghi Effendi. (New York: *The Baha'i Publishing Committee*.) $7.50.

This big volume of 685 pages contains not only a systematic exposé of the Baha'i movement, but also includes a narrative of the struggles and the sufferings of the earliest followers of the Bab. Nabil himself took a part, and therefore his account is of the greatest value to the student of religions and religious persecution. In the long introduction the author gives an account of the state of Persia in the middle of the nineteenth century, its government, people, and religion. The narrative itself includes details of the Bab's (whose name was Seyyid Ali Muhammad) early life and activity, his journeys and adventures throughout Persia, the Bab's own pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, his residence at Shiraz, etc. Chapter XIII. gives details of the Bab's imprisonment in the castle of Mah-Ku, whence he was transferred to that of Chihrig (Chapter XVII.). Then began the great struggle for recognition amongst the followers of the new movement, and long lists of martyrs to it are given with detailed reports. Finally, the Bab himself was seized at Tabriz and, after a first miraculous escape, died. Here, again (on page 515), we read that a whirlwind of dust of incredible density obscured the light of the sun and blinded the eyes of the people. The appendix contains a list of the Bab's Persian works and a glossary. Amongst the numerous illustrations are twenty reproductions of the Bab's letters. This volume is the most important historical account, provided with a mass of notes and references, of the beginning of the Baha'i movement.

THE LAND OF TIMUR. RECOLLECTIONS OF RUSSIAN TURKESTAN. By A. Polovtsoff. With map and illustrations. (*Methuen*.) 10s. 6d. net.

There are not many modern books on Russian Turkestan, and therefore this new volume should be welcome, although the picture presented refers to the more or less happy days. The volume has another advantage; it is compiled by a Russian official of the old type who has resided at Samarcand for years, and therefore the information given is authoritative. The author apologizes for his English style; he is too modest, it is very good, and in addition it is combined with much charm. The account of his residence will more than satisfy the reader; it deals with the whole life of the people, the climate, the scenery—nay, we eat *in effigie* the wonderful fruit which is growing there. The Ameer himself goes shooting and hawking. Happy times indeed, now only a memory. The illustrations are from original drawings by an artist, B. Litvinoff, depicting architecture, the bazaar, a tea-house, and scenery.

MARRIAGE CONDITIONS IN A PALESTINIAN VILLAGE. By Hilma Grangvist. (Helsingfors: *Akademische Buchhandlung*.)

Miss Grangvist has submitted a learned thesis which has been accepted by the Societas Scientiarum Fennica. The subject is one of minute speciality, as it deals with marriage conditions in one Arab village in Palestine. One might ask whether this limitation is justified. But the reader will find that, instead of generalization, he will discover *multum in parvo*. In other words, the richness of detail gives more information than many other books can possibly contain. Not only so. The material offered after years of study can absolutely be relied upon. Facts alone speak, and no hearsay enters into the author's mind. The chief chapters deal with the age of marriage, with the choice of a bride, and with marriage by consideration. Examples are given in each case and the names of the people concerned are mentioned, thus leaving no doubt as to the correct results of her investigation. The customs are indeed strange to the European, and it cannot be expected that they should be welcomed generally, though their study makes one wonder how they originated. The last part of the book contains genealogical trees showing all the people in the village of Artas, south of Bethlehem, marriage lists and tables. It is, perhaps, for the first time that such detailed and interesting customs in a single locality have been described. Numerous notes and references to allied literature have been given which bear witness to Miss Grangvist's learning.

ORIENTALIA

L'INDE DU VII^e^ AU XVI^e^ SIÈCLE. By Ishwari Prasad. Translated from the second English edition by H. de Saugy, being Vol. VIII. of the *Histoire du Monde*, edited by E. Cavaignac. (Paris: *E. de Boccard*.) 50 frs.

(*Reviewed by* A. M. HOCART.)

The Greeks had a genius for narration and so created the historical narrative and fixed our historical style. The chronicle of events has flourished in Europe, its native country. Transplanted to India it does not thrive. I always marvel at the perversity of our historians who try to cultivate this Western plant in the uncongenial soil of India. The Indian, for the most part, had not the interest, and therefore not the genius, for narrative; so he did not preserve the materials that are required for the spiritual heirs of Thucydides, Livy, and Gibbon. Mr. Ishwari makes a valiant effort, but what success he may achieve in historical narrative is due to the fact that his authorities are almost entirely Muhammadans imbued with Western traditions. They had dramatic sense, but they came from outside, and looking at India through their eyes we see little but the outside: forays, massacres, palace intrigues, reforms that betray an ignorance of local conditions, and other superficial activities that had no real influence on the course of civilization in India. The figures of Alauddin, Mohammed Tughheg, and the rest are picturesque, sometimes fascinating, yet in appraising their work the author is ever and again compelled to note that it left no roots. What we have is really court chronicles, brilliant but sanguinary. He who has lived in India can make these scenes live again in their setting; he can give these episodes a local habitation and a name. The home reader finds it difficult, even if he had adequate maps to help him, but the maps are too small to enable him to locate the innumerable battles. The philosophic historians will be attracted mainly by the colossal failures of these conquerors, because they illustrate the vanity of trying to build without laying the foundations in the necessities of the people. The attempt to transplant Delhi to Daulatabad was made in defiance of geographical, economic, and human conditions, and so it ended in a fiasco. The caprice of a sovereign was defeated by natural laws. Yet these conquerors never learnt this lesson, and this episode so interestingly told is merely typical.

The author concludes with a sketch of Indian civilization during the period, and this forms the most valuable part of the work.

It is a pity that a book so replete with facts should be destitute of an index; it deprives it of the opportunity of becoming a book of reference.

The translation is very well done. There is some uncertainty about the quantity of vowels in proper names. We have Ramâpâla, Râmapâla, and Ramâjâla; Anandapalâ for Ânandapâla, and so on. There are a few misprints and one page heading is printed upside down.

THE KEYS OF POWER. A STUDY OF INDIAN RITUAL AND BELIEF. By J. Abbott, B.A. (OXON). With numerous diagrams. (*Methuen.*) 21s. net.

(*Reviewed by* N. M. PENZER.)

First impressions are often the best and truest. The book before us is no exception to the rule. One is impressed first by its length, suggesting exhaustive treatment of its subject; and secondly by the general absence of footnotes and references to the works of other scholars, which shows us that the author has contented himself with writing down what he saw and heard. In other words, *The Keys of Power* is an excellent example of a piece of first-class work of which any folklorist might well be proud. These, then, are briefly our first impressions on taking up the work casually and glancing through the pages.

On inspecting it somewhat more carefully we are immediately aware of the fuller meaning of the title, and begin to realize how completely it covers the whole mass of complicated ritual and belief that is India.

In order to appreciate what power means in its Indian interpretation, it is necessary to understand the definition of such terms as *jīva*, life, and *śakti*, the creative dynamic force in all things, similar to the Muhammadan *kudrat*. As can well be imagined, the degrees of quality and quantity of such attributes are capable of enormous variations so that everything and everybody is affected in proportion to their importance in life. Thus in the course of the first twenty chapters we study the "Power" of man, woman, the evil eye, the ground, water, fire, metals, salt, stones, time, colours, numbers, sweet things, trees, the weather, agriculture, grain, bread, and animals. Such a list omits little that figures prominently in the life of the Hindu or the Muhammadan. It is impossible in a brief notice of the work to give much more than the chapter headings, but each subject is treated with a clearness and detail that the lay reader will readily appreciate. Although native terms abound, the majority are fully explained in a glossary that follows the contents sheet. It matters not to which chapter we turn, we shall always find a kind of Indian vade-mecum on the subject discussed. The amount and nature of the power it possesses is first given, proverbs and sayings showing its nature are then added, its good and bad uses are detailed, and the part it plays in all important rituals and commonplace daily happenings are duly recorded. For instance, let us glance at the chapter on the power of salt. Salt is good, as it has both *śakti* and *kudrat*, and proverbs expressing its auspicious nature are numerous. The power in salt is sufficient to scare away evil spirits, thus Lingāyats put salt round a corpse to protect it, so also is it used to protect the mother's cot, the cattle-shed, the spring of water, the sick-bed, the house of the newly married couple, etc. But there is also the evil use to which salt can be put. It is obvious that when one is handling anything possessed of power one can, under certain circumstances, use it either for good or for ill. Thus the Sindi Muhammadan who wishes to injure his enemy will mix salt with an equal weight of earth from a cemetery and with powdered pulse makes a figure of his enemy. He writes both his and his mothers' name on it, buries it, and thus causes an illness to attack him. Salt is used for a number of curious purposes, such as deciding whether to start a journey or not, to swear an oath, to engender passion, to hasten maturity, and so on.

But so packed full of curious information is the entire work that an odd citation gives but little idea of the enormous amount of conscientious work and unremitting patience that has gone to produce *The Keys of Power*.

The work finishes with five appendices. A. deals with Hindu and Muhammadan charms, by means of which one can cure a pain in the neck, scare thieves, keep out rats, cure melancholy, and many other diverse and varied ills. In B. is given a list of Hindu festivals on which certain forms of *Himsā*, or the destruction of life, are forbidden or allowed. Appendix C. is devoted to *Otāra*, or the removal of evil by its transference, in the Deccan. In the next one restrictions on intermarriage among the Kātkarī are listed, and in E. the power of the cardinal points is explained.

A useful index completes the work.

LES ANCIENNES CIVILISATIONS DE L'INDE. By G. Courtillier. (Paris: *Armand Colin.*) 10f. 50c.

(*Reviewed by* A. M. HOCART.)

Mr. G. Courtillier has provided the general public with an excellent, concise, and lucid summary of Indian literature, religion, art, and history from the earliest times down to the end of the Gupta period. The work makes no claim to originality; that could not be achieved in a small booklet which cannot give references or swell its bulk with demonstrations of new views. Thus the account of Vedic religion is strictly conventional; religion is little more than a profession of faith in certain ideas. That is what it has dwindled down to amongst some of our intellectuals; but that is not what it means for Indians or a vast majority of the human race. For them it is not a set of ideas, but a way of living, a mode of activity for which the whole of society is organized. To treat it from that point of view, however, would be to attempt a revolution; and that is not the author's aim. He is, quite rightly, concerned merely with introducing the novice to the religious literature from which we draw our information and to give a sketch of their contents.

The work is balanced and reliable. If it goes astray in Ceylon the fault lies with the materials, not with the author. The chronology of Ceylon art and architecture was for a long time in a state of chaos. Most inaccurate datings found their way into much more specialized and ambitious works than this, and have been copied again and again. Medirigiriya could not possibly date from about the Christian era (p. 118); it cannot be earlier than the tenth century A.D. The statement that Anuradhapura was 10 km. in diameter has been accepted uncritically from the author of the *Thūpavamsa.* It is evident, if you go over the ground book in hand, that he had never seen Anuradhapura, and was giving rein to the Indian love of exaggeration. (See *Ceylon Journal of Science,* Section G, vol i., p. 150.) I do not know where the author gets his "Sirigaya" for "Sigiriya"; it is repeated on Plate V., so cannot be a misprint. The fresco caves there are not cut-out caves, but are natural hollows under the overhanging rock.

On p. 101 "upasâka" is a misprint for "upâsaka."

As is usual in French works, there is no index, but there is a bibliography which will enable the beginner to deepen his acquaintance with ancient India. The plates give an idea of Indian art, but are too rough to do it justice.

AN ACCOUNT OF TIBET. THE TRAVELS OF IPPOLITO DESIDERI OF PISTOIA, S.J., 1712-27. Edited by Filippo de Filippi, with an introduction by C. Wessels, S.J. With coloured frontispiece, 16 plates, and a map. (*Routledge.*) 25s. net.

The Broadway Travellers Series has received an important addition in the account of Tibet by I. Desideri. The first complete edition of this Jesuit Father was issued in Italian by Carlo Puini in 1904. The writer remembers the event distinctly, but he agrees with the complaint of Mr. Filippi that this fine edition has been sorely and wrongly neglected. Since then further MSS. have been discovered, and Mr. Filippi has done well to edit the whole text anew and issue it complete in an English edition. Desideri's knowledge of Tibet extended chiefly to Central and Southern Tibet. The first book, following Desideri's historical account of the country, describes his journey from Rome to Lhasa and includes chapters on the Tibetan language and literature. The second book refers to the country, its customs, and government. In the third book we have the fullest and earliest correct report on religion, and this is perhaps the most valuable section of the book, ending in the fourth book with the return journey from Lhasa. Mr. Filippi has added numerous important notes at the end of the volume and compiled a large general index and a Tibetan index in Desideri's own spelling with a modern rendering.

INDIAN STATES

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN HYDERABAD

Economic Investigations in the Hyderabad State, 1929-30. Vols. III., IV., V. (Hyderabad: *Government Press.*)

In the Asiatic Review for last July (pp. 460 *ff.*) an account was given of the important work accomplished for the Government of Hyderabad by Professor S. Kesava Iyengar through the publication of his *Economic Investigations in the Hyderabad State,* 1929-30. The volumes then reviewed were Vol. I., containing the *General Survey* and summing-up the final conclusions of the whole enquiry, and Vol. II., giving detailed information in regard to the *Nanded District.* Since then three stout volumes, Nos. III., IV., and V., have been issued, which deal respectively with the districts of Warrangal, Aurangabad, and Raichur. The treatment is similar to that which has been followed in regard to the Nanded District, and the details show once again the great care and conscientiousness with which the groundwork has been carried out. The final conclusions, which have already been discussed, may, therefore, be accepted as solidly based, and, in any event, the student of the subject is now enabled to investigate the whole of the material in detail for himself. If similar enquiries could be carried out in other parts of India in an equally careful and painstaking manner, they would, in conjunction with Dr. Harold Mann's earlier studies, afford excellent material to establish the real position of the rural population of India, which forms so overwhelming a portion of its total inhabitants.

An important feature of Hyderabad economics is the attention now being bestowed on cottage industries.

Like an unsightly oil-blotch spreading over a clean cloth, the world depression penetrates from one country into another, spoiling the fair course of the people's lives. That even a country so apparently self-contained as the great State of Hyderabad had not escaped the reactions of the general economic dislocation was made clear by the latest Customs Report issued by H.E.H.'s

Government.* So far as a remedy could be provided by retrenchment in public expenditure and relief, in various directions, from the burden of direct and indirect taxation, the Hyderabad Government were not slow in affording the people every possible assistance. But it is not by negative remedies alone—excellent and, in fact, essential as these are—that the drastic changes in international economic intercourse can be counteracted. In all countries it has been realized that an intensification of domestic production for domestic consumption is an inherent factor in economic improvement in the present state of the world's trade.

This aspect has, for some time past, been receiving the anxious consideration of the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam, and recently steps were taken in certain directions which should prove of increasing value. One of these relates to the practical stimulation of cottage industries, for which purpose a Government Institute has been established at Mushirabad. As Mr. Abdy Collins, the Director-General of the Commerce and Industry Department in Hyderabad, pointed out on the recent occasion of the formal opening of this institute by His Exalted Highness in person,† the cottage industries of Hyderabad are of great importance to the people of the State. Among these industries, hand-loom weaving and the dyeing and printing of textiles are much the most prominent, being, in fact, only second in value to agriculture. It is estimated, continued Mr. Collins, that one-third of the cloth worn in Hyderabad is manufactured on its hand-looms, while the industry uses raw materials consisting of yarn, silk, dyes, and gold and silver thread to the value of about a crore and a half annually, or approximately 10 per cent. of the total value of the articles imported into the State.

Although hand-loom weaving has held its own in a wonderful manner against the product of the power-loom, the weavers, as a body, are illiterate, ignorant, and ill-organized. The object of the new venture is to teach them improved methods and new designs, so as to enable them to stand up against increasing competition both from inside and outside the State. The Cottage Industries Institute, which forms part of the organization which has been functioning for some time to advance village industries generally, has cost some 1¾ lakhs to erect and equip, and the gross running costs are estimated at a lakh a year, part of which it is hoped to recover from the sale of its products. The principal objects of the Institute are to give the artisans a systematic training, so as to improve their earning capacity, and to carry on experiments in order to ascertain the most suitable methods and designs. Market conditions will also be studied and the best marketing methods devised. It is further intended to give a thorough practical training in hand-loom weaving, dyeing, etc., to more educated persons, in order to fit them for supervising posts or for managing their own businesses. Finally, the Institute will devise the most suitable improved apppliances and organize their manufacture and supply to the cottagers. In addition to practical training, the Institute will give such theoretical instruction as will enable the practical training to be more fully beneficial. A hostel, accommodating fourteen resident students is attached to the Institute and there is a technical library for the use of both students and masters.

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* Cp. *Asiatic Review*, July, 1932, p. 465 *ff*.

† *Hyderabad Bulletin* of July 5, 1932.

At present there are nine sections in operation—viz., weaving, dyeing and calico printing, knitting and hosiery manufacture, durrie and carpet weaving, woollen spinning and blanket weaving, embroidery and needlework, rattan and basket making, toy making and lacquer work, and there are also a workshop for carpentry and a smithy. It will be seen, therefore, that if the Institute is primarily concerned with the hand-loom and allied industries, it is also adequately equipped to improve the smaller industries as far as possible and to introduce such new cottage industries as seem likely to be of benefit to the public. In thus outlining the nature and aims of the Institute, Mr. Collins paid a tribute to the fine work which has been done to ensure its completion, organization, and equipment by Mr. Ghulam Ali Muhammadi, the Director of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Karmarkar, industrial engineer, and Mr. Pillai, textile expert.

The great importance which this organization is destined to have in stimulating the indigenous industries of Hyderabad was fittingly emphasized by His Exalted Highness the Nizam coming in person to open the Institute. As His Exalted Highness pointed out,* the value of the Institute lies not only in the fostering and improving of the various smaller village industries, but especially in that it should enable the hand-loom weavers and dyers to hold their own better than they have been able to do in the past against the competition of the power-loom industries, both in the State and outside, a problem which is also of interest to countries other than Hyderabad. In addition to giving his personal encouragement in this direction, His Exalted Highness availed himself of the opportunity to make an emphatic plea for the use of home products in preference to imported articles. "I am convinced," said the Nizam, "that the increasing competition from both inside and outside the State can easily be beaten if the richer classes of my subjects give preference, as I do, to the products of home industries that are generally better and cheaper." His Exalted Highness then referred to the "tendency in all countries of the world to purchase home products, even though they be not quite so good as imported articles," and he saw no reason why his State should not follow "that natural and world-wide tendency." Pointing to examples of this practice at his own Court, such as that "Golconda soap, made in Hyderabad, was used in all his palaces and was found good and cheap," His Exalted Highness urged a corresponding policy upon the whole country. Since then there has, in fact, been formed a "Buy Hyderabad Products League" to give practical effect to the suggestions made by the Nizam.† It may also be mentioned that, in addition, a movement is on foot to obtain the establishment in other parts of the vast State of additional cottage industries institutes, as well as for the organization of stalls for the stocking and selling of domestic industrial products in the important towns in H.E.H.'s dominions. Thus the pinch of reduced world demand is, in Hyderabad as elsewhere, turning the people's attention inward.

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* *Hyderabad Bulletin* of July 5, 1932.

† *Hyderabad Bulletin* of July 11 and 12, 1932, and the article from the Madras *Justice* quoted in the latter.

As the development of indigenous small industries in the villages is a matter of great importance, also outside Hyderabad, the outcome of this well-planned and propitiously started movement will be watched with interest.

J. DE L. V.

BARODA: A HUMAN CENSUS REPORT

The Baroda Census Report* recently issued is a piece of work in which the Government of that progressive State may take justifiable pride. To begin with, it is excellently printed and produced. Not only the publications of certain Indian States, but those issued by the Central or Provincial Governments in India are sometimes marred by a disheartening combination of inferior paper and printing and unsatisfactory illustrations. There is one such lying before me now, which shall be nameless, as it shall remain unread. For, after all, the reviewing of statistics and reports may be an agreeable spare-time hobby, but there is no justification for turning it into an eye-straining obsession. In the Baroda Census Report for 1931, not only are the inserted coloured maps and diagrams, produced by the Times of India Press at Bombay, admirably clear and useful, but the text, as well as the numerous large and small diagrams, are equally satisfactory; while Part II., containing the detailed tables, which was printed at the Baroda State Press, is in no wise inferior. Then, again, this vast work has been published with commendable speed. The tables and the preliminary conclusions (Parts II. and I.A.) were, in fact, released before the end of last year, whilst the introduction to the final Report (Part I.) was dated last March. Thus a degree of actuality has been secured which adds so much to the immediate interest taken in Government publications.

The supervision of the Census and the preparation of the Reports has, as in 1921, been entrusted to that capable statistician, Mr. Satya V. Mukerjea, who adds to the essential qualifications for the task a certain innate sense of human values, the absence of which turns some Census reports into little more than collections of dead facts, dried, pressed, and docketed like lifeless flowers in a herbarium.

The real merit of the Baroda Census Report is that, while it supplies in conventional form all the expected figures, the comments are the outcome of a constant desire to see the interactions of the living forces of which these figures are the mere measurements. In its general outline the Baroda Census conforms to and fits in with the scheme laid down for the whole of India by Dr. Hutton, the Census Commissioner for India, whose guidance and assistance has been gratefully acknowledged by several of the States. But even in the actual collecting of the material the Baroda organization struck out on its own lines by introducing a system of bulletins for individuals bound in book form. After examining the results, the Census Commissioner for India commended this new departure in these words:

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* *Census of India*, 1931. Vol. XIX., *Baroda*. Part I.—*Report:* Part I.A., *Some Results of the Census;* Part II.—*Tables*, by Satya V. Mukerjea, B.A. (OXON), F.S.S. (LOND.), Census Commissioner, Baroda State.

> "The Bulletin Individuals System has worked extremely well, particularly as combined with the offer of rewards for the return of the best books of slips. Sex was dealt with by having male and female printed on different colours. . . . The same system of differentiating sex by colour is carried out in sorting tickets with great advantage. . . . This might perfectly well have been done for India as a whole, as the waste on tickets would probably be no greater than that under present conditions. The total saving involved by the abolition of slip-copying obtained by this process works out at almost 50 per cent. of the cost of abstraction in Baroda, though I do not think that this would be the case elsewhere. It also involves the elimination of one source of error."

On the question of reduced cost, the total expenditure on the Baroda Census works out at an average of Rs.43·7 per 1,000 of the population for 1931, as compared with Rs.55·5 for 1921 and Rs.64 for 1901. For some reason, the cost in 1911 only averaged Rs.28·5 per 1,000 inhabitants, but it should be remembered that the cost of paper and printing, as well as clerical labour, is now about twice as high as thirty years ago.

Differences with the general course of the Census in India are also to be found in several additional enquiries which were made. But it is especially in the nature of the comments and the provision of certain apppendices providing telling information of various kinds that we find the explanation of the human interest which is so definite an impression left by the perusal of this Report.

The aggregate population of the State is now given as 2,443,007, of whom 1,257,817 are male and 1,185,190 females. The increase over 1921 amounts to 14·9 per cent. for the State as a whole, the highest increases being, as might have been expected, in Baroda City (19·2 per cent.) and in Okhamandal (19·1 per cent.) as a result of the development of Port Okha. With the total area of the State now fixed at 8,164 square miles, the density of population works out at 299 per square mile. This compares with a density of 331 in the surrounding parts of British Gujerat and with 669 in the very closely inhabited State of Travancore. On the other hand, Mysore has a density of only 255, and such neighbouring States as Jaipur, Indore, and Nawanagar show figures of respectively 169, 138, and 108 per square mile. For a European comparison we may perhaps add that Belgium, one of the most populous areas in the world and about one and one-half times as large as Baroda, boasts of 686, but Switzerland, about twice the size of Baroda, can show only 255 inhabitants per square mile. From the aggregate population it is seen that, at last, Baroda has recovered from the decrease of population which resulted from the calamitous famines and epidemics of the past, including the world-wide influenza scourge of 1918-19. Reducing the results of past Censuses to index figures, in which 1891 is taken as 1,000, we find the following results:

1881.	*1891.*	*1901.*	*1911.*	*1921.*	*1931.*
903	1,000	808	841	886	1,011

This satisfactory progress is partly due to a falling off in the death-rate during the last ten years from 39·8 to 30·1 per 1,000. In this matter, as the figures show, the reduction of infant mortality from 30·76 per cent. of the births during the previous decade to 18·63 per cent. in the decade now under review plays an important and growing part. In this respect the excellent work of the Maharani Chimnabai Maternity and Child Welfare League, together with the generous policy in regard to hospitals and medical services always pursued by the Maharaja Gaekwar, contributed substantially.

In an essentially agricultural country, dependent in a large measure upon rainfall, it must be tempting to try and establish correlations between rainfall, prices of produce, and birth-rates. Interesting as the facts and figures quoted are, Mr. Mukerjea admits that little more can be definitely shown than that the bad seasons of 1920, 1924, 1925 have reflected themselves in a lowered birth-rate in 1921, 1925, 1926.

Even this very general conclusion is, however, quite sufficient to justify in the past and to encourage for the future the State's enlightened policy of multiplying the facilities for rural relief and increasing the provision of useful facilities. In the decade since 1920 the number of co-operative societies has risen from 491 to 1,045, including four "apex banks" and two "banking unions," whilst their membership has grown from 15,800 to 39,210 and their aggregate capital from 24 to over 71 lakhs. Road mileage during the same period increased from 752 to 1,066 miles, while railways have been brought into all parts of the Maharaja Gaekwar's terrtitories and now reach a total of 795 miles, of which 583 are owned by H.H.'s Government.

To counteract precarious rainfall, irrigation was enlarged, both directly by State works and by grants to farmers towards wells sunk and tanks constructed. In several other such direct ways, as well as by measures of relief in times of stress, the Government has encouraged and assisted the agricultural population, with this result, among others, that 200,000 acres were added to the occupied area in the last ten years, whilst the sown area has steadily increased from an average of 4,247 square miles in 1891-1900, to 4,351 in 1910-20 and 5,175 square miles in 1921-31, the marginal lands being more and more taken into cultivation. Likewise there has been a gratifying increase in the number of agricultural holdings of 5 bighas and over from 88,397 in 1910 to 94,747 in 1920 and 106,484 in 1930, a growth of 20 per cent. in these twenty years.

But this absolute growth in the agricultural section of the population should not blind us to the fact that there is a tendency which is slowly extending over many parts of India and which Mr. Mukerjea already began to detect in Baroda some ten years ago. In his 1921 Census Report he said on this subject that enough had been indicated

> "to show that a period of intense devotion of national energies to agriculture is now fast giving place to another in which the people, driven by their misfortunes from their passionate attachment to the soil, will strive to seek more and more in a varied industrial life the requisite relief for the pressure of an increasing population on their means of subsistence."

One indication of this is disclosed by the fact that whereas the occupied area had in 1931 increased by 14·9 per cent. as compared with 1901, the population grew by 25·1 per cent. during that same period, whilst the average size of individual holdings has, in the last twenty years, decreased from between 19 and 19½ to about 18½ bighas. " There is little scope for further increase in the occupied area," observes Mr. Mukerjea, after computing that there remain only about 327 square miles of cultivable land unoccupied. This statement may, perhaps, require the qualification that improved means of communication, coupled with some expansion of irrigation, might add something more, though even so the total may well remain insufficient to cope permanently with the natural increase in population. A more controversial point of view is taken up by Mr. Mukerjea when he deduces from his figures that " even in good years agricultural returns are only a fraction of the best possible, and this is the case in Gujerat, which is the home perhaps of the most industrious and the most intelligent peasantry in India," and finds in this fact support for his assertion that " newer and more thriftless classes have been driven to the land, where, through economic competition, they have been left only with the more uneconomic holdings." His figure for the fall in the average size of holdings does not seem to support the latter part of the contention, though the tendency may well be beginning to make itself felt. If the first part of his assertion must be accepted, however, one would be forced to assume either lack of adequate competence in the average agriculturist or the absence of flexibility in adapting the type of crops to the fluctuations in demand. If such is really the case, it should not be beyond the powers of the Government of Baroda which, under the stimulating inspiration of its Ruler, has tackled many more refractory problems, to devise such forms of agricultural research and popular tuition as should produce better results. For though one may well agree with Mr. Mukerjea that not only in Baroda but also in other parts of India there is a tendency towards increased industrialization, even the most convinced advocate of this line of advance could only deplore such a development if it meant leaving agriculture in a less developed condition than foresight and technical guidance can produce. Europe and America show only too clearly the immense dangers of excessive industrial development, including industrialized, wholesale cultivation at the expense of agriculture proper. In India those dangers should prove even more marked.

In any case, the progress towards industrialization does not so far appear to have been very marked in Baroda, judging by the occupational figures. The strength of " earners and working dependents " engaged in the " exploitation of animals and vegetation " is indicated for 1931 as about 856,000, compared with less than 130,000 employed in industry. Reducing these figures to proportions per 1,000 total " earners and working dependents," the figures for 1931 were for agriculture, etc., 707 and for industry 107, as compared with the corresponding figures in 1921 of 664 and 119 respectively. While these latter figures relate to " persons supported in each occupation," and are not therefore exactly comparable with those for 1931, they do not seem to disclose any encroachment of industrial on agricultural occupations.

Textile workers form the majority of the industrial community in the State, representing about 31 per 1,000 of the total number of workers. In addition, 2 per 1,000 have indicated textiles as their subsidiary occupation, making the total just short of a third of the total number of industrial workers. It is, however, observed that "as hand-weaving and spinning is receiving wide encouragement, the figures of only 787 earners who have returned cotton spinning, sizing, and weaving as a subsidiary occupation cannot be accepted as a complete record." Both this year and in 1921 the numbers of factory and cottage workers have been separately compiled. Thus we see that the aggregate number of cottage workers has increased from 93,380 in 1921 to 107,337 in 1931, or 14·1 per cent., whilst the number of factory workers has in the same time almost doubled—viz., from 11,225 to 22,323. In absolute figures there has, however, been an addition of almost 14,000 to the cottage workers, as compared with about 11,000 to the factory hands. Those who, like the reviewer, are inclined to deplore any avoidable addition to the world's industrial proletariat, will note with satisfaction these results of the State's set policy to encourage the individual industrial producer.

Space prevents a detailed discussion of the many and varied comments and statistics provided on other aspects of agricultural, industrial and other employment generally, on incomes and cost of living, etc., in regard to all of which interesting data are supplied and helpfully explained. To the average European student of occupational statistics, the section dealing with the "Professions and Liberal Arts" will be enlightening in that it starts off with the category of "Religious Mendicants," who account for over a third of the total, and if one includes, as in some respects one well may, "Other Religious Workers," this total would exceed one-half of the aggregate number of workers in this class. Perhaps nothing can illustrate more vividly the place which religion occupies in the life of the people. The next biggest group in this class is composed of "professors, teachers, etc.," who account for three-tenths of the total. It is satisfactory to note that the State includes almost 1,000 doctors and dentists, in addition to 638 qualified nurses and midwives. But it is with some sadness at the decline of romance that we hear that "witches and wizards" are no longer included in "the respectable company of letters and arts," but relegated amongst "beggars and vagrants," a declining class since "owing to lean years and economic stress . . . beggary has ceased to be profitable."

The Maharaja Gaekwar's well-known policy of selecting for his service the best talent available, irrespective of caste or creed, is apparently being maintained throughout the services of the State. Not only do we see by the side of Brahmans and Patidars important numbers of Marathas, Vanias, and Muslims, together with smaller percentages of Parsis, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Indian Christians, but there is a tendency for certain classes, such as Marathas and Vanias, who are stated to be "advancing in usefulness in the service," to increase in relative numbers.

The Report not only provides full statistics of castes and religions, tribes and races and their innumerable sub-divisions, but its appendices teem with encyclopædic, yet crisp and concise, information about their main characteristics. In many cases the types of the people and their dwellings are illustrated and described. Though this information is partly available in other works, its concentration and clear tabulation here renders this Census Report a doubly valuable handbook to the student of these matters.

Another interesting chapter is a " Food Survey of the Principal Castes in Baroda State," by F. P. Antia, PH.D.(ECON.), and F. S. Kale, B.A., the main conclusion of which is that, except among the Audich Brahmans and the Lewa Patidars, there is general under-nourishment due to various causes " from rank poverty in the case of the Dublas to ignorance of dietetic principles in the case of the Parsis." That this systematic under-nourishment has its deleterious effect both upon the average length of life of the people and upon their resistance to disease is made apparent by two diagrams. The first shows that as against an average length of life of the people in England of 54 years and in New Zealand of 62 years, the inhabitants of India only reach an average of 24 years, those in Baroda State being rather better off by attaining an average age of 27·66 years. The second diagram gives the daily average number of sick persons per 1,000 inhabitants in England as 30 and in New Zealand as 19, compared with respectively 84 for India and 75 for Baroda. Although this State thus shows a decided improvement over the average for the whole of India, it certainly seems essential, as the authors add, " that His Highness's subjects should eat more food, of better quality, greater variety, and richer chemical worth," and they conclude by recommending a daily dietary " theoretically applicable to India," devised by Colonel McCarrison. Whatever the practical value of this " ideal diet " may be, it is not encouraging to find it established on a basis of caloric values alone, without, apparently, any specific reference to vitamin content. From a paragraph in the report it would appear that the extent to which vitamins are present in Indian foodstuffs is still somewhat of an unknown quantity, and also that the views held on this subject would not seem to be in consonance with the latest opinions current in this country, as these were clearly summarized by Dr. J. C. Drummond, Professor of Bio-Chemistry at the University of London, in the Cantor Lectures which he delivered to the Royal Society of Arts last April and May.* In any event, one would have expected some reference to the famous vitamins B_1 and B_2. Admittedly the diseases of beri-beri and human pellagra are now no longer looked upon as simple deficiency diseases, due only to lack of the corresponding vitamin. Particularly in regard to beri-beri patients has it come to be realized that they generally have a long history of dietary deficiency and ill-health. Yet so ample is the evidence that vitamin B_1 is of great value in the prophylactic as well as in the curative treatment of beri-beri, that the Government medical services, both in the Federated Malay States and the Dutch Indies, now prepare and distribute a concentrated vitamin B_1 preparation which, according to Professor Drummond, appears to have "been used extensively in the East with encouraging results." Much the same complicated type of disorder is seen in pellagra as found, *e.g.*, among the people in the maize-consuming districts of Italy, Roumania, and the U.S.A. It would seem that no completely satisfactory dietary can be established for India which does not pay due regard to the vitamin content of the foodstuffs recommended for inclusion.

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* Reproduced in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* for August 19 and 26 and September 2 and 9, 1932.

The question of the regular under-nourishment of Oriental races has, particularly in connection with industrial output, been studied by certain American specialists in China, and some experiments have been made, though only on a limited scale. There is no doubt that in a general way under-nourishment exists in many parts of India. Its removal would not only tend to increase the physical resistance to disease and the working capacity of the individuals, but also lead to greater consumption of agricultural produce, most of which would be indigenous. It would thus form one of the links in the chain of inter-related causes which lead from greater working capacity to enhanced output, from the latter to improved purchasing power, and thence back to a higher standard of individual living. It is always hard to find the correct starting-point in any set of circular sequences such as this. It is in any event to be welcomed that the Government of Baroda should, in accordance with its usual far-sighted policy, have deemed it desirable to raise the point and to supply concrete material for its consideration.

The provision of ever-expanding facilities for popular education has been a subject to which H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar has given not only every possible support but also his personal attention and encouragement. Since the beginning of this century there has been steady growth in the educational institutions of Baroda. From a total of 1,213 in 1901 their number grew to 3,026 in 1911. Since then amalgamations of the smaller institutions reduced this number to 2,797 in 1921 and 2,718 in 1931. But the number of pupils has gradually expanded from 86,444 in 1901 to 185,477 and 198,816 at the time of the two subsequent Censuses, to reach 231,004 last year. The institutions open to these students include the Government college and a private college, 76 secondary and 2,602 primary schools, 2 training schools and 36 special institutions of different kinds—a rich variety for a population of barely 2½ millions. The number of male students has grown 43·5 per cent. in the last twenty years; that of girl students 48 per cent. At the secondary schools the number of male students has nearly doubled in twenty years, and there are now 662 girls studying English at secondary schools and colleges, where there were none in 1911. The figures show that, in a general way, the increase in the number of pupils has about kept pace these twenty years with the increase in population, but whereas the compulsory provisions "are being more rigorously and successfully worked in respect of girls' attendance, similar efforts in regard to boys have been far from successful." Partly this is stated to be due to the restriction of the area of compulsion since 1911 and partly to epidemics, calamities, and agricultural depression.

One way in which to ascertain the practical result of education is to compare the ultimate extent of actual literacy with the theoretical extent to which it should prevail if there had been no relapse into illiteracy after leaving school. On the basis of carefully substantiated figures, the Report estimates the theoretical maximum of literates in 1931 as 450,330, compared with the actual number of 434,734 disclosed by the census. The deficiency of 15,596, or 3·5 per cent., of the expected result should be considered as quite satisfactory, if one bears in mind the very limited extent to which the rural population is called upon to apply its literacy to any practical purpose after leaving school. Very interesting, too, are the figures which enable us to compare the results of the intensive educational policy followed in H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar's State with those achieved in the surrounding parts of British Gujerat. Taking the proportion of literates per 1,000 of the population aged over five years we find:

Year.	*Baroda State.*		*British Gujerat.*	
	Male.	*Female.*	*Male.*	*Female.*
1901	180	9	227	18
1911	206	24	234	31
1921	240	47	254	48
1931	331	79	254	46

This table effectively illustrates the success of the compulsory experiment in Baroda, for it shows that, although starting thirty years ago with a severe handicap as compared with the surrounding British territory, the State almost equalled the latter's standard of achievement in the space of twenty years and completely outstripped it during the last decade. Comparing the degree of literacy in Baroda with other parts of the Indian Peninsula, we find its ratio of total literacy to total population of 209 per 1,000 exceeded only by Cochin with 337 and Travancore with 288, the next highest among the British Indian Provinces being Delhi with 163 and among the Indian States Mysore with 106. The Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras show ratios of total literacy of respectively 110, 108, and 108. So far as the attainment of literacy is worth while, and on balance it presumably is, the Baroda educational policy is to be highly commended.

Nor are its results in the narrower sphere of literacy in English less satisfactory. In 1921 the number of male literates in English per 1,000 of the male population was only 15, but during the last decade it rose to 28. These figures compare with respectively 20 and 24 for British Gujerat, again showing that the average achievement of the surrounding British territory has been improved upon by Baroda. For the whole Presidency of Bombay the figures were 23 in 1921 and 32 last year, so that Baroda is seen to be steadily approaching to the latter's standard. As for the actual cities of Baroda and Bombay, it may come as a surprise to find the male literacy ratios to be respectively 166 and 153, thus putting the Maharaja Gaekwar's capital ahead of that of the British province.

In the matter of female literacy in the vernaculars, Baroda is outdistanced only by Cochin and Travancore, but shows a ratio at least double that of any other Indian State or any British province in the peninsula, except Delhi, which almost comes up to the Baroda standard. The extent of literacy in English among the female population has doubled in the last ten years, but is still only 2 per 1,000, which is the same as in British Gujerat.

The support by the State to the provision of literature has grown to keep pace with the spread of education. In addition to the Central Library and the world-famous Oriental Institute in Baroda City, there are now 773 other libraries in the State, as compared with only 274 twenty years ago. The stock of books has grown in that period from some 84,000 to over 714,000, the circulation from 92,000 to over 540,000, and the number of readers from 36,000 to 87,442. Since 1912 the publication has been undertaken of translations of the standard books in Gujerati, Marathi, and Hindu. There are two series of such books, one for adults and one for children. Some 200 books have been published in these series during the last decade. In addition, assistance is frequently given to the publication of works by private individuals.

The universality of marriage in India, which the previous Census Reports have emphasized, coupled with the obstacles to re-marriage by women, account for the very high number of widows, the percentage in Baroda being 15, as against an average of about 9 in European countries. The proportion of young widows is especially high among the Hindus and Jains. Amongst women of child-bearing age, 1 in 10 Hindus and 1 in 5 Jains are widows; the proportion in England being hardly 1 in 200. In addition to the Hindu prohibition of remarriage of widows, the frequency of disparate marriages contributes to this result. The presumption is inevitable, states the Report, "that widowers try to marry as fast as they can with women much younger than themselves." Nearly 42 per cent. of wives in Baroda, it has been shown by the special sex enquiries, are married to husbands of greatly different ages.

The prevention of infant marriages has long been the subject of special concern on the part of H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar and an Act to prevent such marriages has now been in operation in Baroda for over twenty-eight years. Nevertheless, the number of offences against it remains all too high, even though there is evidence of a decline. The number of convictions secured under the Act, which averaged 6,487 per annum for the decade 1921-30, is estimated at 2,122 for the year 1931, the number of offences being in both cases rather higher. One of the difficulties encountered in enforcing the provisions of the Act has been the fact that the Baroda territories are hopelessly mixed up with British territory, and "unless the whole area takes up the provisions in restraint of child marriages, the State cannot hope for much success in the working of its own law." The Sarda Act in British India, having a similar object in view, only came into operation on April 1, 1930, and it has encountered severe opposition not only, as might be anticipated, from the ranks of Hindu orthodoxy, but, rather unexpectedly, also from the Muslims. In Baroda, on the other hand, the State Act has worked amongst the Muslims without opposition for nearly a generation, which renders the Muhammadan opposition in British territory the more surprising. At present certain amendments are being made in the Baroda Act to bring it more conveniently into line with the Sarda Act of 1930, which, it is hoped, will make it less difficult to administer the Baroda Act satisfactorily in the State. Meanwhile it is claimed that its operation so far has, in any event, completely done away with the "mock-marriages" of infants below three years of age; that it has brought about a "marked decline both in offences and in the number and proportion of child marriages in the State"; and, lastly, that there has been a steady decline in the proportion of the married amongst the females aged 10 to 15—namely, from 542 per 1,000 in 1891 to 412 last year. Now that the British provinces in India have made a move in a direction in which the progressive Ruler of Baroda advanced almost a generation ago, it is to be hoped that the cumulative effect may lead to speedier progress being made than that disclosed above. But however much modern tendencies may filter through to the upper classes of the people of India, their effect upon its broad masses still seems to be limited. Confirmation of the truth of the first part of this statement may be found in the fact that whereas vernacular education seems to have little effect upon the incidence of early marriages, wherever "English education is really effective, as in the 'upper ten' of the 'advanced groups,' we see a definite advance in the direction of adult marriage," for "it is only where the women are highly educated that modern influences are said to have penetrated the home." Ample justification is here found for the insistence with which both His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar and Her Highness the Maharani Chimnabai have devoted themselves to the emancipation and education of the feminine section of their subjects.

The well-known attitude of the Hindu religion to divorce and the growing demand of modern life for the relief which its legal provision affords, has long been a subject of serious consideration by the Ruler and the Government of Baroda. But it was only in the course of 1931 that the Baroda Hindu Divorce Act was passed. As its preamble stated, the Act was intended to "give healthy facilities to the Hindu society and to promote its happiness" by enabling them to apply for relief which Parsis, Muhammadans, and Christians had long had the liberty to obtain. Among the grounds for divorce which (where applicable) either side may invoke are: disappearance for seven years; becoming a recluse; conversion to another religion; cruelty; desertion for more than three years; addiction to intoxicants "to the detriment of the fulfilment of marital obligations"; adultery; impotence (of the husband); pregnancy of the wife without the husband's knowledge; and bigamy. Nullity of marriages in certain cases is also provided for. Judicial separation can be obtained in any of the above events and in case of lunacy or cessation of conjugal relations for more than three years through incompatibility. Whilst there has obviously not yet been time to observe the practical effects of this Act, a valuable enquiry has been conducted into all the matters surrounding the problem of divorce, and the inclusion of the results in the Census Report should prove of assistance in the administration of the new Act.

This survey of the Baroda Census Report may suffice to show the value of this comprehensive work as going beyond the normal scope of a Census, and will be welcomed far beyond the borders of the State with which it deals.

J. de L. V.

JAIPUR: A YOUNG RULER'S DEBUT*

The year 1931 will long remain memorable in the annals of Jaipur State. Its first outstanding event was the investiture of His Highness the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh Bahadur, with full ruling powers, by Lord Irwin, the honorary rank of a lieutenant in the British Army being conferred upon His Highness. The second event was the birth, on October 22, 1931, of an heir-apparent to the Ruler, an event which had not occurred in Jaipur for a hundred years.

In the course of the year the State joined in the general Census which was undertaken throughout India, when it was found that the population had during the last decade grown from 2,338,802 to 2,631,775, an increase of about 12½ per cent. As in other parts of India, the rainfall in Jaipur was deficient last year, and the crops, particularly the *kharif* crop, suffered accordingly. Nevertheless, the total output was, on the whole, not much below the average, but the abnormal fall in the prices of agricultural produce caused serious losses to the agricultural classes. To alleviate their suffering, generous remissions of land revenue were granted by the Government, in addition to those special remissions of arrears of rent and other dues which were decreed on the occasion of His Highness's investiture, and to mark the birth of the Maharaj Kumar, nearly 32 lakhs of rupees being so remitted on the latter occasion alone.

The policy of improving the medical facilities was continued, and two new dispensaries were opened as well as a female hospital, bringing the aggregate number of all such institutions up to forty-seven. As a result, the medical assistance supplied could be extended, and 491,771 patients were treated in 1931, as compared with 478,969 the year before. Additions were also made to the number of public educational institutions, the total of which consequently rose from 542 to 571, the number of their pupils growing from 32,862 to 36,066. At the end of 1931 there were 8 arts colleges with 1,312 scholars, 126 secondary schools with 14,982, and 432 primary schools with 19,419 scholars. In addition, the number of private educational institutions in the State increased from 277 in 1930, with 7,714 scholars, to 281 in 1931, with 7,931 scholars.

Although the universal financial stringency necessitated the curtailing of the State's public works programme, it was decided to carry out the more important works of public utility, and, in fact, a sum of about 48 lakhs of rupees was spent in this way. One of the buildings completed during the year was the State Zenana Hospital. This hospital, constructed at a cost of nearly 8 lakhs of rupees, is designed to hold 104 beds, has modern operating rooms, and is considered as ranking among the finest female hospitals in India. Good progress was made with the building of the new college, estimated to cost about 8 lakhs. A normal school for teachers was practically completed and a primary school was built at Mahwa. A dispensary was constructed at Khandar and the one commenced at Bairath in 1930 was completed. Progress was made with the construction of new roads, as well as the remodelling of the Torri canals, the reconditioning of the Patan tank and on other irrigation works. The area under irrigation during the year was slightly below normal, being 76,850 bighas. The revenue from irrigation showed a substantial fall.

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* From the *Annual Administration Report of the Jaipur State* for the year 1931.

On the occasion of his visit to Jaipur in March, 1931, the Viceroy opened the new Ramgarh Water Works, on which more than 40 lakhs of rupees have been expended, and a new scheme is now under consideration for water supply to the town of Toda Raisingh, where the inhabitants have been suffering from Guinea worm.

The electrical undertakings continued to make very satisfactory progress, the number of units sold increasing by 30 per cent. and new consumers being added daily.

There were 119 quarries under lease during 1931, as against 95 the year before. Prospecting operations were carried out during the year for steatite, mica, copper, lead, and garnet, and the results obtained were, on the whole, satisfactory. Prospecting and mapping for underground water-supply were intensively carried out during the year under review, and several sources of supply were located in certain arid areas, which it is hoped in this way substantially to improve.

It will be seen from this rapid survey of recent activities in Jaipur State that, notwithstanding the generally adverse conditions in the world, the young Ruler has started his personal reign under the best auspices and in a manner which promises well for the progress of his State and the happiness of his people.

J. DE L. V.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF MYSORE UNDER SIR MARK CUBBON (1834-1861). By K. N. Venkatasubha Sastri, M.A. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 16s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

After the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippu Sultan in 1799, his territories were the subject of a partition treaty which contemplated the renaissance of the ancient Hindu State of Mysore. This was achieved by a subsidiary treaty in the same year, and the boundaries were definitely fixed four years later. The recognized heir of the old ruling family, a child of five, was installed as Rajah and the Brahmin finance minister of the late régime was appointed Dewan and Regent, with Colonel Barry Close as Resident and Colonel Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, in command of the occupying troops. In 1811, when the Rajah was seventeen years of age, the Regency was terminated and the young prince took over the administration of his State, together with a surplus of about 2 crores of rupees which had been accumulated during the Regency. Purnaiya had proved a strong ruler, but his administration, dominated as it had been by the idea that the State was the private property of the Chief, was unsympathetic and consequently unpopular. A large amount of money was obtained by the sale of enormous stores of sandalwood, the export of which had been prohibited by Tippu. The assessments pressed heavily on the cultivators, and a system of internal Customs, termed " Sayer," under no less than 537 heads, strangled trade and enterprise.

The assumption of authority by the Rajah was greeted with lively anticipations of a brighter future for his oppressed subjects, but it soon became evident that they would not be realized. The Rajah proved to be indolent and prodigal. To quote from a State paper subsequently written by Sir Mark Cubbon: " The vast treasure which the dubious policy of Purnaiya had wrung from the people was speedily squandered, and not on the country whose resources had been exhausted to supply it, but on the foul creatures which such a prince soon gathers round him and on the foreign usurers and dealers in shawls and jewels who flocked to Mysore as to an assured prey. In the meantime the Government had become thoroughly venal and corrupt; no efficient control was exercised over the district officers; the highest offices were put up to sale; valuable lands were alienated to propitiate Brahmins; new taxes and monopolies were invented to be bestowed like pensions on pimps and parasites; the people, vexed and fretted by the swarm of petty rulers and monopolists, could obtain no redress; there was no security for property, and nothing that was fit to be called the administration of justice." At that time the authority of the paramount power, the East India Company, was exercised through the Government of Madras, whose avowed policy was to interfere as little as possible with the internal administration of feudatory States. Through their accredited Residents strong remonstrances were made, but no action was taken till 1831, when the people of Mysore openly rebelled against the tyranny of their ruler, and he, totally unsuccessful in his efforts to put down the insurrection, asked for the assistance of British troops to restore order. It was recognized that under the original treaty of 1799 constituting the State the final responsibility for the welfare and good government of Mysore rested with the British authorities, and this was acknowledged by the dispatch of adequate military forces to deal with the situation. The Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, then decided to relieve the Rajah of all authority in the State and place the administration in the hands of two Commissioners, with the object of reforming abuses and training an efficient local service. This arrangement, however, proved unsatisfactory, and within three years all authority was invested in a single Commissioner. The first appointed only held office for two months and was then transferred to the Governor-General's Council, to be succeeded by Colonel Mark Cubbon, at the time Commissary-General in Madras, and possessing, by virtue of previous experience, an intimate knowledge of the country he was destined to rule with signal ability for the next twenty-seven years. The Rajah was allowed to remain in Mysore throughout the long remainder of his life in the enjoyment of an ample income to support his position as titular head of the State. His relations with the Commissioner were of a friendly character, and in 1867, when it was determined to restore the Mysore Raj to full authority in the State, he was allowed to adopt a youthful heir. The next year he died, and the Commission continued to operate till 1881, when the young Maharajah came of age and the act of rendition took place.

Mr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, who was a Sir William Meyer student in the History and Geography of India at University College, London, selected as the subject of a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London this period of the history of Mysore, and the result of his studies appears in a very interesting monograph under the title *The Administration of Mysore under Sir Mark Cubbon.* The merits of the book are considerable. It is eminently fair both in the presentation of facts and in the observations which the author makes upon them. He is fully entitled to the claim made in the preface that he has "viewed matters from Cubbon's own standpoint and tried to appraise him by the standard of his time." That those standards are very different from our present-day conceptions of the functions of an enlightened government may be freely admitted, but they were suited to the times, to the prevailing conditions in Mysore, and to the very limited outlook of the people.

The extract from Cubbon's memorandum already quoted gives a vivid picture of the state of the country a century ago. In 1834, when he became *de facto* the ruler of the State, his task was to evolve order out of chaos and to create an efficient organization to carry on a patriarchal type of administration. The supreme Government placed very strict limitations on the employment of Europeans, as not only was the country unable to afford an expensive administration, but the view was strongly and consistently held throughout the period that the assumption of authority was solely in the interests of the people and that it was therefore necessary to train such local material as was available to carry on the work of government. This threw a great strain upon the Commissioner and the four Superintendents or Deputy-Commissioners between whom the work was divided, and the author is to be congratulated on rescuing from oblivion the memory of a number of able officers who rendered zealous and invaluable services to the country throughout the period of transition. Their names survive in the topographical nomenclature of Mysore, and it is well that, from the official records, there should be made easily accessible some brief account of the parts they played. The Commission lasted for fifty years, but the policy of the Government markedly changed after the retirement of Sir Mark Cubbon, and it is clear from his comments and extracts from official papers that Mr. Venkatasubba Sastri recognizes that the later rapid progress was founded on the sterling worth of the pioneer work of Cubbon and his associates. Very appropriately the opinion of Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, who, after the rendition, was Dewan of Mysore for many years and greatly contributed to the development of the material resources of the State, is quoted at some length. In contrasting the two periods of the British Administration —viz., 1831-1861 and 1861-1881—he wrote: "The first epoch was marked by the steady progress of administrative reform in all departments without introducing a radical change into any, and at the close of it there remained in the public treasury a surplus of over a crore of rupees. The second period saw both the beginning and the end of a change which had for its object the organization of every department of the administration in accordance with the standard prevailing in the British Provinces." This naturally involved additional expenditure, added to which the great famine of 1876-1878 seriously strained the financial resources, so that when the State was handed back there was a debt of 80 lakhs of rupees. It would be interesting, but beyond the scope of this review, to trace the subsequent history of Mysore under its own rulers. It must suffice to say that the work of the British Commission has endured and that steady progress has continued so that for many years past Mysore has rightly been regarded as the model State of India. It has little or nothing to gain by impending political changes, and would doubtless be well content to remain under the existing régime, but the creation of a federal India will compel its ruler to assume some responsibility in the control of the Central Government. The present Maharajah has displayed great wisdom in modifying the Constitution to meet the demands of his people, and there is good reason, therefore, to assume that he will display equal sagacity in dealing with the very difficult problems arising from the development of democracy in India and the transfer of power to the representatives of a very inexperienced and probably very indifferent electorate.

Mr. Venkatasubba Sastri's thesis was approved by the University examiners, and, now that it has been published, should meet with approval by a wide circle of readers who are interested in Indian problems and the way in which the British authorities have in the past discharged what they considered were the obligations thrust upon them by their position in the country. The literary activity of young India is very great, but excellent as it often is, the value of the output is frequently marred by an unreasonable attitude towards British administration. The present work is entirely free from such defects, and the people of Mysore, to whom it is naturally of the greatest interest, may be congratulated on the admirable way in which the author has discharged a duty which they owe to the memory of one of their greatest benefactors. As a university thesis he was naturally precluded from dwelling on personal matters, but the judicious extracts from official documents and some of the appendices throw a pleasant light on the character and idiosyncrasies of a great administrator.

INDIA

INDIA IN 1930-31. Government of India. (Calcutta: *Central Publication Branch.*) Rs.3.

(*Reviewed by* L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

The Government of India's annual review is generally written with competence, and the latest volume is no exception to the rule. Its nine chapters, dealing respectively with External Relations, Politics and Administration, Fundamentals like Agriculture and Industry, Communications, Commerce, Finance, Health and Education, the Advancement of Science, and the Provinces, together embrace the entire range of governmental vision. While setting out the case, in broad outline, of the British Administration, the report is written with a considerable degree of objectivity, which displays a creditable endeavour to attain the detachment so necessary to sound judgment.

I should like to add a word of warning. The covers of the report now embrace 752 pages of print. This represents the culmination of a steady process of aggrandisement. In this process, I think, danger lies. The main object of such a work as this is that it should be read, and however readably a book may be written, it will not be read if it exceeds a certain length. This volume is too heavy to be held comfortably; it demands the desk. Yet it is not primarily a work of reference, like the unrivalled *Commonwealth Year Book*; it is a narrative. More than this, it is an interesting narrative, which would hold the attention unflaggingly if it were not quite so portentously long. Will not the newly appointed Director of Public Information bear this matter in mind? For his work is too good to be relegated to the upper shelf of a library, whence it is only to be extracted (with objurgations upon its weight) when authoritative information is required. It deserves to be read and to be read widely.

If the report were somewhat curtailed in length it might be feasible to publish it more promptly. Few can realize better than I the difficulties which must be overcome if the report, when it appears from the press, is to possess any interest more immediate than that of a historical record; for the endeavour to circumvent them caused me sleepless nights. But unless I am mistaken, I did find it possible to publish every year in the early or late autumn a report of which the political narrative stretched into the spring, although the statistical portion, for obvious reasons, could not be quite so up to date. From the standpoint of getting the report widely read (which I hold to be the principal object of writing it) it is perhaps advisable to sacrifice bulk to speed. But times change; it is seven years and more since I wrote the report myself, and it may well be that there are factors of which I am ignorant which make voluminousness imperative as it was not *Consule Planco*. I offer these suggestions, therefore, with due diffidence, and again congratulate the Director of Public Information upon a sound piece of work.

LABOUR AND HOUSING IN INDIA. By Dr. Rej Bahadur Gupta, M.A., PH.D., Lecturer, Department of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University. (*Longmans.*)

(*Reviewed by* P. K. WATTAL.)

This book treats of an important aspect of a subject which has recently been dealt with in all its bearings by the Whitley Commission. The practical value of the suggestions made by the author is thus to a certain extent affected, for responsible persons, official or non-official, in preparing their plans for action, are liable to pay greater attention to the recommendations of the Labour Commission than to those of the author. It is also unfortunate that some of the figures given in the book have become out of date with the publication of the 1931 Census tables. But, in spite of these drawbacks, we have no hesitation in saying that Dr. Gupta has written a very readable book which will be of permanent interest to students of Indian sociology.

India is a land of villages, not of big towns and cities. The industrial worker in the city leaves his rural home reluctantly, owing to increasing pressure of population on the soil. Urban conditions of life do not suit him, but he has no choice in the matter. Fortunately, he does not altogether cut himself off from his village, and continues visiting it periodically. More often than not his connection with industry is only temporary. The Labour Commission say that, taking any great industrial establishment in India, the whole of the labour force is turned over inside two years, which means that, on an average, the industrial labourer does not stick to his job for more than fifteen or eighteen months.

From the point of view of the industries concerned, this is most unsatisfactory, as no labour can be very efficient under such conditions. But should not this reluctance of the worker to leave his rural surroundings make us think and look for a remedy in another direction? Instead of establishing large-scale industries in the cities, why not stimulate production in the homes of the workers by encouraging cottage industries of an improved type? An experiment on these lines is under investigation in the Kashmir State, who engaged Professor Barker, of Leeds University, last year to conduct an inquiry into the development of the indigenous woollen industry on modern competitive lines. Professor Barker was also asked by the Government of the United Provinces to investigate similar possibilities in that area, and the results of his inquiry, when published, would show what scope there is for cottage industries in these parts of India. A new orientation would be given to industrial policy and programmes if it could be shown that cottage industries can be successful in India, and we should then hear no more of the evils of housing and see no more slums created in Indian cities.

What are the facts relating to housing of labour in Indian industries? In Bombay, as the Labour Commission Report reveals, 97 per cent. of the working classes are accommodated in one-roomed tenements with as many as six to nine persons living in one room. Dr. Gupta says that he observed several cases "in which financial exigencies had forced three or four working-class families, each consisting of a husband and wife, and in some cases even some children, to live in a single room having an area of 100 to 144 square feet. The total population of some of these 'black holes' sometimes goes up to fifteen and twenty souls." In Karachi almost one-third of the whole population is crowded to the extent of six to nine persons in a room, whilst in Ahmedabad 73 per cent. of the working classes live in one-roomed tenements. The average size of the "bastis" of Calcutta is 9 feet by 6 feet by 5 feet, in each of which a family of four to five persons live, store things, and cook their food. In Western countries anything approaching such conditions would be regarded as a public scandal and a public danger. No wonder one hears that Communism is spreading among the labouring classes in some Indian cities.

What are the consequences of such overcrowding? The proportion of females to males is much smaller, owing to the shortage of housing accommodation in the towns. The workers lead an unnatural existence, immorality and venereal disease are common, so also are gambling and drinking. For the whole of British India infant mortality per 1,000 births is about 167. In the city of Bombay it is as high as 316, in Calcutta it is 340, in Ahmedabad 287, and in Karachi 212. These are figures for the general population. It would be safe to say that if infant mortality were calculated on births in industrial areas only the figures would be not less than double. In England, as is well known, the figure for infant mortality is only 60.

What are the remedies? Dr. Gupta completed his book in October, 1929, and it was then perhaps easy for him to suggest that the Government should make a "modest beginning" in housing and town-planning legislation and pass an Act. But, apart from that, it is well known that schemes of modern housing for labour in India cannot be expected to pay. How are, then, the necessary funds to be found. The industries concerned—cotton, jute, and tea—are at present in a bad way; the Governments, Central and Provincial, have large deficits to make up and are faced with dwindling revenues; the municipalities have also great difficulties with their budgets. It may therefore be stated with certainty that nothing can be done until the economic depression is lifted and the finances of governments and municipalities in India are improved so that they can make adequate grants-in-aid to housing schemes. When the turn of the tide comes, the new political constitution of India will, it is hoped, have given sufficient representation to Labour to enable it to exercise adequate influence in legislative bodies and to mould public thought and public policy in the direction of an urgent and much-needed reform.

INDIA AND THE INDIANS: A PILGRIMAGE THROUGH THE AGES. By V. Lesny. (Published for the Oriental Institute, Prague, by the "Orbis" Publishing Company.) 70 Czech crowns.

(*Reviewed by* F. P. MARCHANT.)

This excellent work by a Czech scholar will serve as a valuable guide to students of Indian life and history from all sides. In successive chapters he describes the country, climate, peoples, and languages; culture of the Indus valley from 3000 B.C.; age of the Vedic hymns; Buddha and his doctrines; the great epics and dramas; sway of the great Moghuls; European settlements and the search for new trade routes; Gandhi; Indian thought and the West; Indian women; the Indian Rome (Benares); ending with Kashmir.

Early coins show that there was extensive culture in North-west India—Indian, Chinese, and Greek. Some coins had on one side the head of a Greek god, on the other the figure of Buddha. Kanerki, a ruler of the second century A.D., adopted Indian and Roman titles, " the great king, king of kings, the son of God, Cæsar Kanerki." There is an analysis of the *Bhagavadgita* and the work of Sankarah (the Indian Kant), recognized as the greatest commentator (d. 828). " The external world in reality exists only in internal perception and is simply the fruit of ignorance (*avidja*) and *maja* (illusion)." It is supposed that Attic comedy and old Indian drama were related, but there is not sufficient evidence to judge of their mutual influence, in spite of similarity between this drama and the mimes.

Fables occupy an important place in literature. The author gives translations of " The Lion and the Hare," " The Ass and the Dog," and " Passion Punished "—the faithful ichneumon slain after protecting a child from a snake—a parallel to the well-known Welsh tale of the hound Gellert. For the *Mahabharata* the author refers to the work of the President of the Czech Acadamy of Sciences, Dr. J. Zubaty, deceased a year ago, a noted Oriental philologist. The year 1546 saw the election of the Habsburg Ferdinand I. as King of Bohemia, and at that time Babur conquered Delhi and Agra. There are sketches of the Moghuls from Babur to Aurangzeb.

A chapter is devoted to Gandhi from his early days, as law student in India and London and then in South Africa. Here is a character sketch of the Mahatma:

> As a man Gandhi is an interesting divided personality. He is a Hindu, but confesses to an enlightened Hinduism to which he was led partly by European education and partly by reforming Indian mysticism. For a time he was much under the influence of Tolstoy's writings. As he himself acknowledges, he was thoroughly inclined to Christianity, but still remained faithful to Hinduism, which, it seems, does not prevent him from professing religious eclecticism. Socially he believes in good caste, even though all his life he fought ardently for the removal of a certain inhuman prejudice, that contact with pariahs contaminates higher ranks. He does not like European civilization, and sees no superiority in the technical progress of the West. He lauds the old golden days, when there was no Western influence in India. He does not believe in machinery, since only manual labour, he says, gives full satisfaction. In mechanization of labour he sees soullessness, and opposes the erection of factories in India. Thus Gandhi's struggle becomes a struggle of two cultures. When he praises the golden hours of olden times he overlooks the fact that conditions have entirely changed. He is not a high type of politician, but clings to his simplicity and sincerity. He makes no claims, but is ascetic and self-sacrificing in the extreme. This self-sacrifice was displayed not only in Africa, but throughout his whole struggle in India. And thus the method of his campaign of passive resistance is borrowed organically from his character. The idea of passive resistance in India, the soul of which has tended to asceticism and self-sacrifice for centuries, has for ten years operated so that Gandhi has subdued its political side religiously and socially. Gandhi himself confesses that it was really the Sermon on the Mount in the New Testament which indicated to him the value of passive resistance.

Mr. Lesny examines the relations of India and Europe in philosophy, and the supposed and actual influence of Buddhism on Christianity. Solomon's judgment is paralleled by one of Buddha in *Jatakam*. The aged St. Simeon

(St. Luke ii.) resembles the venerable Asito, who beholds and proclaims the birth of the great world teacher Buddha. There is a similar story to the widow's mite in the Chinese *Tripitaka*. There was Buddhist influence on the Alexandrian Basilides. The romance of Barlaam and Josafat (Bodhisatto) is based on the life of Buddha. The pessimists Schopenhauer, Hartmann, and Tolstoy borrowed ideas from Buddhist writings, also among the author's countrymen the poets Vrchlicky, Czech, and Brezina. Theosophy and Neo-Buddhism, the Mahabodhi Society of Ceylon, Kabir's attempted synthesis of Hinduism and Islam, and the *Bramosomaj* of Svami Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore are discussed.

The chapter on Indian women, headed by a romantic passage from Tagore, opens with the note that in 1921 more than 98 per cent. could neither read nor write, from which it might be judged that Indian women are uneducated and backward; this, however, is far from being the case. As to the Muhammadan custom of veiling, observed much more in northern than in southern India, it is noted that more Muhammadan than Hindu women die of consumption. Indian reformers and educated women are successfully demonstrating the uselessness of this custom and creating a distaste for it. Several pages of an old Bengal popular ballad, *Dhopar pat,* are given to show that women were not always without liberty to choose their husbands. Prince Salim, afterwards the Emperor Jehangir, loved and courted a beautiful court dancer, but the unequal match was prohibited, and they met no more. After her death Salim had a tomb built inscribed with her last wish that she might see her beloved once more face to face.

A chapter entitled "The Indian Rome" is devoted to Benares, which is to Hindus like Rome and Jerusalem combined for Catholics. There is a story that it was originally built of gold, but that this was transformed to stone through the wrath of the gods. The author saw the Juggernaut procession at Puri. This cult is a survival of pre-Hinduism. At length he reached Kashmir, with Srinagar, "the Venice of the East." No wonder the Moghuls considered Kashmir the pearl of their dominions.

It is tempting to enlarge on Mr. Tesny's work, which is more than an introduction to Indian life, history, and literature. A student will find therein much valuable information, and under the guidance of a learned and sympathetic scholar will be well instructed on many points. The volume is well illustrated. The frontispiece shows Mr. Lesny taking leave of Tagore; there are views of Mount Everest, Darjeeling, the golden temple at Amritsar, the Taj Mahal, the Karachi congress last year, portraits of Tagore, Gandhi, and others, of peasant life, and facsimiles of various manuscripts.

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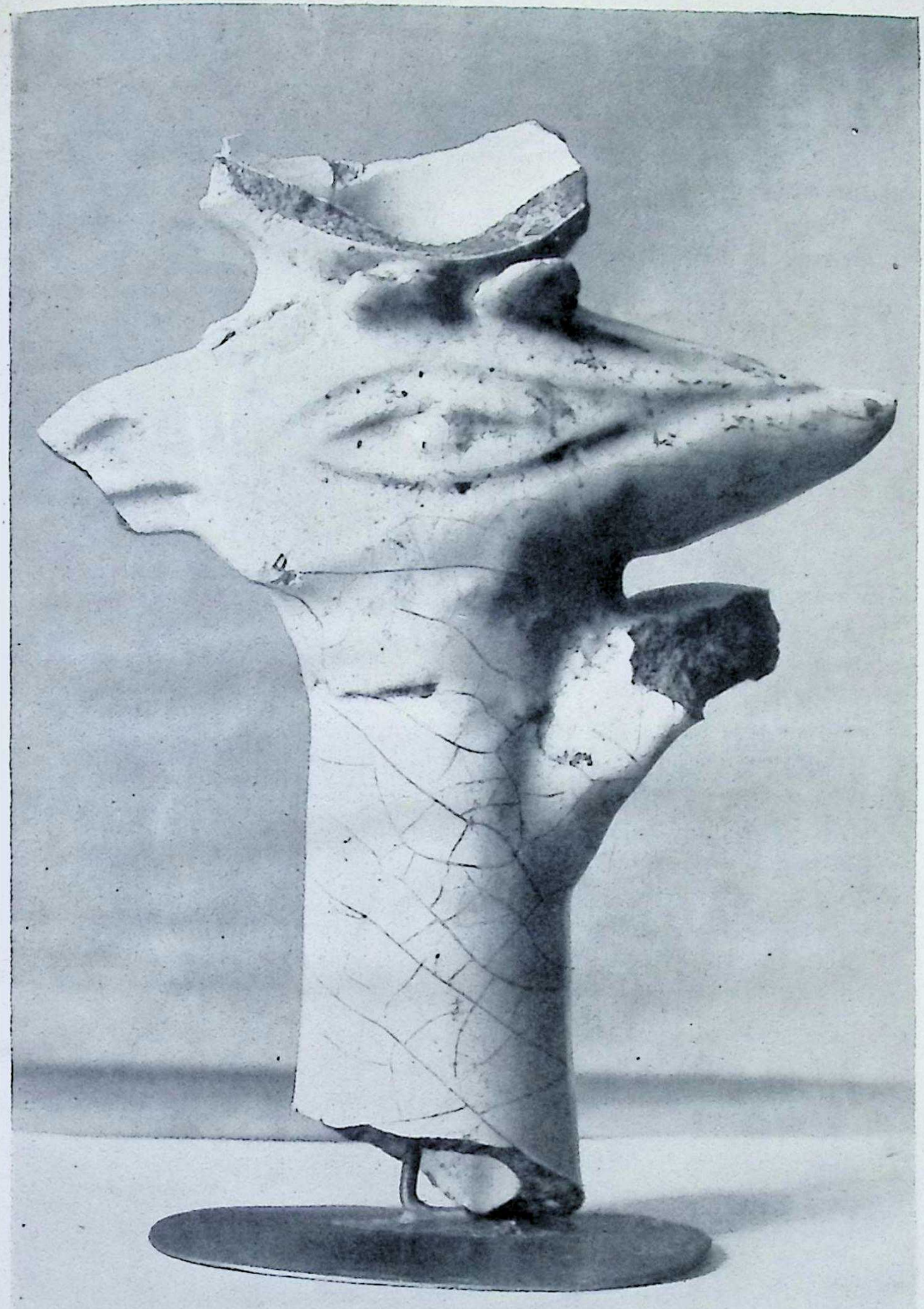

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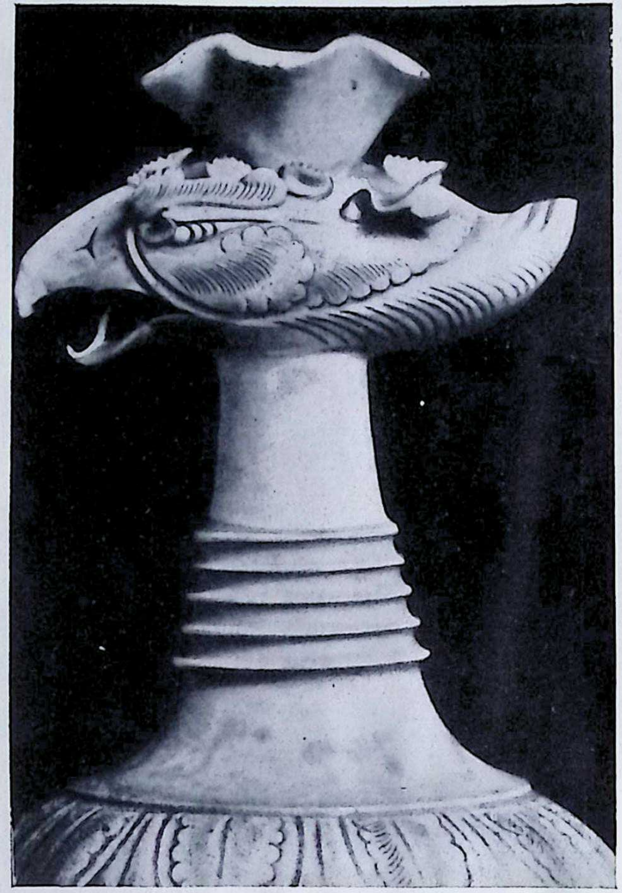

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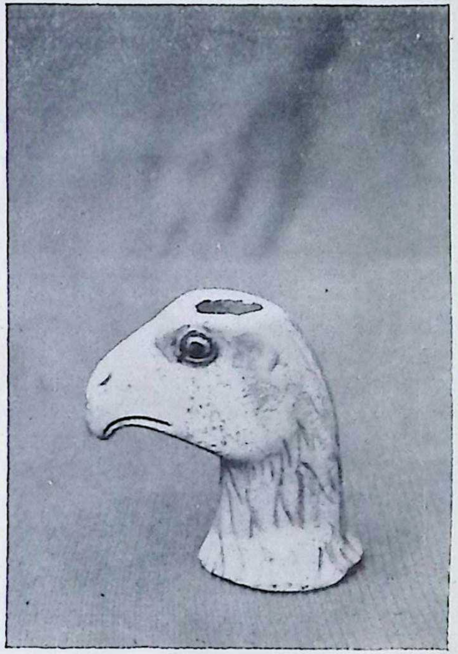

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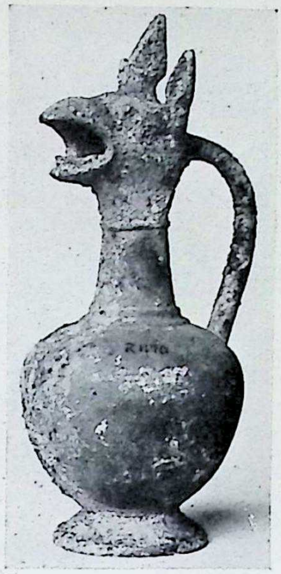

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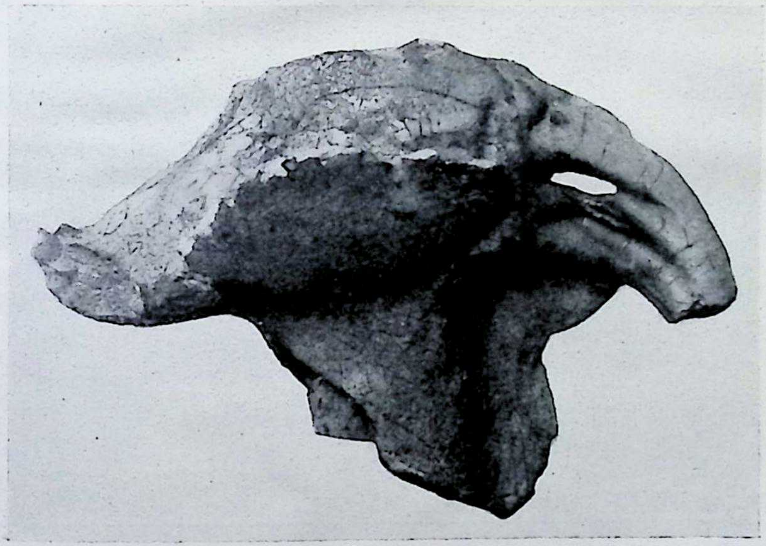

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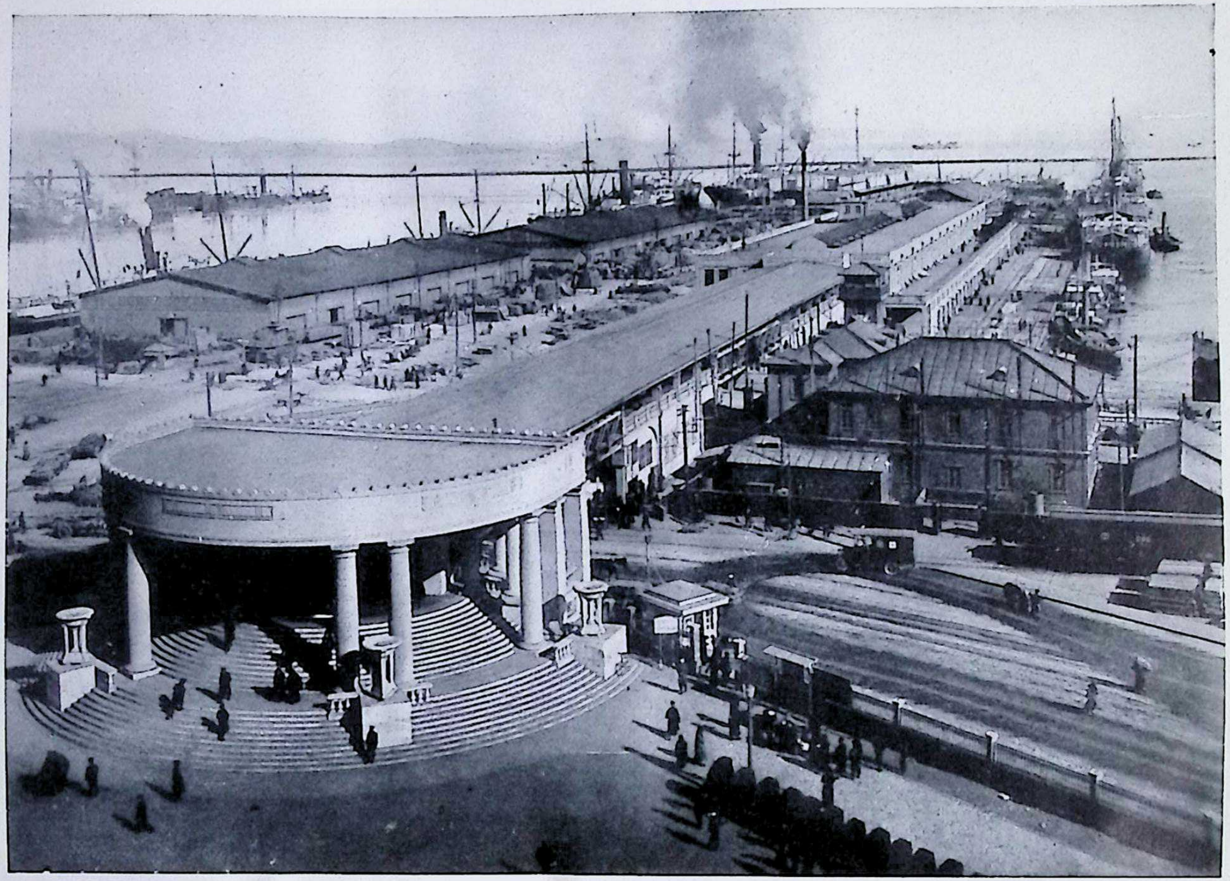

MODERN WHARVES AT DAIREN BUILT UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE SOUTH MANCHURIAN RAILWAY

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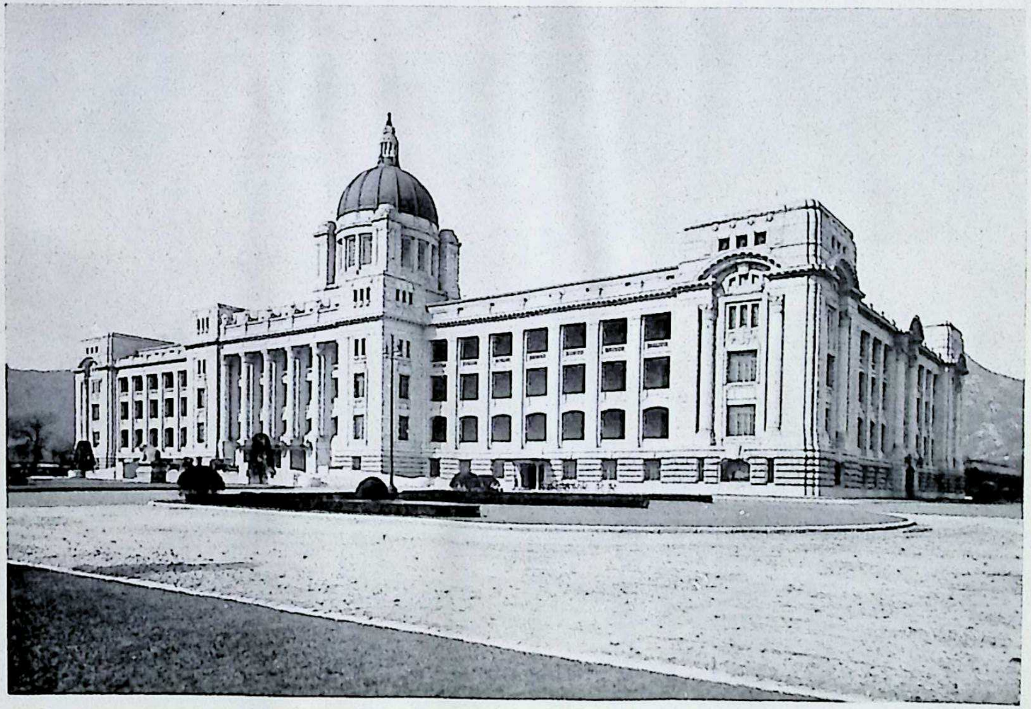

GOVERNMENT-GENERAL BUILDING IN SEOUL

By courtesy of Nippon Yusen Kaisha

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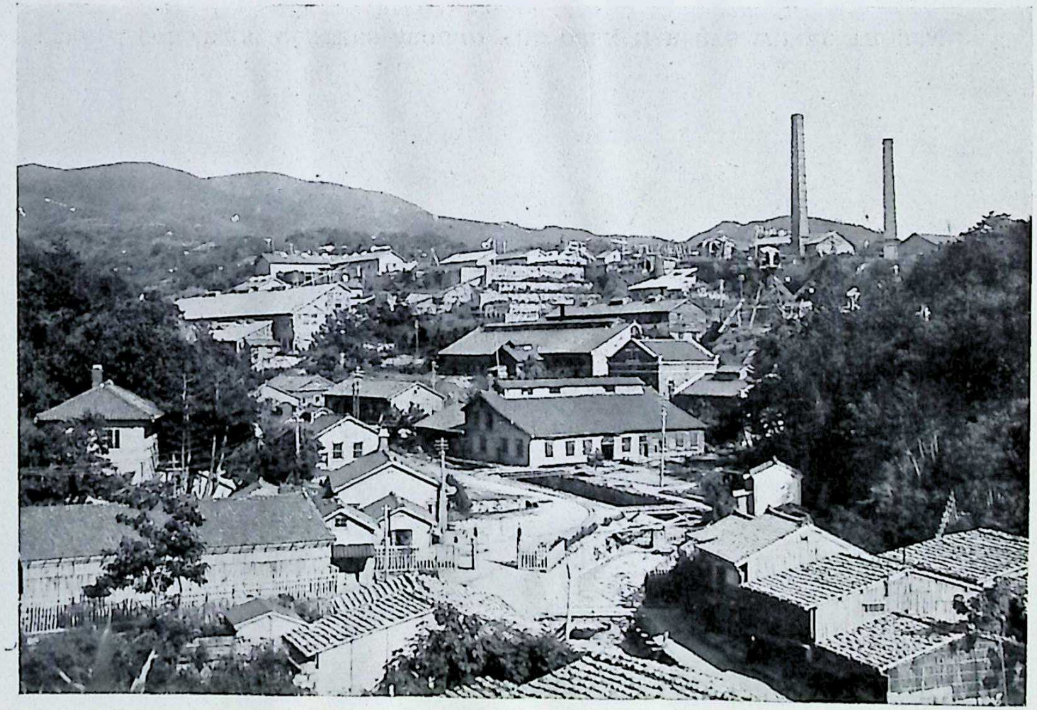
THE SUMMIT OF KIMPOKU-SAN RISES INTO THE CLOUDS ABOVE LAKE KAMO, THE HIGHEST PEAK IN THE ISLE OF SADO

By courtesy of Nippon Yusen Kaisha.

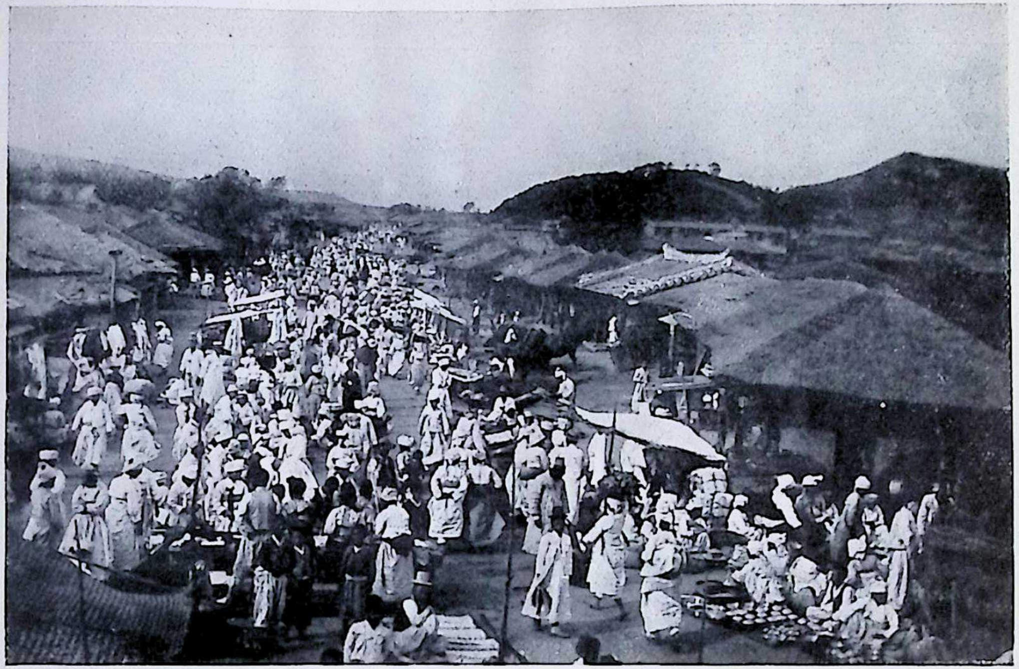
PLATE I



SADO'S GREAT GOLD MINE AT AIKAWA-KOZAN HAS BEEN PRODUCING PRECIOUS METAL FOR MORE THAN THREE CENTURIES

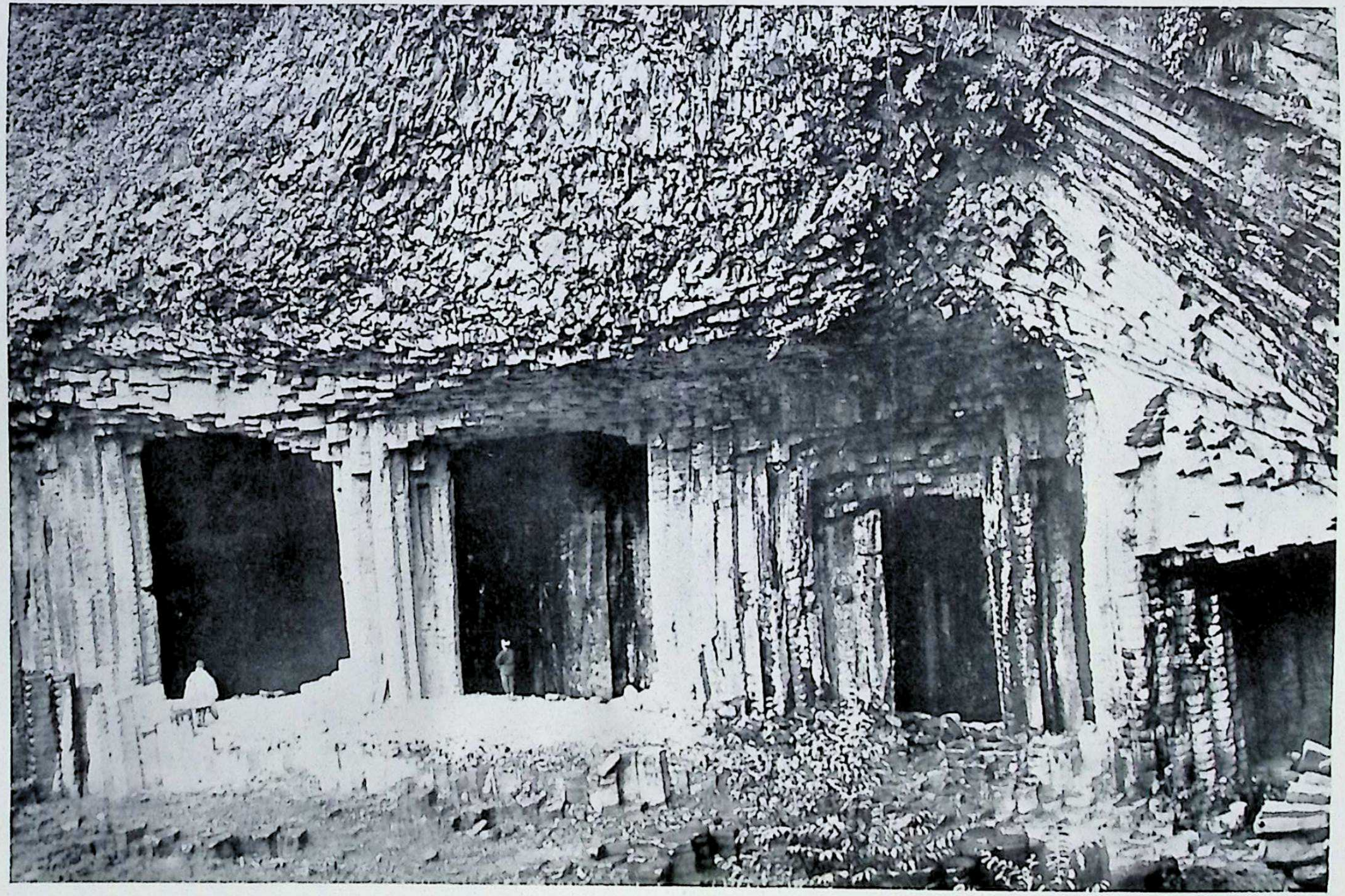
By courtesy of Nippon Yusen Kaisha.

PLATE J



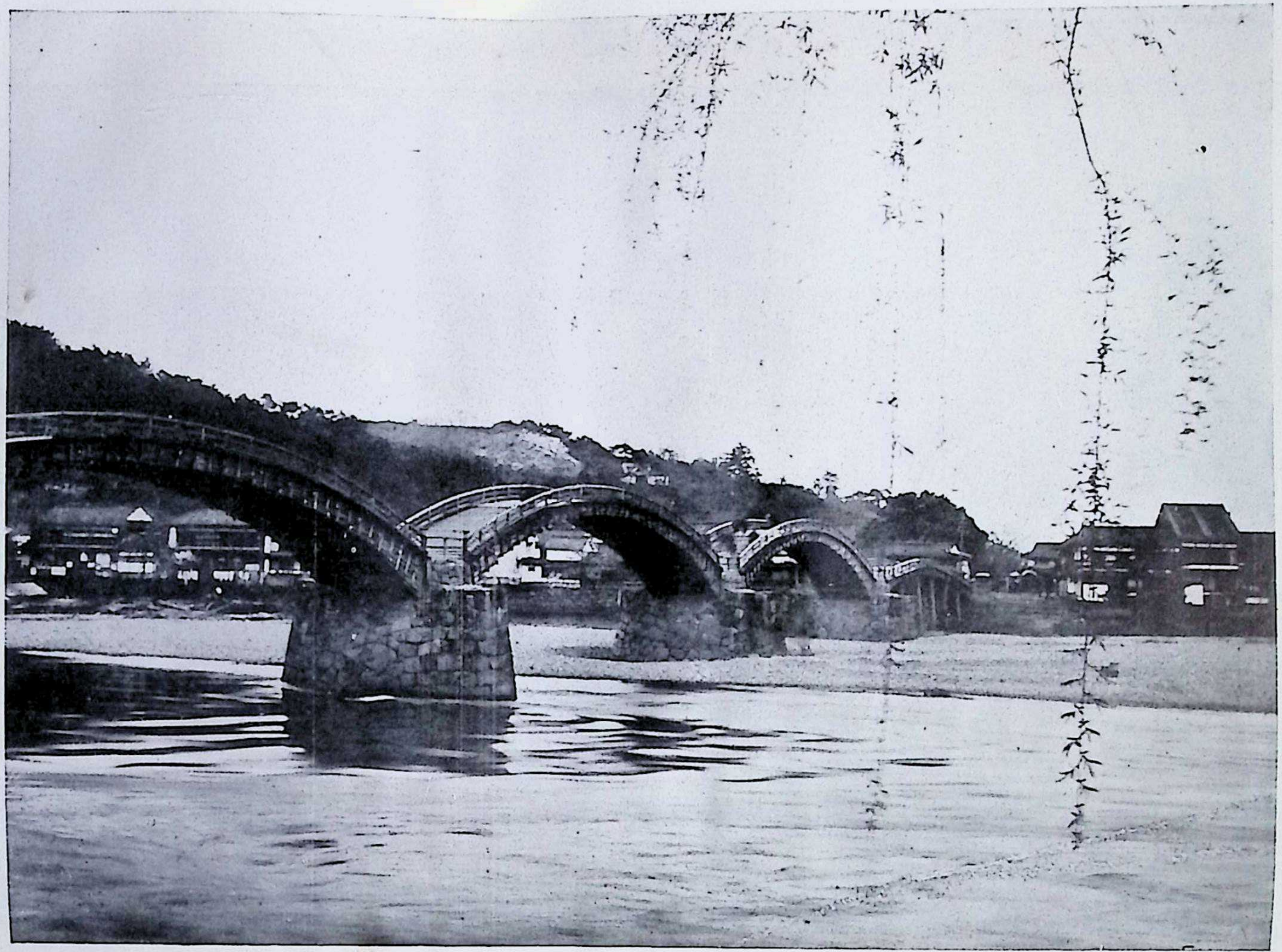
KOREAN COMMERCE CENTRES AROUND THE OPEN MARKETS WHERE THOUSANDS GATHER TO BARGAIN OVER THE NATIVE WARE

By courtesy of Nippon Yusen Kaisha.



ENTRANCES TO THE MATSUSHIMA CAVES

By courtesy of Nippon Yusen Kaisha.



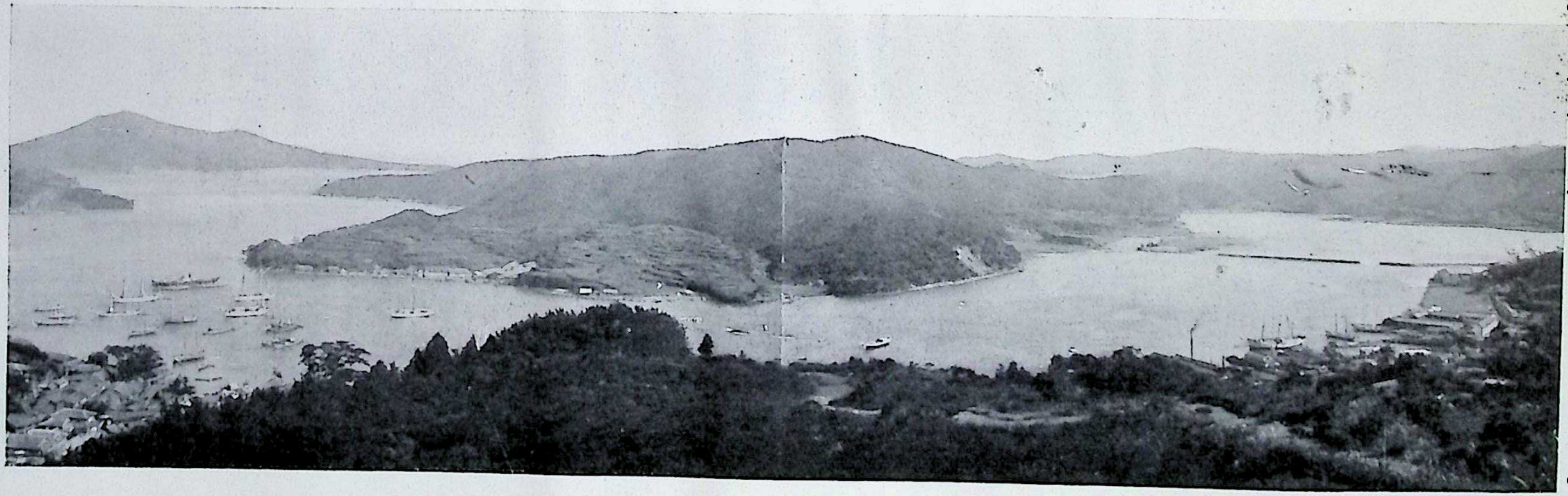
KINTAI-BASHI ROLLS ACROSS NISHIKIGAWA, "THE RIVER OF THE BROCADE," NEAR IWAKUNI

By courtesy of Nippon Yusen Kaisha.

KINTAI-BASHI ROLLS ACROSS NISHIKIGAWA, "THE RIVER OF THE BROCADE," NEAR IWAKUNI

By courtesy of Nippon Yusen Kaisha.

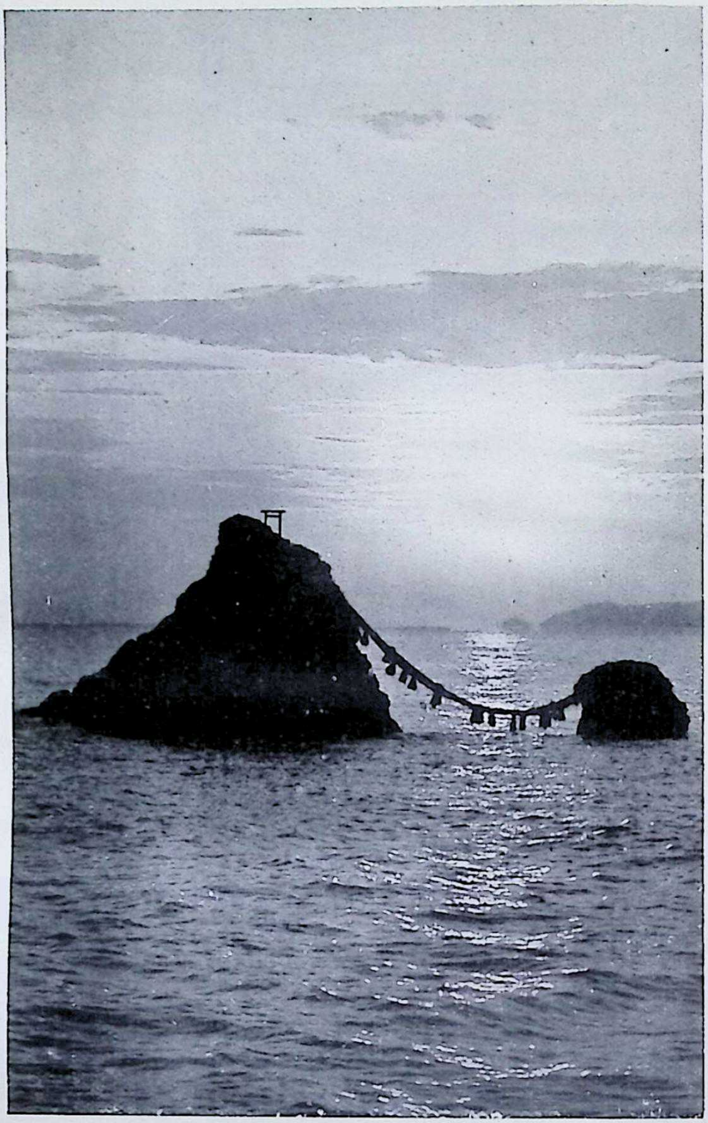
PLATE M



PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE INLAND SEA, JAPAN

By courtesy of Nippon Yusen Kaisha.

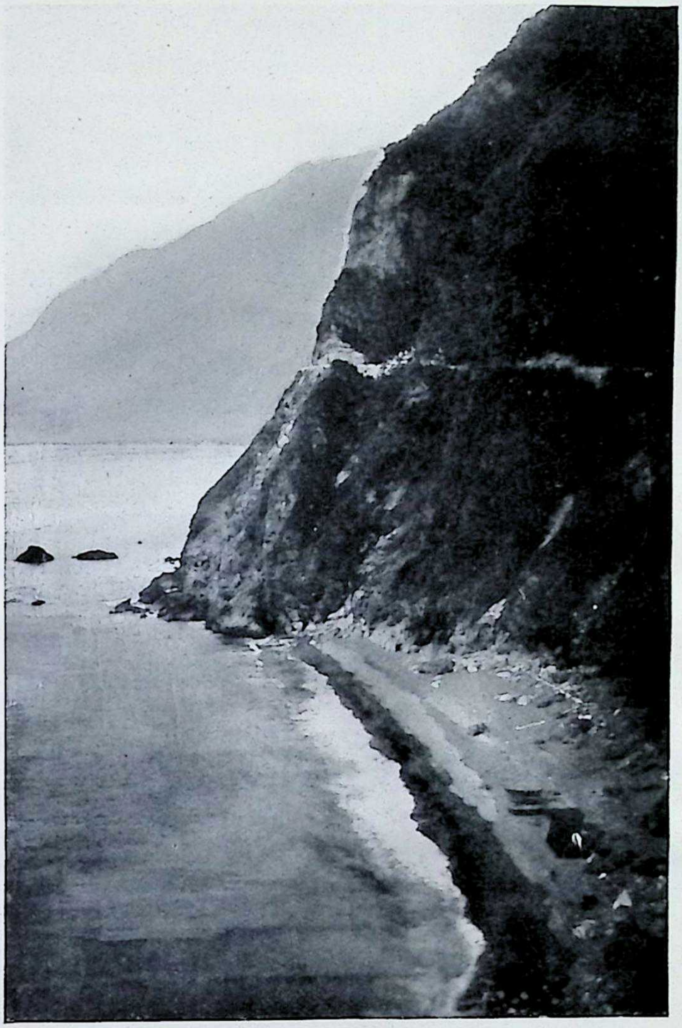
PLATE N



THE SUN SINKING BEHIND THE "WEDDED ROCKS" AT FUTAMI ON THE INLAND SEA, JAPAN

By courtesy of Nippon Yusen Kaisha.

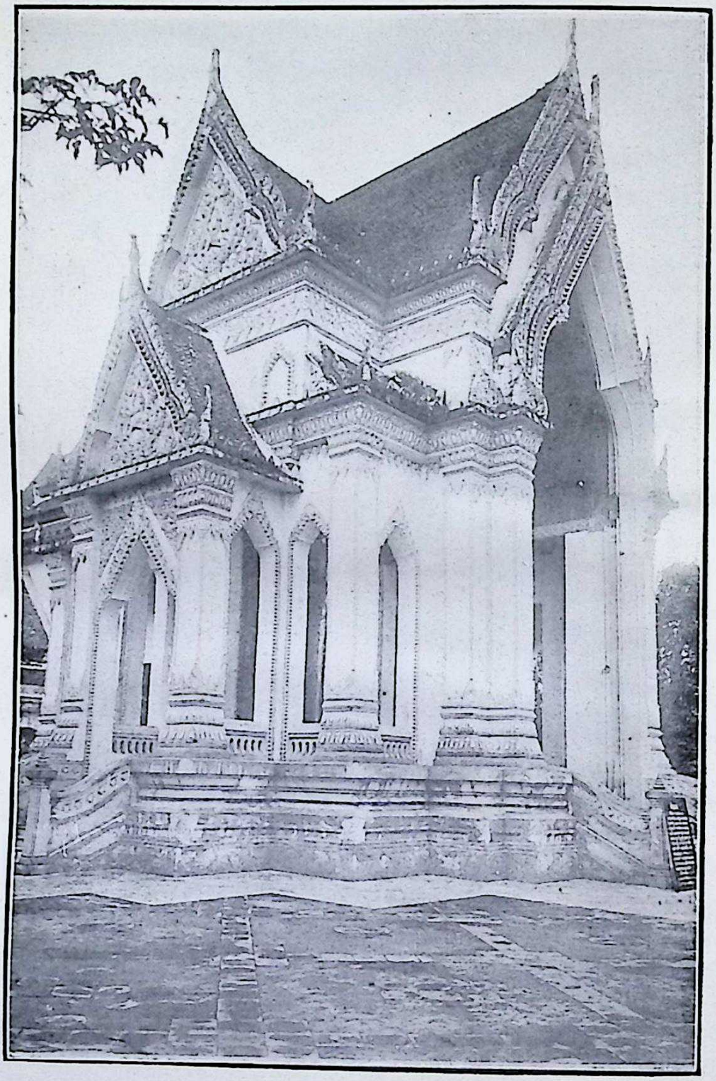
PLATE O



A VIEW OF THE FORMOSAN EAST COAST ROAD
SHELVED IN THE MOUNTAIN SIDE

At this point the road is 600 feet above sea level.

By courtesy of Nippon Yusen Kaisha



AT NAKON PATOM

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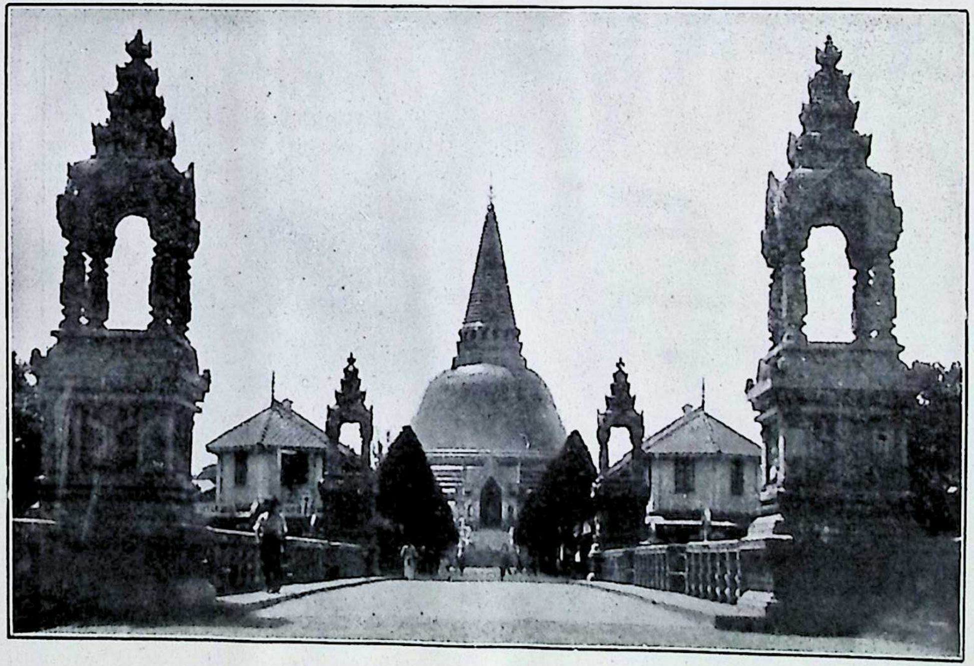
PLATE Q



THE NORTHERN VIHARA, NAKON PATOM

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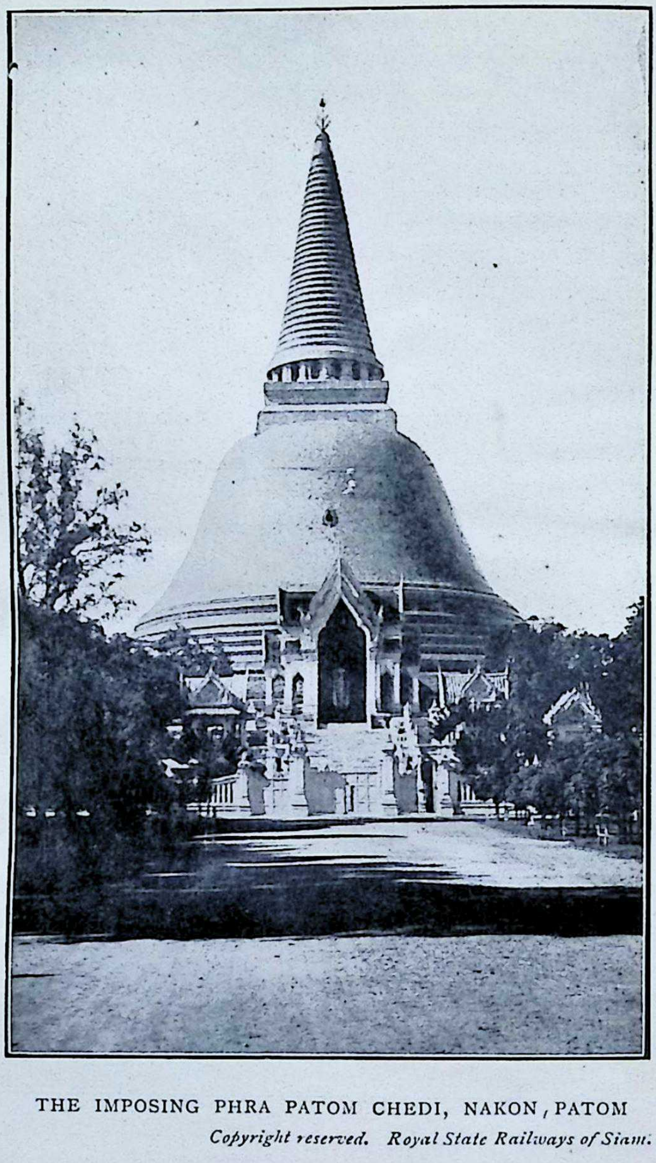
PLATE R



THE IMPOSING PHRA PATOM CHEDI, NAKON, PATOM

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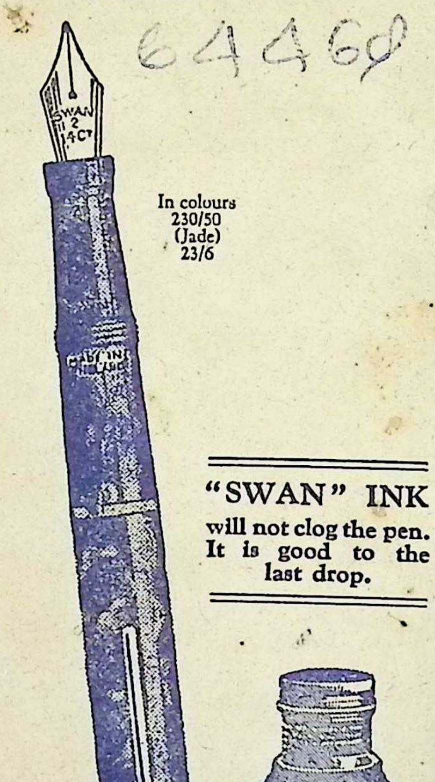

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